Nelson Greene

HISTORY

OF THE

MOHAWK VALLEY

GATEWAY TO THE WEST

1614-1925

Covering the Six Counties of Schenectady, Schoharie, Montgomery, Fulton, Herkimer and Oneida.

EDITED BY
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Painted by A. H. Wyant *By Courtesy Metropolitan Museum of Art*

THE VALLEY OF THE MOHAWK

A recreation of the prehistoric Mohawk. In the right-hand foreground a tributary stream is shown falling over the cliff edge. The distant river and valley suggest the scenery at the Noses, and the picture gives a vivid impression of the Mohawk country in the long ages before the coming of the white man. The distinguished artist A. H. Wyant (1830-1892) painted this landscape in 1866. It hangs in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York City.

FOREWORD

THE MOHAWK VALLEY—Three magic words, which blazon forth the fame of a land of mystic beauty, fraught with the intense human interest of the brave men and women, who here helped to win liberty for America and all the World.

In our broad land there is no more noble theme than the story of this Valley through the mountains, which forms America's Gateway to the West. The various elements of the history of this great national highway, are so entwined with the vital actions recorded in the annals of our nation, that the story of the Mohawk River necessarily holds much of that of the United States of America. Therefore, it necessarily follows that he who does not know the history of the Mohawk Valley is deficient not only in knowledge of the history of the United States but in that of North America as well.

Through the ages, Nature has worked to make our Valley supreme as man's easiest road across the Atlantic coastal range as well as the only waterway, through these mountains, connecting the Seven Seas with the Great Lakes.

Ice and water have cut a gorge for the channel of the Mohawk, through high ridges connecting the Adirondack and the Catskill ranges. Through this mountain pass, man has marched to the making of an empire and to the settlement of its one-time vast, unpopulated western territories. And through this low pass today eastward and westward, flows America's mighty commerce in ever-increasing volume.

Before we enter into any comment on the various elements of historic interest connected with the Mohawk Valley, there are two salient features concerning it which should be carefully noted. One of these is that, though comparatively small in area, its influence has been nation-wide in character. In many of the following pages, from those which deal with its geological story to the description of its present-day commerce and industry, will be found quotations from various authorities which unanimously concede the nation-wide and world-wide importance of this national highway of history and commerce.

The second notable fact concerning the Valley is the unusual

solidarity of its interests. Four-fifths of its population is gathered along the hundred mile course of the Mohawk River, between Schenectady and Rome. The shut-in character of the Valley and the extreme narrowness of the plains or flats of the Mohawk, combined with the transportation facilities afforded by the railways and highways which parallel the Mohawk's course, make intercourse between the Valley towns natural, easy and unusually available. This solidarity of interests of the great majority of the Mohawk Valley people, who now live close to the New York Central Railroad and the Old Mohawk Turnpike, has been a characteristic of human life in the Valley from the earliest pioneer days to those of the present—as it probably always will be of the future. An appreciation of this peculiar unity of this Mohawk Valley life—from the days of the Mohawk warriors to those of present-day American business men—will help the reader to a fuller understanding of Mohawk Valley history in all its phases.

From the summit of the high ground, in almost any Mohawk River town (and each one has its favorite historic viewpoint) we can envisage the course of history and the march of human events along this famous, picturesque and historic stream.

The hills—with their meadow slopes and forest crowns—tell us the story of the making of the land in which we live; while the known locations of the castles of the mighty Mohawks recall the days of those fierce warriors and their powerful League of Five Nations of Iroquois. The handiwork of Sir William Johnson is seen in the very fibre of our nation as well as in the evidences of our Valley civilization. And, in the imagination of a patriotic mind, one can descry those famous Tryon County farmer-soldiers, led by the heroic Herkimer, marching on to Oriskany where they fought the bloody battle which made and saved our Nation.

The evidences of our Valley history lie all about us. One can in his own environment, find an interest which appertains to practically every chapter of this history of the Valley of the Mohawk.

In connection with these heroic, dramatic and picturesque annals of the Mohawk, let us not forget that in the Valley, we have the greatest National transportation route—America's greatest railroad, highway and waterway. Our Mohawk Turnpike forms the central section of the New York-Buffalo Highway, the greatest automobile road in all America. The New York Central Lines form the foremost railroad system in the United States, while our Mohawk River Barge Canal section is the only American waterway connecting the Atlantic with the

Great Lakes—a mighty geographical fact which is bound to have tremendous future national results.

In the glamour of the picturesque and dramatic scenes of the Valley's past, let us not forget that the same Valley today presents fully as wonderful a picture although one painted in somewhat more sombre colors.

American history is most unusual in the fact that the equivalent seven or eight thousand years or more of man's development has been compressed here into about three centuries of time.

Since the settlement of Jamestown, in 1607, we Americans have changed the Northeastern United States (and particularly the Thirteen Original States) from a vast, unbroken forest wilderness, peopled by cruel savages of the stone age, to a cultivated, civilized country, with great industries and trunk lines of transportation, great cities and an advanced cultural stage of society, which has been only similarly acquired by seven thousand years of gradual uplift in Europe.

It is true that the civilizing influences in America came from settlers and pioneers who were civilized themselves and who came from countries where civilization was at an advanced stage—Holland, England and France in particular. In the main fact of civilization, however, America of today is far in advance of the three pioneer nations of Europe, at the time of their settlements in America.

There is no more unusual or interesting phase of history than the contact of the highly civilized Hollander, Frenchman and Englishman with the Indians of the stone age who inhabited Northeastern North America at the time of the white settlement of the country. The contact was not always favorable to the white man, because the pioneers, although civilized, frequently had lapses from their higher culture, and became more cruel than the Indians themselves.

Coming to a later phase of the story of our Valley, its history takes on a tremendous interest in that a complete change has occurred in man's viewpoint and mode of life within the last Century. There has been a greater and more complete transformation in the general life of civilized mankind in this last one hundred years than in the five hundred which preceded it.

The course of human events, like a turbulent stream, keeps flowing ever onward. There is no comfortable landing to any one's liking. Just as the past century shows a tremendous metamorphosis in man's life, so the present days are constantly changing the old ideas and the old ways. This is not happening like an

earthquake, but more like the old slow geological upliftings and subsidences of the land. But it is going on constantly and therefore it promises a change in the aspect of the life of mankind that, fifty years hence, will constitute another milestone in man's progress upward.

Before we enter into any detailed consideration of the interesting subject of the Mohawk Valley and its annals, there are certain phases of its history and of New York State history with a direct bearing upon that of our Valley which should be a subject of comment here.

Anyone who begins a comprehensive study of the history of the United States, will be surprised by the meager mention of the Mohawk Valley in various national histories. The Dutch occupation, the century of terrific warfare between the Mohawks and the French and Canadian Indians, the remarkable character of Van Curler and the long military and civil service of Peter Schuyler, the strategic importance of Fort Orange (later Albany) and the unusual Dutch district which grew up about it, the pioneer Palatines, Sir William Johnson—greatest and most constructive American of the Colonial period—the American Colonial and Revolutionary border forts along the Mohawk, the heroic fight of the American farmer-soldiers under Herkimer at Oriskany, the raising of America's first battle flag at present Rome, the birth of the character and song of Yankee Doodle at Rensselaer, of Uncle Sam at Troy and a great number of other stirring and vital events of Valley history—all are missing or only scantily mentioned in our national histories.

There is possibly one exception—in our boyhood's school histories—and that is the mention of the brave stand of Herkimer and his Valley militiamen at Oriskany. In the old grammar school histories this was illustrated by a woodcut of the undaunted brigadier, seated on his saddle, his sword by his side and his wounded leg bound up, while he calmly smoked his pipe and directed the battle. There is scarcely another such stirring scene in the Revolutionary records and the hearts of the schoolboys and the schoolgirls warmed to this valiant American who, though mortally wounded, said, "I will face the enemy." Without Herkimer and Sir William Johnson, the Mohawk Valley would hardly be represented upon the historical map of the United States.

Now, why should these things be? It has been the writer's experience to find them so and also to learn that the annals of this Gateway to the West could be learned only by diligent research and by the study of a great many books. We have had a consider-

THE MOHAWK VALLEY NEAR INDIAN CASTLE.

Photo by M. J. Bucklin, Little Falls, from the Lansing farm, looking east over the Danube hills; taken before Barge Canal construction. All but two of the Central Railroad's four tracks are obscured. One of the most beautiful of Mohawk River views.

able amount of matter published concerning the Mohawk Valley, generally written by local historical writers, many of whom were deeply versed in American and Valley history. However, most of these books dealt with circumscribed areas and topics, so that, in these instances, one had to read many books to learn the main story. Is it not time that we should have a Mohawk Valley history which will be complete in itself?

The mission of the Mohawk Valley, historically and commercially, is of such tremendous national value that it demands its full measure of attention in historical works of national importance. Then why does it not have at least some of its merited consideration? The answer is that the people of New York State and the Mohawk Valley have written comparatively few histories and these State histories have had little national attention given to them, compared to those written by New England authors.

Another answer is that man cannot rise above his limitations, whether a historian or otherwise. Some of the pettiness of human nature, in some historic individuals, has made as much human history as has the high moral quality of other actors on the stage of life. The desire to boom the country one lives in, at the expense of the space which belongs to other sections is a failing that even the best of historians can resist with difficulty.

Both New Netherland and New York formed a province and a state dividing the American Colonies and later states with a non-English population, mostly of Holland Dutch extraction. Even at the time of the Revolution, two-thirds of the people were Americans of Dutch descent. True, Pennsylvania and the Carolinas had their Germans, but the Hollanders occupied the great trade route of the Hudson Valley a century before any German immigration began. Therefore, not only did New Netherland have no historians but the natural greatness of its Colonial and Revolutionary history was depreciated by the historians of New England because the people of New Netherland or New York were mainly of other than English stock. Was Sir William Johnson slighted because he was an Irishman? Otherwise how does one account for his practical obliteration from the average American history, when he was one of the nation-builders of his time and the man more than any other of his day who made North America British rather than French? Why is there a general ignoring of the fact that the great army of General Amherst mobilized at Schenectady and went through the Mohawk Valley to the conquest of Canada—when this was the largest concentration of British and Colonial forces ever seen in America up to

that time—an expedition in which the American militia outnumbered the British regulars—one in which dozens of future American Revolutionary officers took part—and the final and successful attack which made North America British instead of French and the future world one dominated by English-speaking peoples. The elimination of a particularization of this epochal event in American histories is nothing short of ridiculous. This final movement of the French and Indian war is sometimes briefly noted, but how it was conducted, and mention of the Mohawk Valley route traversed by the main American-British Army is generally utterly ignored by historians, other than those of New York State.

However, time has its revenges. New York, today, is the greatest State in the Union, with the greatest city in the World and is bisected by the World's greatest transportation route. The histories which have ignored New York, will become shelved and worthless works because they have omitted the chief element in the story of our Nation. The most popular histories of America will be those which pay attention to the great nation-making events, which eventuated in New York State together with a popular description of this popular state. They will give proper space and treatment to the important but heretofore unnoticed historical matters, which are mentioned in detail, in the following pages.

The standard national histories of the future will record the tremendously important fact that New York has been the battle ground of America, from the discovery by the Dutch in 1609 through nearly two and a half centuries, up to the Mexican war of 1846. The major actions of the Indian wars were fought between the Iroquois of New York and their French and Indian foes, often on the territory of the State, while the great battles of the American Colonies with the French and Indians, in the four wars which decided English supremacy in America, were fought here and the final conquest of New France was effected through the Mohawk Valley, after all attempts through Lake Champlain had failed.

In the War for American Independence, the American Army of the North won the decisive battles of Oriskany, Bennington, and the two battles of Bemis Heights—and, on these bloody New York battlefields they won liberty for America and all the world.

Throughout the Revolution, the Mohawk Valley formed the advanced position, which defended the keystone of the American defense at Albany. This Valley had been a fertile region which

was the granary of the Colonies. It was assailed again and again, but it was never taken, and, at the end of this seven years of border warfare, its victorious defenders looked out upon the most scarred and desolate region in the entire thirteen States—free and united largely because of the heroic sacrifices made by the men and women of the Mohawk. And yet where, and in what national histories, will you find mention of this blackened waste and its dauntless defenders.

Washington selected the most tried and trusted American troops for the final conquest of the British position at Yorktown, picking, among others, the First New York Line, composed of men from Albany County, including Schenectady borough. And the final glorious charge for liberty was made by the First New York Line, headed by the gallant Colonel Alexander Hamilton of New York State.

The soldiers of New York will receive their due attention in the future correct histories of the United States, from the Dutch and British fighters of the Colonial and Indian wars, through the Revolution, when the patriot soldiers of New York held its vital points; through the Civil war, when New York contributed the most soldiers of any state; down through the Spanish war, to the great part played in the World war by New York's soldiers and sailors in once again beating down a military despotism. And in all this bloody fighting which made America what it is today, we shall find some mention in the histories of the future of the gallant boys of New York who fought and died so bravely for their country. The modern military units and commands located in our Valley will receive in this history some small measure of the notice which they deserve in the chapters devoted to the Mohawk Valley commands of the National Guard. How many of us know of the splendid marksmanship of the Mohawk Co. I, 10th Infantry, New York National Guard? Our Valley, from one end to the other should be proud of these boys, champion (1923) marksmen of the National Guard of the United States.

Another reason why this Mohawk Valley of ours has been historically ignored is that the word "ignored", used historically, may imply ignorance, and ignorance concerning the Mohawk Valley is far from uncommon among historians. It is much easier to write about things with which we are familiar than to write concerning those which need an unusual amount of research—and the early history of the Mohawk Valley, in the past, has been more or less obscure. Not all historians have ignored New York State—John Fiske is a shining example of one who appreciated

Painted by Edward Gay *Published by Courtesy of Bartlett Arkell*

FARM SLOPES OF THE MOHAWK VALLEY

This beautiful landscape represents the Mohawk Valley Hills near Canajoharie at harvest time. In the distance are the river and flats at Sprakers with the Noses looming over them. The picture was painted in 1877 by Edward Gay, a distinguished American landscape artist.

its national historical value. Most of the historians of our American Colonial and Revolutionary periods, never wander more than fifty miles inland in their historical narratives. They are utterly obscure in their references to the frontier belt of Colonial and Revolutionary times. Therefore, a region which had a great part in our War for Independence is utterly ignored, and this includes the Mohawk Valley.

In closing this research into the causes of the belittling of the leading historical position of our State, we might remark that one of the factors which will eventually bring it justice, along these lines, is the popularity of the City and State of New York with visitors from other states. Nine hundred and ninety-nine out of a thousand visitors to the East come to New York, while one goes to Boston. The wonderful and varied scenic features of our State, and its attractive summering and wintering resorts invite the traveller, while our main motoring highways are filled with motorists from other states. Their number is large, and annually increasing. The glamour and bustle, the color and splendor of modern life are all daily in full swing to attract the visitor to the world's greatest city, New York. And, when we mention gay New York, let us remember that it would not be there were it not for the Mohawk Valley.

So time thwarts the New England historian who "wrote history while New York made it". For people who visit New York City and State are charmed by them, and, if they wish to learn something of their past, they will turn to the interesting histories which deal with their vacation City and State of New York, rather than bother with those which studiously ignore their existence. Thus will our State surely come into its own as the leading American commonwealth in every way, including its part in our national history. Whatever our State gains in this regard will be shared by the Mohawk Valley on account of its key position in the State's history and commerce.

History is merely man en masse—man multiplied by thousands or millions—living, dying, suffering, killing and being killed, rising and falling, slaving and enslaving, persecuting and being persecuted, stupid and wise, virtuous and vicious, sublime and foolish, but never quiet nor settled. Whatever else the historian may do, he must portray the public feeling of the period he is writing about—the swirl and press of its life—its emotions, vices and antagonisms, its ideals and its spiritual uplift and degradation. It is a mistake to think that the fat, opulent, prosperous times are always the periods of spiritual or intellectual

uplift or that the times of hideous warfare are times of public spiritual degradation.

It goes without saying that history must be truth—naked truth—and this is particularly so of the history of the Mohawk Valley, which is vitally interwoven with that of the United States. Many elements of society object to truth in history—they prefer a fairy tale serving their own class or faction. But "the truth will out"—even in histories.

One of the defects of history is its failure to properly reflect the public thought of the period under consideration. We know the many phases of the public thought of today, but who is recording them? It is the most interesting thing in the story of man, and yet it is utterly ignored. It also is one of the historical matters which is not considered historically respectable.

We have emerged but lately from a great war—the most terrible the world has ever seen—and yet the popular feeling of that time in its many phases is today nearly forgotten. The newspapers did not reflect it accurately in those stirring times and, unless it is recorded before long, its memory will have been effaced beyond recall. It is but six years ago that our nation was breathlessly awaiting news from our boys who had gone in force to the front lines. Then came the sudden news of the Soissons advance July 18, 1918, and the gallant fighting of our buddies in brown and their impetuous forward rush which meant the end of German military despotism and world autocracy. Many of us vaguely remember the nation's patriotic ardor which went out to our maimed and wounded soldiers. How little of this glorious spirit is recorded or ever will be? In a few years, duller feelings will have covered that day's prayer of our nation and of a world saved, restored and relieved. We could hardly live because of the strain and anxiety of an impending horror—with no one to save us but the young American clerks, mechanics, farmers and high school boys who there confronted, and overcame the most highly trained troops in Europe. The acuteness of feeling of the time is gone forever, and its aftermath of political quarrels is today the material of the World War historians.

Americans of Colonial ancestry sometimes get a glimpse of American thought during the Revolution through family legends and it is also possible to somewhat reconstruct the life of Revolutionary days from some books written on that period.

How many historians have had the courage to write the true thought of the Civil war, when respectability often bought a substitute, giving the age-old reason that Mr. Respectability was too

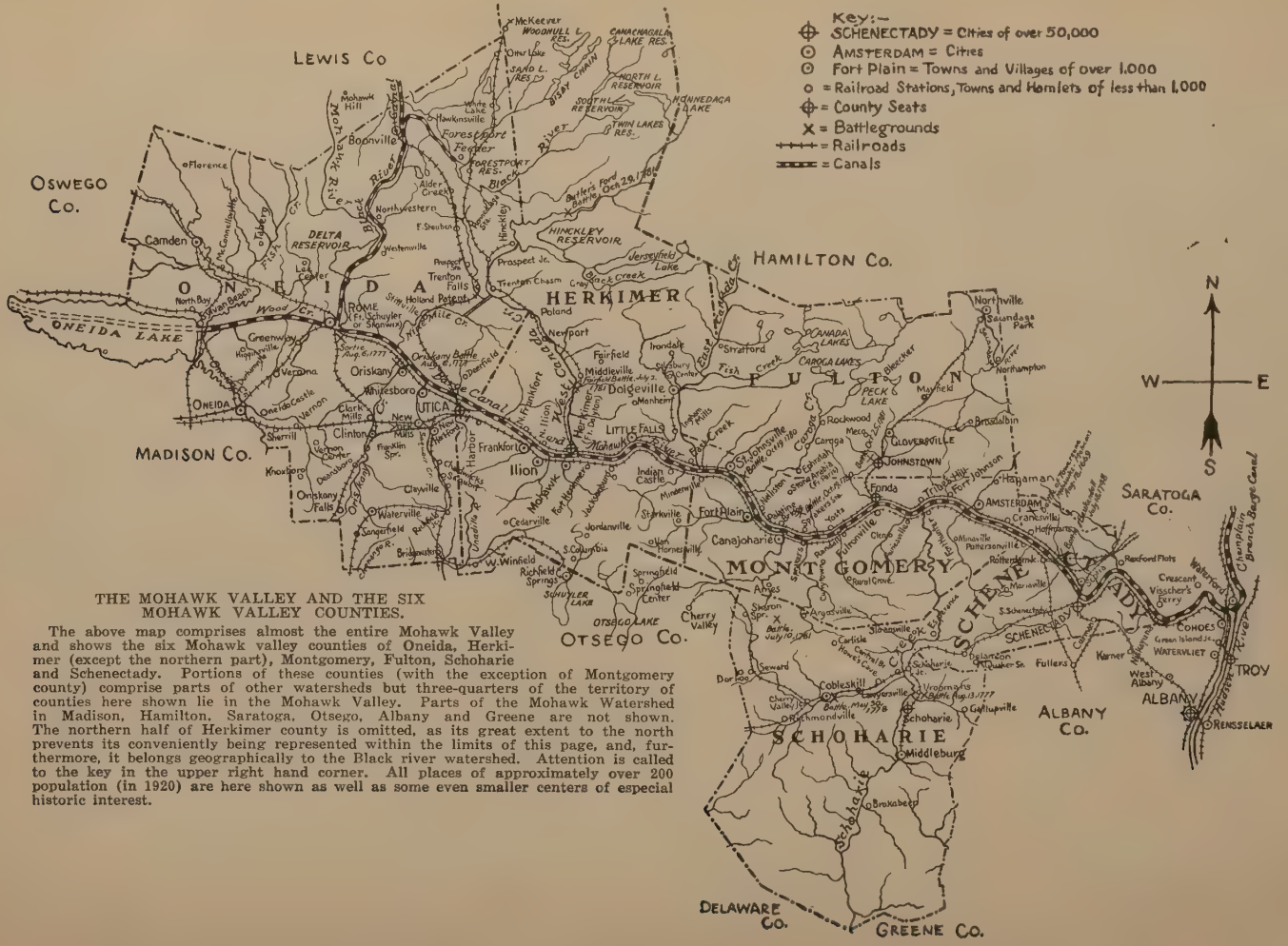
important a personage to risk his skin at the battle front. The talk of some supposedly good people, even two decades after the Civil war was often as astonishing as the War's historians were obscure and uninteresting. The writer once heard a very respectable old lady say that the Civil war was fought by toughs and farmers' boys. If that were so, then there must be more saving grace in having been a tough or a farmer's boy of Civil war days than to be this Mrs. Respectability. As a matter of fact, the ever-conflicting forces of history are those of God and Mammon, and it doesn't always pay in hard cash to be on the Lord's side.

* * *

There is a very peculiar matter in which historical injustice has been done in the past, to the State of New York—an injustice which promises to live on for many years to come. That wrong is the effort constantly being made to put the settlement of New York at the year 1623 in spite of the fact that the Dutch traders had been on Manhattan Island continuously since 1613, and on the site of Albany since 1614. As Albany is the mother of the first Dutch settlements, in the Mohawk Valley, we are closely concerned in this matter.

As a matter of fact, New York City and Albany are the two oldest cities in the thirteen original states, inasmuch as Jamestown was burned and abandoned, and the Pilgrims did not land in New England until 1620. There's the rub—that a Dutchman put his foot on American soil before any Pilgrim got ashore on the bleak coast of New England. So the New England historians find a way out of it by saying that a colony is not a colony until it has cows and chickens in it. So, inasmuch as there were then no cows, pigs or chickens in New Netherland, at least not in quantities, and inasmuch as there is no record of their having been brought over until 1623, in the ship, New Netherland, therefore New Netherland, or New York, was not settled until 1623. New England, therefore, was the second colony on the Atlantic coast of the thirteen original American States, according to this crooked reasoning.

As a matter of fact, there have been traders and soldiers at present New York and Albany from 1614 until the present day. It is ridiculous to say that there were no women in these posts during a period of nine years. And, if valiant, strong and hardy fur traders and soldiers are not settlers, then what are settlers? When Joris sailed up the Hudson with his colonists, in 1623, he dropped them off at the fortified posts of Manhattan, Rondout or Esopus (Kingston) and at the new Fort Nassau on the Normanskill, at all of which places there had been Holland Dutch traders and soldiers since 1614.



THE MOHAWK VALLEY AND THE SIX MOHAWK VALLEY COUNTIES.

The above map comprises almost the entire Mohawk Valley and shows the six Mohawk valley counties of Oneida, Herkimer (except the northern part), Montgomery, Fulton, Schoharie and Schenectady. Portions of these counties (with the exception of Montgomery county) comprise parts of other watersheds but three-quarters of the territory of counties here shown lie in the Mohawk Valley. Parts of the Mohawk Watershed in Madison, Hamilton, Saratoga, Otsego, Albany and Greene are not shown. The northern half of Herkimer county is omitted, as its great extent to the north prevents its conveniently being represented within the limits of this page, and, furthermore, it belongs geographically to the Black river watershed. Attention is called to the key in the upper right hand corner. All places of approximately over 200 population (in 1920) are here shown as well as some even smaller centers of especial historic interest.

There are New Yorkers who support this foolishness and we who attended a celebration of our settlement in 1914, are now asked to give support to another in 1924—and when will the historical quibblers again ask us to celebrate another anniversary of New York's settlement?

In the study of our annals, it is the beginnings of things that are of the utmost importance, and the fact that the population of New York colony or province was smaller, in Colonial days, than that of some others, has nothing whatever to do with the influence of our State and Valley on the course of human events in America. The important fact was that our people here in New York were located on the busiest highway of history where things seemed to happen every minute. That, and the ability of the people of New York to direct the course of events on this road of destiny—these facts, and not Colonial populations or Colonial power, are the factors that made our State and Valley great and powerful. Many of the populous Colonies of those olden times are sitting quietly in the unfrequented byways of today's commerce, while New York is ever in the toil and press of modern life, because her people dwell along the Main Street of America.

However, New York will never receive its due historical publicity until the people themselves read, study, and give voice to the State's high position with regard to the epoch-making events in which our State bore such a prominent part. The foregoing paragraphs are pertinent to our story because, while the Mohawk Valley is known and loved by many, its wondrous and romantic past is terra incognita to all except a few diligent historical students. To throw further light on the Mohawk's history, let us now briefly consider our Valley, in its broad and general relation to the history of this land of Uncle Sam.

* * *

The Mohawk River Valley is one of the oldest land regions on the face of the earth, as it is the southern boundary of the greater Adirondack country which upheaved its rocky bulk above the primeval sea, following the elevation of the Canadian Laurentian Hills. The sculpturing of these Valley rocks, through the long ages before the coming of man, forms one of the most enthralling parts of the History of the Mohawk. If this age-long moulding of the land and the ancient titanic upheavals, subsidences and contortions of these rocks—all to make the valley in which we live —are not matters of human interest and concern to the reader, then he need give himself no further trouble concerning the history of the Mohawk Valley.

In Preglacial times, an Adirondack ridge, known today as Fall Hill, cut across the Valley at Little Falls. The Mohawk, as a tributary of the Hudson, drained all the Valley eastward from this ancient divide, and the East Canada creek was its headwater stream. Westward from the Fall Hill Ridge ran a stream which the geologists of today call Rome River. It drained all the upper Valley, as its streams then flowed westward into the basin now occupied by Lake Ontario.

The Noses were then a ridge running across the Valley and forming what is now called the Lower Uplift of the Mohawk, just as Fall Hill is known today to geologists as the Upper Uplift. Nose Ridge then formed a barrier which held back the waters of the upper section of the present lower Mohawk Valley, thus forming a lake whose waters fell over the rocky wall of the Noses into the channel of the eastward flowing river.

During the recession of the great Glacier, the ice melted in the Mohawk Valley and its contiguous territory, while it still blocked the outlet of the St. Lawrence River. The waters of the Great Lakes basin of that day then found an outlet through the Upper Valley of the Mohawk, pouring in a great cataract over the Fall Hill Ridge at Little Falls. This vast rush of waters, in turn, flowed through the lower river's lake, and over the Noses in another mighty falls, which then found its outlet through the lower Mohawk channel to the Hudson and the sea.

Thus did the great Glacier and the mighty Postglacial Mohawk make a gateway of history and commerce here, as well as one of the earth's most beautiful and fertile regions.

The Mohawk River of today rises at Mohawk Hill, about two miles west of the little village of Leyden in southern Lewis County, on what is known geologically as the Tug Hill plateau. It flows about twenty miles airline south to Rome, where it makes a right angle turn and runs 117 miles eastward to its junction with the Hudson at Cohoes. The entire course is about 137 miles in length, regardless of the windings of its channel, which are greater in its upper course. In all our consideration of Mohawk Valley History, it must be remembered that the Mohawk and its watershed are part of the greater Hudson River and its basin. And this is a fact to be well proud of, because the Hudson Valley truly may be considered the most important seat of mankind on the face of the globe, embracing, as it does, the World's greatest city and the Nation's mightiest trunk line of transportation. This greatest of World trade routes comprises the New York Central Railroad, the Hudson and Mohawk rivers and the New York-

Buffalo Highway, which includes the Albany Post Road (east Hudson shore), the Storm King Highway (west Hudson shore), the Old Mohawk Turnpike (Schenectady to Utica) and the Seneca Road (Utica to Buffalo).

Although it is relatively a comparatively small section of the United States, historically and commercially, the Mohawk Valley is one of the most important sections of our country. Aside from its geography, the two elements which combined to create the great State of New York were the Mohawks and their Iroquois brothers of the Five Nations (who held the Iroquois trail), and the occupation of the Hudson Valley by the Dutch.

This was the fateful time which decided the destiny of America—whether it should be forever French or English in sovereignty—whether the Continent of North America was to be held by one or the other of what were then the two strongest powers of the World—whether the Earth was to be eventually dominated by English or French speaking peoples. Whichever power won the strategic key of North America would win the continent and that keystone of Continental supremacy was the Lake Ontario-St. Lawrence, Lake Champlain, Mohawk-Oneida Lake-Oswego River triangle. This triangle held the key to the future great empire of America. In its future aspect, the Mohawk-Oswego side of this triangle held the most important position. And it was this strategic line which was held and defended by the Mohawk tribe who, from the first, were allies of the Dutch—two facts in brief which made the history of the United States.

It was the Hollanders of Fort Orange (present Albany) and the neighboring Mohawks who held this vital spot, which controlled the future geography and the nationality of this powerful commonwealth, more than any other factor and more than all other factors combined. Thus is the Mohawk Valley one of the decisive factors of American history and thus also is its relation to Albany of the very closest character. The Mohawk Valley made Albany great and, from this parent city, came the Holland Dutch pioneers who located the first white settlement in the Mohawk Valley, at Schenectady, in 1662.

Conventional teaching makes the Revolutionary period the plastic time of America's history when the hand of fate shaped the character of our great country. But a study of the trend of popular feeling in Revolutionary times shows us that American independence would surely have eventuated, in time, with the tremendous growth of the United States. All the later great American reforms would have also been consummated, in due time.

THE HUDSON VALLEY.

Showing also the rivers of northeastern New Jersey, which empty into the mouth of the Hudson, and towns of over 50,000 on these streams. The mountains bordering the Hudson valley are also indicated. Only New York State towns, having city charters, lying in the Hudson valley are here shown. The Mohawk valley, of course, forms part of the Hudson valley, the Mohawk being the chief tributary of the Hudson.

Given originally British supremacy in North America, our Yankee nation would have eventually come into its own. But with a French empire in America, American history for the last two centuries would have ben ean entirely different matter. New France had the skilled generals who understood the possibilities of Indian warfare, who had a definite American policy and a geographical sense which thought of French American empire on a boundless scale. Even with small numbers of colonists and soldiers these clever Frenchmen were so thoroughly united in their aims that their fighting power nearly always equaled and sometimes exceeded that of the more populous English-American colonies. These colonies were not united and did not want to be united. They suffered from the human failings of petty vanity and jealousy in their worst forms.

New France realized that the strategic points in all America were the Hudson and Mohawk Valleys. What then prevented them from marching on Albany, taking that important post (the Key City of the Colonies), then sailing down the Hudson to New York, winning that Dutch town and then gradually gathering in the remainder of the disunited Colonies? One reason was the dense wilderness that lay between Montreal and Albany; but a far greater reason was that the Mohawk warriors were friends of the Dutch and of their English successors.

The fierce Mohawks were constantly arrayed against the French and their Indian allies in warfare of the bloodiest and most hideous kind and the commanders of New France could never succeed in passing effectively this line of blood and flame. On this fighting line, the Mohawks and other Iroquois constantly struggled with the powerful northern foe, while, behind the lines, the weak province of New Netherland and its successor, the English Colony of New York, grew strong and able to enter the fray. New France somewhat subdued the Iroquois about the time that England and her New York Colony entered the lists and started the seventy years of terrible conflict in America that ended in the dominance of England and her Colonies over the greater part of North America. In this two-thirds of a century of bloody border warfare, the Americans learned union and the art of fighting, two qualities without which American independence would not have won its later battle. Perhaps, more than all, the French and Indian wars developed American military leaders, of which Washington is a sufficient example. Let us not forget that in this long struggle probably the majority of the fighting forces of the Colonies consisted of the Colonial American Militia.

But, before the American Colonies had eventually mustered all their great strength, the Mohawks did all the fighting against New France—a continuous warfare which prevented her from gobbling up the English colonies, one by one when they were in their weakest stages of early development.

The Seventeenth Century was the period of jockeying for strategic positions before the great battle of the Eighteenth Century between English and French and between the English and their American colonists. The English received the positions of advantage in the Seventeenth Century and it was the Mohawk nation which, for over a century, held the advanced posts until the English came forward in force and won a continent.

It is sometimes a seemingly trivial event which decides the fate of nations. When Champlain, in 1609, fired the shot from his blunderbuss against the Mohawks, he unwittingly made world history for two centuries to come. In the game for the mastery of America, the Mohawks held the decisive position and from then on it was only a question of time until the English-speaking race would be the lords of the continent.

The Dutch had a large part in this event, in that the Hollanders of Fort Orange and the Mohawks always kept the chain of Friendship bright—even after Fort Orange became Albany. Fort Orange and later Albany always seemed to have better leaders to counsel with the Indians than did the Dutch of New Amsterdam and the English of New York City. Col. Peter Schuyler of Albany and Arent Van Curler of Rensselaerwyck and later Schenectady, held the absolute confidence of the Mohawks and, to a lesser extent, of the Iroquois. Sir William Johnson inherited the good will of the Mohawks, handed on to him by these two great Americans of Dutch blood. Johnson realized the strategic position of the Mohawk Valley and the fighting value of its warrior tribe as only a keen Irishman could. He was one of the greatest Americans of Colonial days and a nation-maker, born and bred. From the first gun of the great French and Indian war this leading citizen and soldier of the Mohawk Valley was a tower of strength to the British army, and he fittingly bore a prominent part in the final expedition under General Amherst, which went through the Mohawk Valley to Oswego, and thence to the conquest of Montreal and New France.

It is a strange fact that one of the friends of Johnson and a British Colonial army officer, should have become the Mohawk Valley Revolutionary leader who later delivered the decisive and

winning stroke for the cause of American liberty in the conflict with Britain.

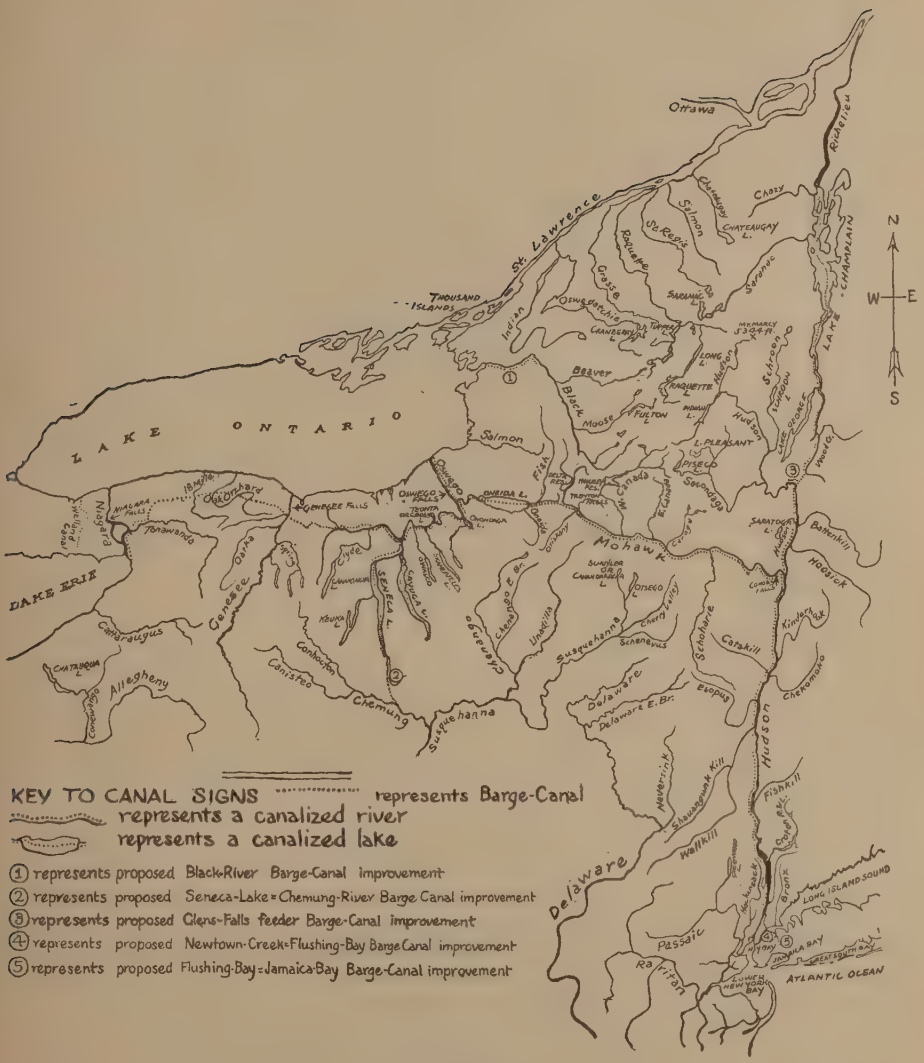
Nicholas Herkimer was a close friend of Sir William Johnson, as well as of Johnson's Mohawk Indian protege, Joseph Brant. The companionship of these three men before the Revolution, and the parts two of them played during that conflict is one of the strangest anomalies of American history.

Herkimer became general of the brigade of Tryon County militia. At Oriskany, he checkmated the entire military game then being played by the British General Burgoyne in his invasion of the Hudson Valley and his breaking apart of the American Colonial defense. Herkimer's army inflicted such a vital blow upon St. Leger's reinforcing army that it eventually ran away from before Fort Stanwix. Without St. Leger's reinforcements, Burgoyne was defeated, and eventual American independence was assured. The Battle of Oriskany (August 6, 1777) was fought by American farmer-soldiers of the Mohawk Valley on the shores of the Mohawk River, and so, once more, the Valley becomes the scene of world-making events.

History enables us to proudly affirm that New York was the battle ground of America, in every one of her wars, during the 236 years from the settlement of Jamestown to the beginning of the Mexican war in 1846—the Colonial wars of a century, the Revolutionary war and the War of 1812. New York's soldiers have ever been in the van of the Nation's conflicts, from the fields of Oriskany and Saratoga to the No Man's Land of the Hindenburg line. In the War for American Independence, New York furnished more than her share to make her blood-red stripe in Old Glory.

In the political life of the nation, our Valley and State have exerted a powerful influence. Five presidents have gone from New York State to become the chief magistrate of the United States of America—Van Buren, Fillmore, Arthur, Cleveland and Roosevelt. A state which has been thus represented has naturally had a powerful influence in American political history. Arthur and Cleveland were boyhood residents of the Mohawk Valley.

While the Mohawk Valley has never had the distinction of giving a president to the United States, it has furnished the nation with a Vice-President, Hon. James S. Sherman of Utica, who held the office from 1908 to 1912. One of New York's foremost statesmen of all time was Hon. Horatio Seymour of Utica, who was twice governor of New York (1853-5, 1863-5) and unsuccessful presidential candidate against Grant in 1868. Hon. Elihu Root



KEY TO CANAL SIGNS ..... represents Barge-Canal
——— represents a canalized river
represents a canalized lake

(1) represents proposed Black-River Barge-Canal improvement
(2) represents proposed Seneca-Lake-Chemung-River Barge Canal improvement
(3) represents proposed Glens-Falls feeder Barge-Canal improvement
(4) represents proposed Newtown-Creek-Flushing-Bay Barge Canal improvement
(5) represents proposed Flushing-Bay-Jamaica-Bay Barge-Canal improvement

is a native Mohawk Valley statesman who has written his name large upon American and World politics, as another Valley man, Owen D. Young, has done in later years.

Besides Seymour, the Mohawk Valley furnished three other Governors of the State. The first was Joseph C. Yates, a prominent citizen of Schenectady, who was Governor from 1823-5. He was a founder of Union College at Schenectady in 1795, and first Mayor of the city of Schenectady in 1798. Yates County is named for him.

Enos T. Throop was born in Johnstown and was governor of New York State from 1830 to 1832. He was instrumental in abolishing imprisonment for debt, and in making murder in the first degree the only crime punishable by death. In this, New York was first among the States, as in many other legal reforms. Throop was a resident of Auburn when elected Governor.

William C. Bouck was a native and resident of Schoharie when elected Governor in 1842. He was a colonel of the State militia and prominent in Canal work and administration.

Seymour and Throop were among the best governors New York ever had, and Yates and Bouck were men of prominence in their day.

* * *

The Colonial and Revolutionary warfare in the Mohawk Valley brings into strong relief the spirit and valor of its men and women during those trying days. The Valley's political leaders brought it fame. The later triumphs of transportation, commerce and industry add renown to our homeland. The inventive spirit of our Valley Americans has produced many a great help to mankind—all of which will find mention in the chapters devoted to these subjects.

But, besides the martial and material aspects of the Mohawk Valley, it has other inherent qualities of an even finer nature, for it gave the world a great spiritual force and two women to champion it. Whatever the reader's opinion on the subject of women's suffrage, there is no denying that its first sponsor in America was a high-minded woman of great talents. Elizabeth Cady, born in Johnstown in 1815, was one of the two champions of suffrage who led their followers on to a world victory. Susan B. Anthony was not a native of the Mohawk Valley, but she formed her code of principles with regard to women's suffrage and the abolition of slavery while a teacher in the Canajoharie Academy and, from there, went out into the world, shoulder to shoulder with Elizabeth Cady Stanton, to fight the great fight of women's equal

political and legal rights. The time is too soon to appraise the valor of these women, but the writer believes that Johnstown and Canajoharie, in days to come, will be places of pilgrimage for the men and women of the world who appreciate the undaunted courage of these victors in a great fight for a great cause.

The message of liberty was first sent out into the world from the Mohawk Valley. It has met with a response from womankind the world over. The Battle of Oriskany, fought here in the Valley, won freedom for all mankind, while a Mohawk Valley woman, Elizabeth Cady, led her sex in a political battle the eventual success of which meant freedom for all mankind—including women.

Separate chapters will elaborate all the foregoing matters of historical importance, as reference to the Table of Contents will readily show. Chapters will cover the highly important subject of transportation in the Valley. Here the New York Central, America's greatest railroad, had its earliest development as a steam railroad. The Mohawk and Hudson, running from Albany to Schenectady, was the Central's first steam link, while the building of the Utica and Schenectady Railroad in 1836 and the Utica and Syracuse Railroad in 1839, completed the present Mohawk Division of the New York Central Railroad. The Central is a twentieth century marvel in transportation, with a daily traffic of thousands of passengers and of thousands of tons of freight. It is the artery between the dairy sections of the Mohawk Valley, Northern and Western New York and New York City's giant milk can which it keeps always brimming full. The Central is, assuredly, one of the chief factors in the milk problem of the Metropolitan district. Through the New York Central, the Mohawk Valley can obtain an unusual degree of publicity, which can be truly reciprocal, inasmuch as the Mohawk Division is one of the New York Central's best industrial and shipping districts.

The Mohawk Valley has been a pioneer in waterway development as well as railroad development. While the Erie Canal (constructed 1817-1825) was not America's first canal, yet it was our first great national waterway that solved the problem of water transportation on a large scale. We owe the great early development of New York State and city and our own Mohawk Valley to the New York Central Railroad and the Erie Canal, while, in turn, it was the Valley's low pass through the mountains which gave both river and canal so advantageous a route. The Barge Canal development of the Mohawk River, between 1905 and 1918, has given a further impetus to the development of

transportation facilities in New York State and the Mohawk Valley. Again it is Tenonanatche, "the River Flowing through the Mountains," otherwise the mighty Mohawk, which made possible this greatest waterway in the United States as a public carrier.

The Valley's smiling farmlands are mainly given to dairying, as the tourist, over railroad or highway can plainly see by the herds of black and white Holstein-Frisian cattle spotted against the luxuriant green of the Valley landscape. Besides dairy products, this famous farming region raises hay, oats, barley, buckwheat and corn, together with much fruit. There is also considerable bee culture here. In the Adirondack region of the northern Valley, there are important lumbering interests, while reforestation commands the attention of the lumbermen, the general public, and especially the Valley towns whose water supplies need a reforestation of their reservoir watersheds.

Power development through hydro-electric sources is another matter of deep public concern. Probably every source of hydro-electric power in the United States will be utilized during the next quarter of a century. The Mohawk Valley has already harnessed much of its potential waterpower, and it takes on great importance as the route of one of the great eastern trunk lines of electric power, which later probably will be coördinated in one vast national power system, just as our railways, waterways and highways will all eventually be systematized, regionally and nationally.

Coming down to the present-day world, our Mohawk Valley men and women have worked out the later great problems of modern life in truly American fashion. In common with the rest of America, we have had to deal with the industrial, agricultural, transportation, commercial, power, fuel, recreational, educational, political and social problems of the present day. However we may eventually regulate all these matters, we may be sure that they will be adjusted along American lines and not according to any new school of Slavonic politics—for Americans we are here in the Valley and Americans we will remain. Wrongs will not be tolerated but we will right our wrongs, as always, in true American fashion.

The contributions of the Mohawk Valley to America's list of great inventions is a most notable one, which will be dealt with in a later chapter devoted to that subject. Besides the thresher and the airbrake, one of the most notable inventions perfected here in the Mohawk Valley, is the very machine on which the author is typing these words—the typewriter—first perfected for general

FALLS OF THE TEQUETSERA
AT OLD PAINT POT SPRING,
JOHNSON'S STATION (Trolley Line)
WEST OF SCHENECTADY

YANTAPUCHABERG, 1160 FEET ABOVE MOHAWK

One of the highest Mohawk river mountains from Schenectady to Rome, with 1400 feet sea elevation. Pronunciation is Yantapooshaberg (Holland Dutch for John-ear-of-corn-mountain). Seen from Central Railroad and Turnpike. New York Central freight bridge in left hand distance and Pattersonville opposite. Photo taken from Kinquariones by C. M. Vander Veer, Amsterdam.

sale and commercial purposes in the Mohawk Valley, at the Remington works in Ilion in 1873, from models made by Christopher Latham Sholes of Milwaukee. This epoch-making device was, by no means, invented in the Mohawk Valley but it doubtless owes its early perfection and commercial adoption to the inventive and mechanical skill then at the command of the Remingtons and for which their establishment was famous.

Space will not here permit the description of the great industrial development of the Valley. It suffices to say that Mr. Roger Babson, the business statistician, has prophesied (at Utica in 1922) that the Mohawk Valley will eventually become America's most important manufacturing region. Its industrial output is rapidly increasing and, at present, includes great manufacturing plants which produce electrical supplies and machinery, white goods, knit goods and other textiles, carpets and rugs, clothing, gloves, furniture, food packing, metal and brass work, locomotives, typewriters, cash registers, rifles and pistols, mill machinery, etc. A full and complete description of our Valley industries would require a volume much larger than this one.

The varying beauty of the Valley of the Mohawk is a subject of enthusiastic comment on the part of the tourist and is a matter of pride to the resident Mohawk Valley man or woman. But few similar areas in the United States afford such a great variety of scenic beauty as the Valley of the Mohawk.

From the evergreen-crowned mountains and the beautiful lakes and streams of our Valley's northern or Adirondack section down through the farms scattered over the northern slopes to the Mohawk River and its fertile flats, thence southward over the rolling uplands of the southern plateau to the Catskill spurs, which form the southern divide—all this charm of mountain and lake, forest, stream and farm, river and uplands—all is encompassed within the limits of our historic Valley.

The history of the Mohawk Valley begins with its first rock formations and the record of these constitutes a most facinating portion of our story. Following the chapter devoted to the making of the Valley in which we live, are the portions devoted to the early history and description of the Mohawk Indians and their towns, succeeded by the coming of the white settler, which ushers in the chronological record of our ancestors. The story will unfold through Colonial and Revolutionary Chapters to the present time, forming a record of which every Valley resident may be justly proud.

NELSON GREENE.

Fort Plain, October 22, 1924.

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1779. CLINTON'S OVERLAND PORTAGE MARCH FROM THE MOHAWK TO OTSEGO LAKE.

By John Fea, Amsterdam.

THE SULLIVAN AND CLINTON EXPEDITION OF 1779 AGAINST THE SIX NATIONS—GENERAL JOHN CLINTON'S ARMY MARCHES UP THE MOHAWK VALLEY FROM SCHENECTADY TO CANAJOHARIE; SUPPLIES AND ORDNANCE COMING UP THE MOHAWK IN BATTEAUX—PORTAGE MARCH, CARRYING OVER 200 BATTEAUX ON WAGONS, TWENTY MILES FROM CANAJOHARIE TO OTSEGO LAKE—THIRD, FOURTH AND FIFTH NEW YORK LINE, FOURTH PENNSYLVANIA LINE, SIXTH MASSACHUSETTS LINE REGIMENTS, WITH ARTILLERY, BATTALION OF MORGAN'S RIFLEMEN, TRYON COUNTY AND SCHENECTADY MILITIA, WAGONERS AND BATTEAUX MEN FORM CLINTON'S PORTAGE ARMY—FIFTH NEW YORK STATIONED AT FORT PLAIN; FOURTH PENNSYLVANIA AT MIDDLE SCHOHARIE FORT; SIXTH MASSACHUSETTS AT FORT ALDEN, CHERRY VALLEY—CLINTON'S ADVANCE PARTY LEAVES SCHENECTADY, FOR CANAJOHARIE, JUNE 11, 1779, WHERE CLINTON CAMPS WITH THIRD NEW YORK AND FOURTH PENNSYLVANIA—TWO TORY SPIES CAPTURED AND HUNG THERE—PORTAGE MARCH BEGINS JUNE 18, 1779—FIFTH NEW YORK, FORMING RIGHT WING, GOES OVER OTSQUAGO TRAIL—THIRD NEW YORK AND FOURTH PENNSYLVANIA, FORMING CENTER, GUARD SUPPLY AND BATTEAUX WAGONS OVER PORTAGE ROAD—FOURTH NEW YORK, FORMING LEFT WING, MOVES OVER CHERRY VALLEY ROAD—CAMPS ON THE MARCH—GENERAL CLINTON REACHES OTSEGO, JULY 2—CLINTON'S AMERICAN ARMY CELEBRATES THIRD INDEPENDENCE DAY ANNIVERSARY AT PRESENT COOPERSTOWN, ON OTSEGO LAKE, JULY 4, 1779—DAM BUILT AT OTSEGO LAKE OUTLET—AUGUST 9, 1779, CLINTON'S ARMY, WITH 200 BATTEAUX, MOVES DOWN THE SUSQUEHANNA—AUGUST 22, CLINTON JOINS SULLIVAN—AUGUST 29, BATTLE OF ELMIRA WON BY AMERICANS OVER INDIANS AND TORIES—IROQUOIS COUNTRY RAVAGED—MOHAWKS REMOVED FROM THEIR CANAJOHARIE AND ICONDEROGA CASTLES TO ALBANY—CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY OF CLINTON'S MARCH, ONE OF THE GREATEST FEATS OF ARMS DURING THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR---------- 922

History of the Mohawk Valley

CHAPTER 1.

THE GEOLOGY OF THE MOHAWK VALLEY.

THE MOHAWK VALLEY PHYSIOGRAPHIC PROVINCE AND ITS GEOGRAPHICAL IMPORTANCE—THE ADIRONDACK AND CATSKILL REGIONS OF THE MOHAWK VALLEY—LITTLE FALLS GORGE, "THE GATEWAY TO THE WEST"—ITS MIGHTY POTHOLES—LITTLE FALLS "DIAMONDS"—THE DEVONIC FOSSIL TREES OF SCHORAHIE COUNTY, THE WORLD'S OLDEST FOREST—THE EASTWARD AND THE WESTWARD FLOWING PREGLACIAL MOHAWKS—GLACIAL AND POSTGLACIAL PERIODS—THE MIGHTY "IROMOHAWK", WHICH MADE THE MOHAWK VALLEY OF TODAY.

To perpetrate an Irish bull, "Where would we be without the ground we stand on"?

If the reader considers that the story of the rocks of the Mohawk Valley has no bearing upon its history and his own life, and if it is without interest to him, then he had best skip this chapter. However, anyone who remains ignorant of the making of our river, its hills and vales, misses one of the most interesting parts of the story of the Valley in which we live.

In truth, the briefest description of the making of the topography and geology of the Mohawk Valley, requires considerable space, for this story goes back to the very beginnings of things—through the long ages of geological time. We should be proud of this fact, however, because it shows that the Mohawk Valley is an "old timer", and that its rocks have existed through a great part of the geological history which is known to us today.

The geology of the Mohawk Valley is most important in its relation to that of the State of New York, and its history, and also to the making of this national transportation route, which would be impossible without our "Gateway to the West".

LITTLE FALLS GORGE—GATEWAY TO THE WEST.

We know that this important Gateway exists today, and this Valley geology is merely the answer to the question, "How was this great Gateway to the West created"?

Let us take our stand on the summit ledge of the "burnt rocks" in the famous Gorge below Little Falls, and look about us at the

rugged scenery. At the lowest level is the dark river flowing in a channel cut in the igneous rock on which the world is built.

The most characteristic and impressive part of the Gorge is this eastern section below the lower dam and falls of the River, the recess in the rock on the north shore, known as the Gulf, and eastward for a mile. This section embraces the site of the ancient cataract and its deep pothole, rugged Moss Island, with its wonderful potholes, which also are easily seen on the north shore near the Turnpike.

The cliffs of syenite are locally known as the "Burnt Rocks," and the bottom of the Gorge, as the "bed rock", although both are of the same syenite, which is a massive plutonic rock resembling granite, except that it contains little or no quartz. Plutonic rocks are those cooled and solidified from molten materials at considerable depths below the surface of the earth and subsequently uncovered by erosion.

Above the syenite rocks of the Gorge, rise steep ascending cliffs of Little Falls dolomite, but, except in the Rollaway cliff to the north, this dolomitic limestone is generally covered with soil, trees and other vegetation. Above this the extreme summits are of limestone and shales of the Trenton period, and of the Lorraine formation.

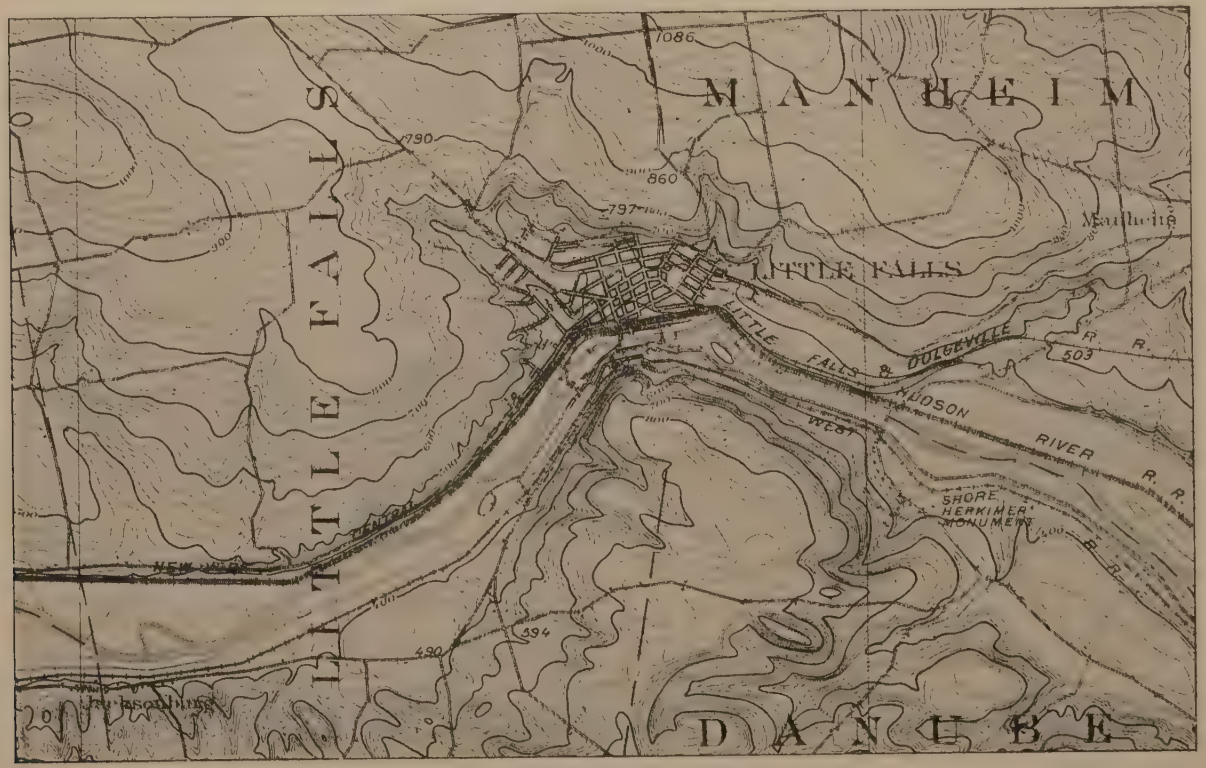
Down below us in the Gorge, the great barges of commerce are coming back and forth from the Big Lock, while, on a shelf near the base of the Burnt Rocks, the New York Central trains thunder by continuously. Close to the river, a constant stream of automobiles rushes east and west over the Mohawk Turnpike. To the west, are the chimneys of the teeming industrial town of Little Falls. To the east we visualize as fair a stretch of farmland and river-shore as the eye can see anywhere in this country. It, indeed, is a picturesque panorama on all sides.

But where we stand there are nothing but rocks, rocks below us, rocks to the right and rocks to the left—not broken masses but a solid mountain of stone, cut through by a great Gorge, with sides and floor consisting of rock materials many millions of years old.

How came this Gorge of the Mohawk, this Gateway of the West? What mighty forces carved so great a channel through this mountain of stone? Surely its making forms a story of absorbing interest, because it truly embodies the creation of the Valley of the Mohawk as we know it today.

* * *

The geological importance of the Mohawk Valley is shown by the fact that it forms one of the ten physiographic provinces or



THE LITTLE FALLS GORGE

Topographic map showing the deep, narrow gorge of the Mohawk River at Little Falls. The walls of the gorge rise fully 50 feet above the river which is less than 400 feet above sea level. The gorge is postglacial in origin and before the great ice age it was replaced by an important divide with one stream (Mohawk River) flowing eastward and another stream (Rome River) flowing westward. Part of Little Falls (U. S. G. S.) quadrangle. Scale, about 1 mile to the inch

districts into which the State is now divided, as follows: Mohawk Valley, Adirondack Mountains, Tug Hill Plateau, Erie-Ontario Plain, Southwestern Plateau, Catskill Mountains, Hudson Valley, Champlain Valley, St. Lawrence Valley and Long Island.

The Mohawk Valley is bounded on the north by the Adirondack Mountains, which form nearly one-quarter of the Valley's surface; on the northwest, by the Tug Hill Plateau, in which the Mohawk River has its source; on the west by the Erie-Ontario Plain, which reaches to the eastern end of Oneida Lake; on the south by the Southwestern Plateau and the Catskill Mountains, which form the greater part of Schoharie County; and on the east by the Hudson Valley.

The later periods of geologic time, particularly the Tertiary and the Quaternary, are necessarily the most interesting to dwellers in the Mohawk Valley, because, in the Tertiary, the land of our State was elevated and eroded to its present form; while, in the Quaternary, came the Great Glacier, which rounded our mountains and hills; gave us our beautiful lakes; and created, here in the Mohawk Valley, a great river which cut out the channel of the Little Falls Gorge, and the pass between the Noses. New York State and the Mohawk Valley can thank this great glacier for the rock sculpturing it did to give us the famous water level route through our Valley from Lakes to Sea.

The geological history of the Mohawk Valley is a long look into the past—into the aeons of time which the human mind is utterly unable to grasp. This is particularly so because so much of the northern half of our Valley lies within the Adirondack region which comprises rocks which are to be classed among the oldest in the world and one of the most ancient of land elevations. It is only when the reader knows the story of the Mohawk Valley in its relation to the later geological periods, the Tertiary and the Quaternary, that he feels a true realization of time and space. The 25,000 to 50,000 years which have elapsed since the melting of the great glacier, are comprehensible to us; though the millions of years of some of the main geological periods are almost meaningless, so great is the time involved.

There is much interest to Mohawk Valley people in the story of these mighty forces of nature and the sedimentation of the ages, which made the Valley of today. Here are some of the most unusual geological remains in the whole world. The greatest potholes in existence are those cut by the postglacial Mohawk River and cataract in the bed rock at Little Falls. The fossil

remains of the oldest forest in the World were discovered at Gilboa, Schoharie County, in 1869. They were "fern trees" of the Devonic period; some of which were taken up and removed to the State Museum, at Albany. The foregoing constitute but two of a number of features which give our Valley unusual geological interest.

* * *

The Geological History of the State of New York, by William J. Miller, Ph. D. of Hamilton College, was issued in 1913 as a bulletin of the New York Museum of the University of the State of New York. Dr. Miller's classifications are used in this geological chapter, and much use is made of certain of his material. This chapter is intended exclusively as a geological history of the Mohawk Valley, with some references to its adjoining provinces, where they affect that of our Valley. Dr. Miller's work is a condensed and clear book on the State's geology and can be heartily recommended to the layman. Several of the maps illustrative of this book are included in this chapter, by the kind permission of Dr. Miller. This geological work is a great credit to Dr. Miller, to the Mohawk Valley, of which he was a former resident, and to the western Valley college of Hamilton, which makes much of geological study, with particular attention to that of the Mohawk Valley.

It is only with reference to the geological and physiographic systems of New York State in their relation to the Mohawk Valley, that the following geological description of our Valley is here given.

Of all the great systems of geology, only the Permic and the Jurassic are absent from the surface rocks of New York State. The ten others are all represented: Precambric, Cambric, Ordovicic, Siluric, Devonic, Carbonic, Triassic, Cretacic, Tertiary, and Quaternary.

New York presents a most unusual revelation of the geology of America, and the surface rocks of our State form a virtual sermon in stone, as well as a textbook of geology. The names of our Valley localities have been given to a number of different rock systems, because of their typical presentations in the outcrops near the Valley towns mentioned. Eleven of the forty-two rock formations, given in Dr. Miller's geology, bear Mohawk Valley names. The Mohawk Valley has an area of 3,485 square miles out of the State's area of 50,326 square miles. Our Valley's territory is about one-fifteenth of that of the State, while the Valley furnishes over one-quarter of New York's geological strata

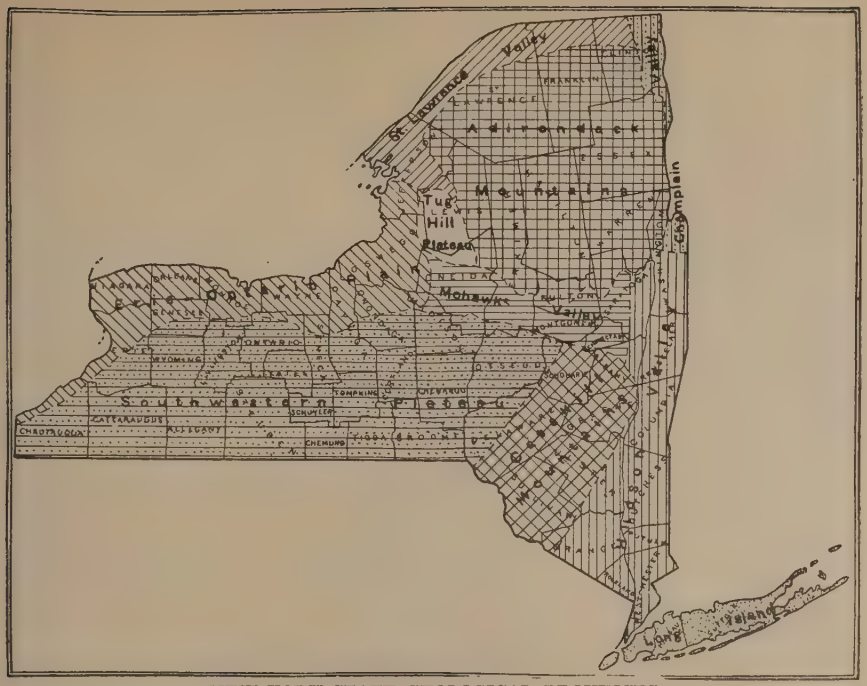
designations. This should bring home to the reader the geological importance of the Mohawk Valley in its relation to that of our State and our Nation.

The great central river belt of the Mohawk Valley is occupied by rocks of the Ordovicic period of the Paleozoic era. Precambric rocks occupy the Adirondack districts of northern Fulton, Herkimer, and Oneida counties, with outcroppings of Cambric rocks in Herkimer, Montgomery, and Fulton counties. Siluric rocks run along the southern rim of the eastern and central Mohawk watershed in a narrow belt, widening to fill the western half of Oneida County. Devonic rocks cover the extreme lower ends of Oneida and Herkimer counties, and the lower half of Schoharie County. Note the map published herewith concerning the geological rock systems of New York State. In all this description of Mohawk Valley geology, the accompanying maps should be frequently consulted to get a clear idea of our Valley's story in stone.

MOHAWK VALLEY PROVINCE.

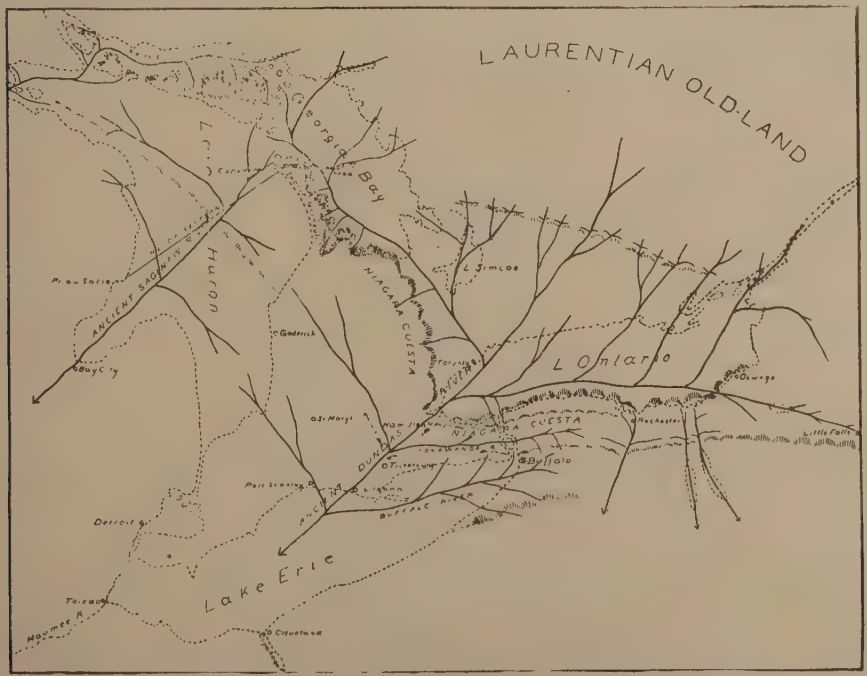
Dr. Miller says: "The Mohawk Valley province, though comparatively small, is of great importance because it so clearly separates the Adirondack highlands on the north from the highlands of the Catskills, and the southwestern plateau province on the south. In fact, it should be noted that the Mohawk Valley is by far the lowest passageway across the mountains between the St. Lawrence River and the southern end of the Appalachian range. The low pass is one of the great eastern 'gateways' which, with the St. Lawrence, have afforded the easiest means of communication between the Atlantic seaboard and the Great Lakes."

The comparatively narrow inner valley through which the river now flows, is often erroneously called the Mohawk Valley, but in reality the wide depression, from 15 to 50 miles wide and from 1,000 to 2,000 feet deep, between the northern and southern highlands of the State, should be called the Mohawk Valley. "At Little Falls, the inner valley narrows to a gorge several hundred feet deep, where the river has cut its way through a preglacial divide. Had it not been for the recent cutting of this gorge through the barrier at Little Falls, the Mohawk Valley would never have been so important as a great gateway between the Atlantic coast and the West. Today the four tracks of the New York Central Railroad, two tracks of the West Shore Railroad, Barge Canal, an important highway, many telegraph and telephone wires, and the Mohawk River all pass through this narrow gorge within a few hundred feet of the sea level.



NEW YORK STATE GEOLOGICAL PROVINCES

Showing the ten chief physiographic provinces into which the state is divided—Mohawk Valley, Hudson Valley, Long Island, Champlain, Adirondack Mountains, St. Lawrence Valley, Tug Hill Plateau, Erie-Ontario Plain, Catskill Mountains, Southwestern Plateau. From the Geological History of New York State by William J. Miller, Ph. D., reproduced by courtesy of Dr. Miller, who was professor of geology at Hamilton College, Clinton, Oneida County, at the time of the writing of this book.



Grabau's interpretation of late Tertiary drainage in the eastern Great Lakes region, the intention being to show the general kind of drainage rather than the exact location of the streams. The "Rome" River with source at Little Falls is well shown. The three south-flowing streams should, in the opinion of Dr. Miller, be represented as north-flowing, at least immediately prior to the great ice age. From the Geological History of New York State by W. J. Miller, Ph. D., reproduced by courtesy of Dr. Miller.

"Eastward and westward from Little Falls, the inner Valley is generally fairly wide and open. At Little Falls, the Mohawk River is less than 400 feet above sea level, and even at Rome, in the western part of the province, the river shows an altitude of only 420 feet.

"The principal rocks of the province are shales, sandstones and limestones of Cambric and Ordovicic ages; of these the soft, black shales of Trenton, Utica and Frankfort ages are in greatest abundance. The Valley owes its existence largely to the presence of this belt of shales lying between the hard crystalline rocks of the Adirondacks on the north and the comparatively hard limestones immediately southward. The work of erosion has made rapid progress in the belt of weak rock, and at two places, Little Falls and 'The Noses' (Yosts), the river has cut down to the Precambric (Adirondack) rock. In general, the rock formations of the province tilt slightly southwestward and show folding only on a very small scale. From Little Falls eastward, however, the strata are greatly disturbed by numerous nearly north-south faults which are often of considerable magnitude."

The northern part of the Mohawk Valley is included in the Adirondack physiographic province, and this region forms so much of the Valley's area that it demands a description along with that of the Valley itself. Outside of Schoharie County, the Mohawk Valley is generally comprised in a geological and physiographic district which might justly be called the Mohawk Valley —Adirondack Region. Schoharie County lies mainly in the Catskill Mountain area, to the south. So it is plainly to be seen that the Mohawk Valley is a break between the Catskill and Adirondack Mountain systems, and comprises both of these mountain sections within its area.

Dr. Miller describes the Adirondack Mountain physiographic province as follows:

ADIRONDACK MOUNTAIN PROVINCE.

"The Adirondack Mountain Province comprises fully one-fourth of the area of the State, and it consists of a great, nearly circular mass of metamorphic and igneous rocks of very great age, that is Prepaleozoic. This large mass of crystalline rocks is completely surrounded by the practically unaltered Cambric and Ordovicic rocks. The whole province is typically mountainous and heavily wooded, often being truly wilderness in character, with very few roads or settlements other than summer resorts.

Except along the immediate borders, the elevations range from 1,000 to over 5,000 feet. The greatest axis of elevation extends from southern Hamilton County (2,000 feet) northeasterly into Essex County, where the highest mountains are grouped around Mount Marcy, and where the mountains commonly attain altitudes of from 3,000 to 5,000 feet. In the eastern and southeastern portions there is a well defined tendency in the mountain masses to be arranged in long, nearly parallel ridges or ranges, whose general trend is north-northeast to south-southwest. This structural feature is due to numerous faults or fractures in the earth's crust. In the northern and western portions, the mountains are very irregularly arranged. Viewed as a whole, there are no high, sharp-topped peaks, which stand out prominently above the general mountain level, and the flowing or rounded outline of topography is by far the most common. The very ancient Grenville rocks occur throughout the region, and the great masses of igneous rocks have been forced through these. All these rocks have been subjected to tremendous earth pressure which has folded and completely metamorphosed them."

THE TUG HILL PLATEAU—SOURCE OF THE MOHAWK.

The Mohawk River has its source in the southern part of the Tug Hill province which bounds the Mohawk Valley throughout the northwestern part of Oneida County. Tug Hill is unique in that it is an erosion remnant of the great upraised Cretacic plateau, which formerly covered all of New York State.

ERIE-ONTARIO PLAIN

The extreme western end of the Mohawk Valley is bounded by the Erie-Ontario plains province, which extends a short distance into Oneida County. The most marked relief features of this region are the hundreds of low glacial knobs or drumlins.

SOUTHWESTERN PLATEAU.

The Southwestern Plateau is a great physiographic province which borders the Mohawk along two-thirds of the southern rim of the Mohawk Valley, on its western and central portions, while the Catskill Mountains bound the southern Valley at its eastern end in the Schoharie region.

Dr. Miller says: "The Southwestern Plateau is the largest clearly defined physiographic province, occupying nearly one-third of the area of the State. The rocks are unaltered sediments

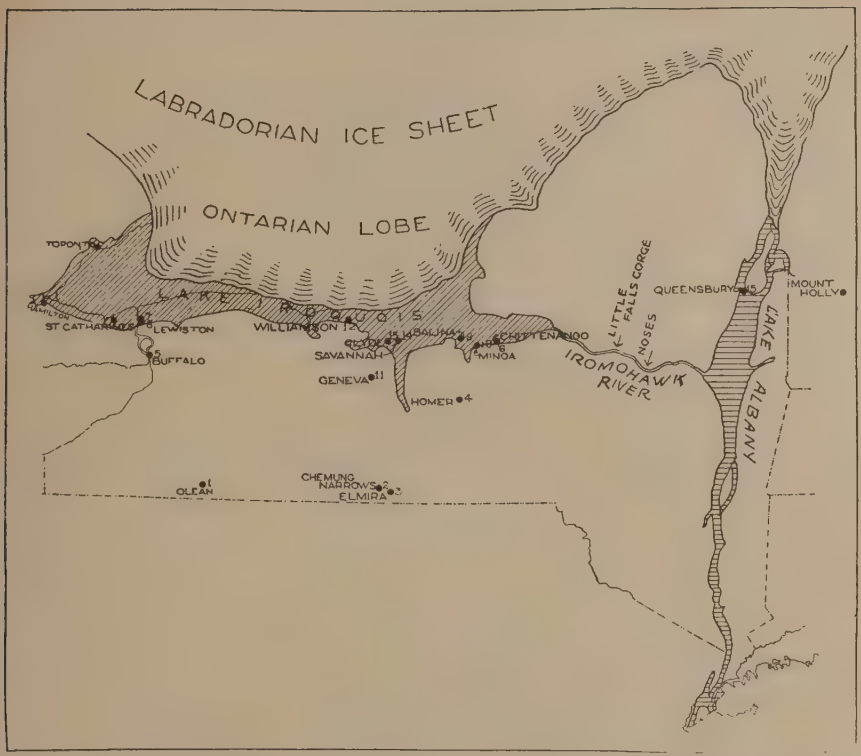
of the Devonic age which consist of shales, sandstones and conglomerates. There are a few patches of Carbonic rocks in the southwest. In marked contrast to the Adirondack province, the rock masses of this Southwestern Plateau are practically devoid of displacements, the only disturbance being a slight tilt (30 to 50 feet to a mile) of all the strata to the south or the southwest associated with a low northeast-southwest undulation. . . . Physiographically, the Plateau province is the northernmost extension of the great plateau which lies along the western base of the Appalachian Mountains. On the east, the province is bounded by the Catskill Mountains, which are in no sense sharply separated from the plateau itself. On the west and north, the province is bounded by the Erie-Ontario Plain and Mohawk Valley provinces."

HELDERBERG ESCARPMENT.

"The northern limit of the Southwestern Plateau is pretty clearly marked by what is called the 'Helderberg Escarpment' of Devonic limestone. This limestone, being of considerable thickness, and of more resistance than the neighboring formations, has generally stood out boldly against erosion, thus causing an abrupt change in relief. The Escarpment is particularly prominent along the boundary of the plateau and Mohawk Valley provinces where the hard limestone lies at an altitude of more than 1,000 feet, and directly overlies the soft shales of the Mohawk Valley whose altitude is generally only a few hundred." This Helderberg Escarpment, as it runs westward, takes on the names of Schoharie Hills, Cherry Valley Mountains, Susquehanna Hills, Unadilla Hills, etc. It sharply divides the Mohawk Valley from the Southwestern Plateau and Susquehanna Valley on the south.

A belt of soft Ordovicic shales, running east and west, lies between the hard granites of the Adirondacks and the hard limestones of the Helderberg Escarpment. The Mohawk and its tributaries eroded the Valley basin in the soft shales, between these hard rock sections to the north and south, thus creating the trough of the Mohawk Valley, which is a broad basin from ten to fifty miles wide at different points, and which averages from 1,000 to 2,000 feet in depth between its watershed heights.

The Helderberg Escarpment is peculiar in that it forms a narrow band comprising the paralleling outcroop of several rock formations. It averages but a few miles in width but extends from the eastern face of the Catskills northward to the Helderbergs, in Albany and Schoharie Counties, and thence almost due



Map indicating preponderance of mammoth (not mastodon) remains in New York State, at the period of Lakes Iroquois and Albany. It was at this time of glacial recession, when the St. Lawrence Valley was still blocked by ice, that the great Iromohawk, carrying the waters of the Great Lakes basin through the channel of the Mohawk of today, cut down the Adirondack mountain barriers at present Little Falls and the Noses, moulded the lower levels of the Valley and made its channel bed where the fertile Mohawk flats now lie. The former annual spring freshets of the present Mohawk gradually laid a level bed of silt on this old Iromohawk channel, which makes the level flats of today. The Iromohawk River of this glacial period probably rivaled the present-day Niagara River. From New York State Museum Bulletin 241-242.

west to the Niagara River, a distance of over three hundred miles. As it lies along and on the southern rim of the Mohawk Valley watershed, the rocks composing the Helderberg Escarpment lie in the following north to south order; Salina, Helderberg, Oriskany and Onondaga strata, with the Helderberg greatly predominating. The Oneida formation is also associated with the Helderberg Escarpment.

The summit of this Helderberg Escarpment generally forms the watershed rim of the southern Mohawk-Susquehanna divide, and, from these heights, the traveler frequently gets magnificent views into both valleys. This is particularly true on the road from Sharon Springs over the Escarpment (Cherry Valley mountains) into Cherry Valley village.

CATSKILL MOUNTAIN PROVINCE IN THE MOHAWK VALLEY.

The Catskill Mountain province forms part of our Valley area, and comprises the greater part of Schoharie County, in its southern section. The Schoharie, through a large part of its course, is a typical Catskill stream. This province also bounds the southern side of Schenectady County. "It is the most rugged of all the physiographic provinces of the State, and, next to the Adirondacks, contains the highest mountains. Slide Mountain (4,205 feet) is the highest, but a number of peaks rise to altitudes of from 3,500 to over 4,000 feet. The face of these mountains looking eastward toward the Hudson have frequent steep elevations (of 3,000 feet or more) which afford some of the finest views in the State. The rocks are all of Devonic age, and consist largely of sandstones and conglomerates." Most mountains are the result of the folding or faulting of the strata, but the Catskills are the direct result of erosion, a rare cause of mountain-making. The oldest fossil trees in the world were uncovered at Gilboa in this Catskill region of the Mohawk watershed.

HUDSON VALLEY PROVINCE.

The Hudson Valley province bounds the Mohawk Valley province on the east front of Schenectady and Saratoga counties (the southwestern third of Saratoga County being contained in the Mohawk Valley). The Hudson Valley province is a depression lying between the western highlands of New England (remnants of the ancient Taconic range) and the eastern highlands of New York, including the Catskills. The Hudson is a large and varied province which could easily be divided into four or five provinces and which deserves a whole chapter to itself because it is the seat

of the world's greatest city, and therefore the most important river valley in the world today. The Hudson and the Mohawk Valley provinces also deserve great consideration from the student as they contain the world's greatest highways and waterways.

* * *

MOHAWK VALLEY GEOLOGICAL NAMES.

The eleven rock formations which have Mohawk Valley place names are fully described in the next chapter. They are as follows (from the earliest to the latest formations): Little Falls (Cambric) dolomitic limestone; Trenton (Ordovicic) limestone and shale; Canajoharie (Ordovicic) black shale; Utica (Ordovicic) shale; Frankfort (Ordovicic) shale and sandstone; Oneida (Siluric) conglomerate; Clinton (Siluric) shale, sandstone, limestone and iron ore; Cobleskill (Siluric) limestone; Helderberg (Devonic) limestone; Oriskany (Devonic) sandstone; Catskill (Devonic) sandstone.

The Catskill and Helderberg rocks are included in the Mohawk Valley geological names because they cover a large part of the Schoharie Valley, which comprises over one-fourth of the area of the Valley of the Mohawk. We are therefore as much entitled to use these names as local to the Mohawk watershed as is any other section of New York State.

In our consideration of the geology of the Mohawk Valley, the rocks which precede the Cambric period are classified as Precambric, the latter probably being one of the most extensive of all the divisions of geological time. The oldest known rocks, in this period, are the Grenville metamorphosed sediments which cover many portions of the Adirondacks (including the northern Mohawk Valley) and the Highlands of the Hudson. Metamorphosed rocks are those which have been changed from their original sedimentary form by great heat, at considerable depths below the surface. They have been uncovered subsequently by uplifts, folding, erosion, etc.

THE PRECAMBRIC PERIOD.

The Grenville rocks take the form of crystalline limestone or marble; quartz forms, including rocks rich in garnet and graphite, which latter is mined from the Grenville rocks in Essex and Saratoga counties and used in the manufacture of pencil leads, crucibles, etc.

The lead in the pencil you use may contain fossil remains of

the world's oldest known life forms, provided it came from the graphite mined from the world's oldest known rocks which occur in the Adirondacks and the northern part of the Mohawk Valley. Near Little Falls, the Grenville rocks are exposed northward from a point in the East Creek Valley about six miles northeast of the city. The Grenville rocks appear in the earliest Precambric period, which is an arbitrary term implying precedence over the Paleozoic period. All sedimentary rocks are formed from sediment eroded from near by land masses, but it is a matter of conjecture as to where the land masses were located which formed the Grenville strata.

The Adirondacks form one of the few ancient existing land masses which have survived the geological changes since their birth from the sea. Following and with the Adirondack upheaval, the upper area of our present Mohawk Valley gradually arose above the ocean, and so our Valley's northern region is one of the Earth's oldest land surfaces. Igneous activity and intrusion of molten rock materials characterize later Precambric period and it was probably, in this morning of the world, that the Adirondacks were upraised together with the Highlands of the Hudson.

These ancient Adirondacks were then probably much higher than at present, as they have endured great erosion and many geological changes since those early days, but the fact that their peaks have always been above water since their birth seems positively assured. In their earliest days, the Adirondacks probably constituted a mountain mass equal to the Alps in height, and the Highlands of the Hudson also formed a lofty range.

CAMBRIC PERIOD.

In the Cambric period the Adirondacks were lowered and later raised so that much of northern New York became dry land. The New York State rocks of the Cambric period (from the bottom upward) are Georgian slate and quartzite, Acadian limestone, Potsdam sandstone and limestone and Little Falls dolomite. While the Potsdam rocks appear in the Mohawk Valley, its most interesting Cambric rock feature is the Little Falls dolomitic limestone which probably forms a belt entirely around the great Adirondack region. This dolomite also forms the upper heights of north and south Fall Hill in the Little Falls Gorge and the great rock cliff there known as the Rollaway, where it has its most evident and typical exposure and from which it takes its locality name.

TRENTON FALLS, WEST CANADA CREEK

About 20 miles northwest of Herkimer. One of the most beautiful falls and gorges in the eastern United States. Photo by courtesy of the Utica Gas & Electric Co., whose power plant here produces over 30,000 h. p.

ORDOVICIC PERIOD.

The great Ordovicic period which followed is interesting to Mohawk Valley people, as many of its rocks bear the names of Valley localities where they typically outcrop, as will be seen by the following list of the Ordovicic rocks arranged in their strata order from the bottom upward: Beekmantown limestone, Chazy limestone, Black River limestone, Trenton limestone and shale, Canajoharie shale, Utica shale, Frankfort shale and limestone.

The Ordovicic sea covered more of the present United States than any other ocean since the Precambric period. In New York the Adirondacks stood out as an island above this ocean.

A high continental land area, known to geologists as Appalachia, extended from the coast of the present United States to an unknown distance into the Atlantic ocean. Appalachia, doubtless, was responsible for much of the sedimentary rocks of our coastal states and of New York. This mysterious continent persisted from Cambric times up to almost the beginning of the Cenozoic period, or the "modern times" of geology, when it disappeared beneath the Atlantic at a time coeval with the subsidence of the coast line.

There was life in the Cambric, Ordovicic and Siluric seas. The Precambric had the earliest known life forms, as evidenced by the graphite in its rocks. The Cambric and Ordovicic formed the Age of Invertebrates. Simple fish forms begin in the Siluric, while the Devonic is known as the Age of Fishes.

There were simple plant forms in the Cambric and seaweeds and algae in the Ordovicic seas. In these seas lived coral, graptolites, starfish, brachipods, and trilobites, but so great has been the change in life forms since then that not a single species of that distant day has survived.

THE TACONIC REVOLUTION.

The great Taconic revolution marked the close of the Ordovicic period, when a high range of mountains was upheaved along the present line of eastern New York. These great mountains are now represented by the Piedmont Plateau in Virginia, the Highlands of the Hudson, the Berkshire Hills, and the Green Mountains. At the end of this upheaval all of New York State was above the sea with the exception of the western part.

The surface rocks of the central belt of the Mohawk Valley were laid down during the great Ordovicic period. These are the rocks that in the main underlie the towns of the Mohawk and the central belt of our beautiful farming country. As they belong

to the daily life of the people of the Mohawk Valley they are therefore the rock formations of the greatest interest to us. Upon the Ordovicic shales, sandstones, and limestones, our Mohawk River towns and our great railways and highways are built. Many of our Valley's oldest houses were built of these ancient limestones. The average thickness of the Ordovicic strata in New York State is between 2,000 and 3,000 feet.

SILURIC PERIOD.

Depressions of the land followed in the early Siluric period so that about half of present New York State was under water. The eastern half was dry land, the western half was submerged. The Mohawk Valley, the Adirondacks, northern New York and the Hudson Valley were above the sea. Siluric rocks form a narrow band along the southern half of the Mohawk Valley.

The principal Siluric rocks are (as deposited stratum upon stratum): Medina sandstone; Oneida conglomerate; Clinton shale, sandstone, limestone and iron ore; Rochester shale; Lockport and Guelph dolomites; Salina shale (the strata from which the Syracuse salt wells produce their salt water), salt, water lime; Shawangunk conglomerate; Cobleskill limestone; Roundout limestone, water lime; Manlius limestone. The thickness of the Siluric rocks in Central New York is between 1,000 and 1,500 feet.

The three Siluric strata named after Mohawk Valley localities are the Oneida conglomerate, the Clinton series and the Cobleskill limestone.

DEVONIC PERIOD.

The Devonic Sea which followed the Siluric covered the Catskills and the Southwestern Plateau region. It deposited strata from the Catskills to Western New York. The Devonic rocks consist of a thin bottom layer of limestone overlaid by a thick body of shales and sandstones, piled layer upon layer. These rocks are land-derived sediments, which were washed into the Devonic Sea by sediments from the Taconics on the east and the Adirondacks and Canadian land masses which are known to have existed to the northward.

The Devonic rocks (from lowest to uppermost stratum) lie as follows: Helderberg limestone, Oriskany sandstone, Onondaga limestone, Marcellus shale, Hamilton shale, Tully limestone, Genesee shale, Portage shale and sandstone, Catskill and Chemung sandstone.

The rocks immediately concerned with the Mohawk Valley are,

first, the Helderberg limestone, which is the watershed summit rock of the Helderberg Escarpment which forms the southern Valley divide (excepting the basin of the Schoharie Valley). The second series of Devonic rocks of the Valley are the Oriskany sandstone and the Catskill sandstone (in the Schoharie basin).

Bold, outcropping edges of thick Devonic strata face toward the Mohawk Valley and form the abrupt northern face of the Helderberg Escarpment (particularly in Albany County). The Helderberg Escarpment, in varying elevations, extends westward clear across the State to the Niagara River, being called in that section the Niagara Escarpment. It is accompanied by outcrops of the Oriskany sandstone.

At the end of the Devonic period, all of the northern and eastern parts of the State (including the Adirondacks and the Mohawk Valley) were above the sea, while the western and southern parts were generally below it.

Dr. W. J. Miller says, in his Geological History of New York State: "The Devonic strata, from oldest to youngest, abounds in the fossils of marine organisms, and some fossil land plants have also been found. * * * The Devonic furnishes the first really authentic existence of land plants. Such plants as ferns, lycopods (club mosses) and equisitae (horse tails) grew to be large tree-like forms and in considerable profusion. Remains have been found of these in the Devonic strata of New York. All of them belong to the very simple non-flowering plants and were closely related to the plants of the next succeeding Carbonic (coal) period.

"Among the fossil animals especially abundant in the Devonic rocks of the State are: sponges, corals, star fishes (echinoderms), brachiopods, mollusks (including the bivavles, gastropods, and cephalopods), and anthropods (including trilobites and eurypterids). The graptolites became almost extinct during the Devonic."

From the great abundance and variety of fishes the Devonic is frequently referred to as the Age of Fishes. Remains of Devonic fishes have been found in considerable numbers in New York State. These are of simple type without the true bony skeletons of modern fishes. From its land plants and fish life, the Devonic might well be called "the Age of Fishes and Land Plants."

The most remarkable examples of Devonic fossil plant life were uncovered in our Mohawk Valley at Gilboa, in Schoharie County, on the upper Schoharie River in 1869.

THE WORLD'S OLDEST TREES IN SCHOHARIE COUNTY.

This most ancient of fossil forests is described as follows in the New York State Museum Bulletin of December, 1919, under the report of John M. Clarke, director of the New York State Museum.

"A great autumn freshet in the upper valley of the Schoharie Creek in 1869 tore out bridges, culverts and roadbeds around the little village of Gilboa and exposed, in the bedrock of the hills, a series of standing stumps of trees. These stumps stood all on the same level in the rock and their rootlets ran down into the original mud in which they had grown, now turned into a dark or greenish shale. All had been cut off by some ancient flood at about three feet above the base; some were large and some were smaller, the largest having a diameter in the shaft of two feet or more with broad expanding rootbase like a flaring turnip. This has brought to light the standing remains of the most ancient growth known in the geological records in any part of the world. Ten of these tree stumps were taken out from their ancient forest, all at the same level in the rocks, and most of them were brought to the State Museum, where they have long constituted one of the remarkable exhibits of the vanished flora of the State.

"The effort made this year (1919) to relocate this primeval forest of the Devonian Period or to find some additional evidence of its extent has proved successful. The old locality is deeply covered and the rocks of that level, which carried these trees, do not come to the surface again in this vicinity. But the work has been attended with unexpected results in finding the stumps of other trees of the same sort at a level 60 feet higher in the rock beds, giving evidence that the forest growth had reappeared in the same region at a later stage in the Devonian history. * * *

"The story of the earth's primitive forest when fully written promises to be an interesting one, and it is hoped to reproduce, in part at least, in the State Museum, this picture out of the dim past." This work is now, 1924, in progress in the State Museum.

The location of the new series of stumps has been due to Herbert S. Woodward, who has had the assistance of Messrs. Ruedemann and Hartnagel in the careful extraction of the remains and in the important discovery of the fruit cases.

* * *

Miss Winifred Goldring of the New York State Museum is the author of a paper, "The Upper Devonian Forest of Seed Ferns in Eastern New York," published in Museum Bulletin 251, issued

in 1924. Following is an extract from its Summary, which shows the botanical character of these first trees:

"In 1869 was made a remarkable discovery of fossil tree stumps in the upper Devonian (Ithaca) beds of Schoharie County, in the vicinity of the village of Gilboa. In 1897, a few loose trees were reported from a higher horizon at the Manorkill falls a mile above the old locality. Special efforts in 1920 led to the discovery of these stumps in place at the Manorkill locality at the 1,120-foot level 100 feet above the old locality. Since 1920 the City of New York has been doing construction work at Gilboa preparatory to impounding the waters of the Schoharie Creek to meet future demands. In the course of operations, the old locality, at the spot where the dam is being built, was uncovered and several specimens obtained; a new quarry at the 960-foot level was opened up 2,300 feet north (downstream) of the old location and has yielded the greatest number and the largest stumps hitherto found, one of the largest of this group having a circumference at the base of 11 feet. With the recent additions to our collections the Museum now has a total of forty stumps, partial or complete. At all three horizons the stumps were found with their bases resting in and upon black shale representing the trunk extending into the coarser sandstone above. At least, then, three successive forests of these trees reared themselves to great heights along the marshy borders of the unstable coast line of the shallow Devonian sea, were submerged, destroyed and buried.

"At the same time that the new tree horizons were discovered, a shale bed, in the vicinity of the Manorkill at the 1,020-foot level, yielded specimens of roots, foliage, and most important of all, seeds and sporangia-bearing organs; all of which taken together with the character of the stumps and trunks have shown these trees, originally described by Dawson as tree ferns, under the names Psaronius, to be seed ferns (Pteridospermophytes) intermediate between the ferns and higher seed plants. The name Eospermatopteris is proposed for this Devonian seed fern which bears a resemblance to the Carboniferous seed fern, Lyginopteris.

"The bases of the stumps are bulbous as might be expected of trees growing under swampy conditions, and show a circumference at the base from 3 feet 10 inches up to 11 feet. * * * The outer cortex as in Lyginopteris consists of interlacing strands of sclerenchyma tissue, forming a network, or more or less parallel; the inner structure is not preserved. Consideration of the size of the stumps and study of the parts of the trunk found indi-

LITTLE FALLS GORGE EAST OF RAILROAD CURVE

Showing north side Fall Hill on the left (rising to 1060 feet sea elevation and 738 feet river elevation) and south side Fall Hill on right (rising 920 feet sea and 598 feet river elevation). View shows New York Central R. R., Dolgeville R. R., and Mohawk Turnpike on left of Mohawk. (New York State Barge Canal channel in distance), with the line of West Shore R. R. on the right. The south shore highway is a rough mountain road along the south cliff, over 200 feet above river. The Mohawk flows from the deep spot on the right, through a deep rocky channel but little more than 100 feet wide. Moss Island, on the right, and the north shore bank have many wonderful potholes. Central, on the left, 215th milestone from New York on right of tracks.

ONE OF THE GILBOA FOSSIL TREE TRUNKS IN PLACE

View of one of the earliest known tree trunks, which were chiseled out of the surrounding rocks at Gilboa, Schoharie County. Many of these trunks are now on exhibition in the State Museum in Albany. From the State Museum Bulletin 227-228.

cate that the largest of these trees must have reached heights of at least 30 to 40 feet.

"The only specimen, in which are preserved the petioles of the fronds attached to the trunks, shows that these have a spiral arrangement in about five ranks. The fronds must have been at least six feet long and were tripinnate with the pinnules bilobed and of the Sphenopteridium type, bearing a resemblance to the sterile pinnules referred to Cephalopteris mirabilis Nathorst from the Devonian of Bear Island. The seeds were borne in pairs, at the ends of forked branchlets and were probably borne near the tip of the frond. * * *

"Two species of these trees were distinguished by Dawson: E. textilis, in which the slerenchyma strands form a network, and E. erianus, in which the strands are more or less parallel. No further distinguishing characters have been found."

Miss Goldring has the following interesting addition to her paper: "While this paper was in the press, new and valuable specimens of stumps, throwing light upon the nature of the root systems of these trees, was uncovered in 'Riverside quarry'. These specimens show the underside of the base of the stumps with the impression, in the sandstone, of roots radiating in all directions to considerable length. One specimen was removed and is in the possession of the Museum. This specimen, with the base of the stump having a diameter of about twelve inches, has root impressions measuring up to an inch or more across. Specimens were uncovered in which the roots were traced for a distance of six feet and the tips were not reached then. Unfortunately, it was not possible to take the large specimens from the quarry. However, they show that the root systems were considerably larger and more adequate than previously supposed; sufficient, at any rate, to support trees of the height to which these trees must have attained. The finding of the new specimens, with extensive root systems, also answers the criticism that the stumps as found were not *in situ*, because those so far taken out did not have the roots attached."

CARBONIC PERIOD.

The Carbonic period, which followed the Devonic, was the great Coal Age, with non-flowering plants similar to those described in the Devonic fossil forest uncovered in the Schoharie River region of the Mohawk Valley. These made the coal, which is such a problem in the life of today. There are only small ex-

posures of the Carbonic period in Alleghany and Cattaraugus counties in New York State.

Probably the oldest almost unaltered animal of today is the horseshoe crab which dates from the Carbonic period and which has experienced almost no structural changes during the interminable length of time which has since elapsed. It belongs to the spider family.

PERMIC PERIOD.

The Permic period is the last of the Paleozoic era, but its rocks are not represented in New York which was then probably all above sea-level.

APPALACHIAN MOUNTAIN UPHEAVAL.

The great Appalachian revolution upraised a vast mountain system, from the mouth of the St. Lawrence to Alabama, at the end of the Paleozoic era. Then practically all the land of New York State (except the Hudson's mouth) was raised above the ocean and has so remained ever since.

FAULTS OF THE MOHAWK VALLEY.

The faults of the region of the eastern Adirondacks and the Mohawk Valley were probably created during this titanic upheaval of the Appalachians. These faults were formed by a gigantic slipping of the earth's crust and they had much to do with the present form and later geological history of the Mohawk region.

The main faults of the Mohawk Valley are at Little Falls, St. Johnsville, The Noses and Hoffmans Ferry. All of these faults have northward extensions. There are lesser faults at Dolgeville, near Schencks Hollow, at Fonda and at Tribes Hill. These crust cracks with uplifts and slippings of the rocks formed Fall Hill at Little Falls, the high ridge running from St. Johnsville northeast to the Garoga, the Noses and Touereuna Mountain at Hoffmans Ferry. In point of displacement the Hoffmans Ferry and Noses faults are the greatest in the Mohawk Valley.

TRIASSIC PERIOD.

The Triassic period found New York State and eastern North America a mountainous continental land body. It was the age of amphibian animals and cycad plants. At this period, the lava flow occurred which caused the Palisades of the Hudson.

JURASSIC PERIOD.

The rocks of the Jurassic period are absent from New York State because its surface was elevated above the sea and there was consequently no sedimentation. Birds first appeared in Jurassic times.

CRETACIC PERIOD.

Because New York was then well above the sea, the Cretacic period which followed is marked only by the clay and sand deposits on Long Island and Staten Island. The Jurassic and Cretacic form the Age of Reptiles. Trees and flowers of modern aspect first appeared in the Cretacic. New York had largely been reduced to the conditions of a plain with only moderate elevations in the Adirondacks and the Catskills at the end of the Cretacic, by the erosion of countless centuries. The Tug Hill Plateau is a remnant of this plain.

ROCKY MOUNTAINS ELEVATED.

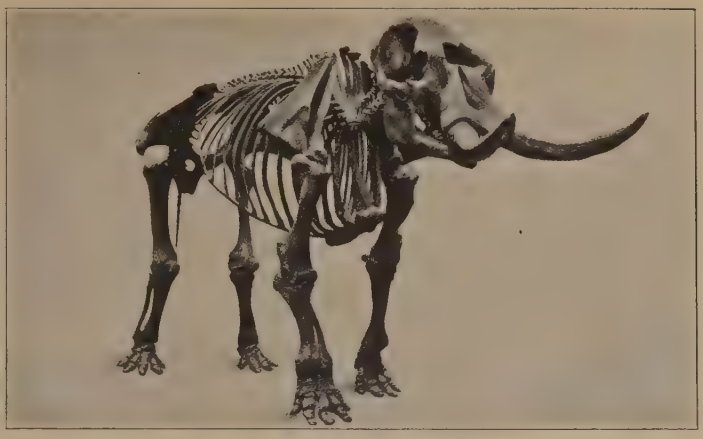
The elevation of the Rocky Mountains, the greatest upheaval in the geological history of North America, occurred toward the close of the Cretacic period. At the same time the plain of northeastern United States was raised from 2,000 to 3,000 feet with its maximum rise along the Appalachian backbone running along the Fall Hill ridge across the present Mohawk Valley into the Adirondacks.

DISAPPEARANCE OF THE ANCIENT CONTINENT OF APPALACHIA.

The close of the Cretacic, which ushered in the "modern times" of geological history, was marked by the subsidence of the coast line and the disappearance of the land of ancient Appalachia beneath the Atlantic. From this mysterious continent much of the Atlantic seaboard may have been built up including much of New York State.

THE TERTIARY PERIOD.

The Cretacic uplift made the rivers active by the steeper grade of their watercourses. The Mohawk Valley's present physiography dates from the Cretacic rise. Prior to this time the streams of the present area of the Mohawk Valley, rising in the Adirondacks, generally flowed southward into the sea. Some of these were streams now existent, which probably followed the ancient channels, such as the Chuctanunda, Cayadutta, Schoharie, Sacandaga, Garoga, East Canada, and West Canada (through the channel of Nine Mile Creek).



THE COHOES MASTODON
Skeleton in New York State Museum.

THE COHOES MASTODON

Restored by N. T. Clarke and C. P. Heidenrich, 1922; in the State Museum Bulletin 241-242.

DEFORMED LOWER JAW OF COHOES MASTODON

Note absence of the ultimate molar of right side of jaw and the distortion due to disease (pyorrhea) in the remaining tooth.

Since the close of the Cretacic period, the present Mohawk Valley below Little Falls has been carved out of the upraised Cretacic peneplain by the Mohawk River and its tributaries along a weak belt of Ordovicic shales, which lie between the Adirondack granites and the Helderberg limestones.

In the Tertiary period, prior to the great Ice Age, the present eastern Mohawk River had its source probably in the East Canada Creek, and sluggishly flowed eastward over the Nose, into the lower Mohawk and thence into the Hudson. The Sacandaga then joined the Mohawk near Fonda instead of flowing into the Hudson River as it does today.

Fall Hill was a mountain ridge, probably considerably higher than at present. On its western slopes all the streams flowed westward into a westward flowing watercourse (generally following that of the present Mohawk) now called by geologists the "Rome River". West Canada Creek was then tributary to the Rome River, flowing into it through the channel of present Nine Mile Creek. This was the lower preglacial course of the West Canada, which was stopped up during glacial times, by drift, following which the postglacial West Canada formed its present channel from Prospect to its outlet into the Mohawk at Herkimer.

The headwaters of "Rome River," rising at the west side of Fall Hill formed the most easterly source of what is known as the Dundas River. Its waters flowed southwestward into a stream corresponding to the present Mississippi and the Fall Hill ridge of that distant day, formed one of the headwaters of this mighty river.

Few, if any, lakes, waterfalls and gorges existed. There were no lakes where Lake Erie and Ontario now are, the basins of which were drained by the westward flowing Dundas. The St. Lawrence had its source at the Thousand Islands region.

CATSKILLS AND HELDERBERGS CREATED.

The Helderbergs and Catskills were produced by erosion in the Tertiary period and all the main present day topographical features of the State, at the end of the Tertiary, were very similar to those of today. Plants and flowers were then developed in their present forms. The Tertiary is the Age of Mammals. Birds, reptiles and fishes then reached their present general form and development.

The Quaternary period may be called the modern times of geological history. The periods of the earth's physiographic development, which precede the Quaternary, are so inconceivably

long, covering millions of years, that the Quaternary period seems a present day time by comparison.

QUATERNARY OR GLACIAL PERIOD.

Just as the Tertiary period made its beginning by a great continental uplift, so did the Quaternary period open with the spreading of great ice sheets over northern North America, Europe and Asia.

No period had a more vital influence upon the history of the Mohawk Valley, the State of New York and the world's greatest city on Manhattan Island than did the ice sheet of the Quaternary period, for it created the great present-day New York to Buffalo railway, waterway and highway transportation line route, and made possible our present water-level railroad between these two cities.

It is interesting to note that the present, general popular acceptance of the existence of the great Ice Age shows the youth of modern science, because it was not discovered until 1837 by Louis Agassiz and not publicly announced until 1840. Like all great scientific discoveries, it was the subject of ridicule at first but gradually gained the support of scholars and geologists, and it has now been long accepted by the general public.

We know that the great glacier of North America existed, because the rock surfaces, where it lay, show exactly the same conditions as exist today in rocks from which modern glaciers have receded. Only the great Greenland glacier affords any comprehensive idea of the ice cap of North America at the height of its existence.

Similar to the action of present day glaciers, the glacier of the great Ice Age has left us polished and striated rock surfaces, glacial boulders or erratics (which are often transported from long distances), glacial moraines and terminal moraines (like the hills of Long Island) which make the southernmost limit of the great ice sheet, glacial debris, both stratified and unstratified, which cover all of Canada and a considerable belt of the northern United States.

At the maximum time of the great Ice Age an area of four million square miles of North America was covered by the ice cap. This is an extent of land very considerably larger than the present day area of the continental United States.

The great ice sheet of the Quaternary period had three centers from which the ice flowed and these glaciers are called the Labradorean, which had its center in central Labrador; the Keewatin,

with its center west of the central west shore of Hudson Bay and the Cordillerian with its center at the northern limit of present British Columbia. The ice sheet which covered the Mohawk Valley and New York State was part of the Labrador glacier.

THE GLACIER IN THE MOHAWK VALLEY.

Regarding the intrusion of the ice sheet into the present Mohawk Valley, Dr. W. J. Miller says: "When the Labrador ice sheet spread out southward as far as northern New York, the Adirondack Mountains stood out as a considerable obstacle in the path of the moving ice, and the tendency was for the current to divide into two portions, one of which passed southwestward up the low broad St. Lawrence Valley, and the other due southward through the deep, narrow Champlain Valley. As the ice kept crowding from the rear, part of the St. Lawrence ice lobe pushed into the Ontario basin, while another part pushed its way up the broad low Black River valley and finally into the Mohawk. At the same time the Champlain ice lobe found its way into the upper Hudson Valley and sent a branch lobe up the (eastern) broad, low, Mohawk Valley. The two Mohawk lobes, the one from the west and the other from the east, met in the Mohawk Valley not far from Little Falls. As the ice sheet continued to push southward, all the lowlands of northern New York were filled; a tongue or lobe was sent down the Hudson Valley and finally almost the whole state was buried under the ice. The general direction of ice movements, at this time of the greatest ice extent, was southward to southwestward with perhaps some undercurrents determined by the larger topographic features."

The greatest depth of this ice sheet in the State must have been several thousand feet and the Mohawk Valley must have been deeply covered. Ice erosion was effective because the glacier carried with it in its movements, rocks and rock fragments of all sizes which scoured the valleys and gullies of the State. The steep eastern side of the Tug Hill Plateau, forming the western limit of the Black River Valley, is an example of ice erosion. The Fall Hill Ridge (at Little Falls) and the Noses, were probably considerably worn down by this glacial scouring. The Adirondack peaks were rounded and scraped off by the ice movements, while the St. Lawrence River bed is the result of glaciation, both by ice and water.

"During the very long preglacial time, rock decomposition must have progressed so far that rotten rock, including soils, had accumulated to considerable depths, as today in the Southern

States. Such soils are called 'residual' because they are derived by the decomposition of the very rocks on which they rest. But now one rarely ever sees rotten rock or soil in its original place in New York because such materials were nearly all scoured off by the passage of the great ice sheet, mixed with other soils and ground up rock fragments and deposited elsewhere. Such are called 'transported soils'." (W. J. Miller.)

It can be generally stated that the erosive power of this great glacier produced but slight changes in the chief topographic features of the state, although there were some minor changes and some very radical changes in the courses of streams by the filling up of water-courses at certain points by glacial drift. The West Canada Creek and the Sacandaga are noted local examples of such marked changes of water-courses produced by glacial deposits.

Aside from the great terminal moraine marking the southernmost limit of the great glacier, there are several intermediate ones marking advances or recessions of the glacial front during the thousands of years of the great Ice Age.

Next to the southern terminal moraine in importance, is one which has been traced from Herkimer to Oriskany Falls, Cortland, Watkins, Bath, Portageville, Dayton and Jamestown, all in New York State.

The glacier produced "overwash plains" by depositing sediment upon a flat plain, when the glacier was at rest; "valley trains", which were deposits from glacial streams in valley bottoms; glacial boulders (the largest being 25 feet in diameter) which have been mentioned before; "ground moraines", which were deposits made by the glacier, generally during its melting; "till", or boulder clay, being the finer material dropped by the glacier; "drumlins", being low rounded mounds of glacial drift. These exist along the New York Central from Syracuse to Rochester, and, extend west and north to Oswego, in which area these small hills are scattered all over the country. A "kame" is a stratified deposit, in the form of a low hill or hillock, reaching sometimes a height of 200 feet. The kames of the Oriskany Creek Valley are very numerous and form a striking feature of the landscape in the vicinity of Oriskany Falls, which lies in the watershed of the Mohawk.

EXTINCT BLACK LAKE.

The retreat of the ice margin resulted in the formation of the many lakes of New York State where deep valley outlets were

blocked by glacial drift. Lake George and practically all of the Adirondack Lakes are creations of the glacier. There are also many extinct glacial lake basins. The largest one in the State is called Black Lake which filled the Black River Valley, with its first formation at present Forestport reservoirs, and an outlet into the Mohawk through Lansing Kill which is now the eastern upper headwater branch of the Mohawk. This large lake formed a considerable stream which deposited silt and formed a delta at what was the town of Delta, below the point where the Mohawk's east and west upper branches join and where the Delta Lake or reservoir of the Barge Canal is now located. With later changes Black Lake found its outlet into the St. Lawrence and, with the lowering of its outlet, it finally disappeared. Its flat lake bottom persists in the broad flatlands along the Black River.

This deposition of drift has not changed any of the State's major topographic features. The drift deposits generally tended to fill depressions and to give us the rounded harmonious hills and flowing valley forms which we see in our Valley and State. Personally, the writer believes that glacial action on the surface of New York State was the cause of its varied and unusual landscape beauty.

GREAT LAKES FORMED.

The formation of the Great Lakes basin was probably largely due to the great deposition of glacial drift along the southern shores and a tilting of the land on their northern shores downward to the north, thus destroying the southern outlets of the lakes. This left basins which filled with water as the glacial wall receded, at which time the outlet of so-called Lake Chicago, Lake Saginaw, and Lake Wellesley was through the Illinois River into the Mississippi. It was somewhere in this period of the glacier's recession that the Mohawk Valley glacial lakes came into being.

MOHAWK VALLEY GLACIAL LAKES.

When the ice of the glacier moved gradually northward its waters formed a lake or lakes covering the Mohawk Valley at different levels as the outlets were lowered by water action. It is a very complex subject which has been explained by the theory of the retreat and advance of the glacial front, similar to that of modern glaciers on a smaller scale. The Mohawk glacial lake period was prior to the Glaciomohawk and Iromohawk which eroded the flats of the present Mohawk.

Concerning this interesting feature of the close of the glacial

LITTLE NOSE

On the south shore, 414 feet above the river, with sheer rock cliffs rising 200 feet high. A tow of boats is passing east on the Mohawk. Little nose is a noted landmark of the New York Central Railroad and Old Mohawk Turnpike.

Photo by C. M. Vander Veer, Amsterdam

THE NOSES NEAR SPRAKERS

Where the ancient Mohawk and the glacier cut a pass through a granite spur of the Adirondacks. View looking west. Big nose on the right. Little Nose on the left.

period, the reader is referred to "The Glacial Waters in the Black and Mohawk Valley," by Dr. Herman L. Fairchild, in the New York State Bulletin, No. 160, of May 15, 1912.

The writings on the subject were previously scanty and Dr. Fairchild's book gives an insight into the creation of many topographic forms and soil derivations. Investigation of this subject will doubtless give us further information.

Some of the beach lines, formerly attributed to the Glaciomohawk and the Iromohawk are now believed to be those of the glacial lakes. Characteristic glacial lake beaches are said to be in evidence four miles west of Little Falls. The proposed damming of the Sacandaga at Conklingville to form a large lake for power purposes, would almost exactly restore an original glacial lake. There are many such glacial lake beds in the Mohawk Valley and in New York State, the greatest of which, as previously mentioned, was the Black River Lake. Many valleys also show the effects of damming by ice and the fact that they were glacial lake drainage outlets by the perfectly flat character of the lowest level of these valleys.

Dr. Fairchild summarizes the glacial and postglacial drainage history of the Mohawk Valley as follows:

SUMMARY OF THE MOHAWK GLACIAL LAKE DRAINAGE HISTORY.

Stage 1:—The axis of the Valley was occupied by a strait of ice connecting the two ice bodies in the Hudson and Ontario valleys. The water of the Adirondacks escaped across the ice, the overflow probably being into the Otsego-Susquehanna Valley. Sand plains through the Adirondacks, with elevation 1,450 feet and upward, probably correlate with this stage.

Stage 2:—The melting of the strait of ice in the Valley left a stretch of open water between the ice tongues,—the Herkimer lake. The water had two successive outlets, by Summit Lake (also caled Mud Lake) pass to the Otsego-Susquehanna at 1,360 feet and by the Cedarville pass to the Unadilla-Susquehanna at 1, 220 feet. Correlating sand plains of great expanse occur in the basins of the upper Mohawk, West Canada and East Canada Creek at 1,440 to 1,280 feet (elevation). The Black River Valley basin was flooded by the waters of this stage so far as relieved from the ice sheet.

Stage 3:—Waning of the Hudsonian ice lobe permitted escape of the water along the face of the Helderberg scarp, west of Al-

bany, the later flow being across the divide between the Schoharie and Hudson valleys, at Delanson, 840 feet. Correlating sand plains exist in many localities with elevations, according to latitude, from 1,200 down to 820 feet. The Black River valley waters were now tributary to the Schoharie Lake, first through the Remsen outlet and later by the Boonville outlet.

Stage 4:—Amsterdam Lake. Further recession of the Hudson Valley ice lobe permitted outflow of the waters about the Rotterdam salient, west of Schenectady, at 800 down to 360 feet. The correlating delta plains are widely distributed, having altitude in the Rome district of 860 to 460 feet. The Black River waters were still tributary and two other tributary lakes were the Lansing Kill and the Sacandaga.

Stage 5:—Lake Albany confined to the Hudson Valley, with outlet control southward. The Mohawk Valley now had free drainage, two phases being the Glaciomohawk, previous to Iroquois time, and the Iroquois-Mohawk, called for convenience the Iromohawk, the overflow of Lake Iroquois through the present Mohawk's course.

The Labrador ice sheet finally receded so that its Ontario lobe stood at the outlet of present Lake Ontario and the St. Lawrence Valley was still buried under ice. In geological nomenclature, Lake Ontario was then, "Lake Iroquois," covering a much greater basin than at present. Bodies of water approximating present Lakes Superior, Michigan, and Huron then formed one great inland sea known as Lake Algonquin, with outlets eastward through the present Detroit and Trent rivers. At this period the Niagara River and Niagara Falls were born.

THE MIGHTY IROMOHAWK.

"During this Lake Iroquois stage the waters of all the Great Lakes region discharged through the Mohawk-Hudson valleys and the volume of water which flowed past the present sites of Rome and Utica and across the preglacial divide at Little Falls must have been greater than that which now goes over Niagara Falls." (W. J. Miller.)

THE GATEWAY TO THE WEST CREATED.

It was at this time that this great Mohawk River finished the cutting of the gorge at Little Falls and wore down the Noses, giving us our Valley "water level route," from the Atlantic to the Great Lakes, and our famous "Gateway to the West".

COHOES FALLS.

With the recession of the waters of Lake Albany and the erosion of the present lower channel of the Mohawk our river flowed over the rock rim of the ancient Hudson Valley and created the falls and gorge at Cohoes. The postglacial history of the lower Mohawk and that of Cohoes Falls is of such interest that it is given a separate chapter.

THE MODERN MOHAWK.

Glacial recession finally freed the St. Lawrence Valley of ice and the Great Lakes basin dropped its level. When this level fell below the Rome divide the Great Lakes ceased to flow through the Mohawk River and that famous postglacial stream dwindled to somewhat near its present volume. Several of the beaches of the postglacial Mohawk are in evidence along the river east of Little Falls.

Instead of the Mohawk outlet, the Great Lakes found their outlet through Lake Nipissing and Ottawa River, into the St. Lawrence. All the streams from north and south which entered the arm of Lake Iroquois (between Rome and Little Falls), were heavily charged with debris from the newly drift-covered regions and the current not being strong enough to carry away the debris, the valley from Rome to Little Falls was built up (aggraded) to such an extent that, after the disappearance of Lake Iroquois, the drainage from Rome was able to continue eastward. Thus we have here a very fine example of exact reversal of drainage directly due to glaciation, and by this means the upper waters of the Mohawk were added to the preglacial Mohawk. This made one river—the Mohawk—out of two, the lower, or eastward flowing, and the upper, or westward flowing one, of the days before the glacier.

THE MOHAWK FLATS IN THE MAKING.

The present Mohawk Flats are among the world's most fertile lands. These flats in a general way, lie on the channel made by the great Iromohawk. This channel has been filled level by silt deposited by the Iromohawk and the modern Mohawk which also by its freshets, has laid down the rich top soil of these flatlands—a dark earth which is from five to fifteen feet in depth.

THE WORLD'S GREATEST POTHOLES.

One of the most noteworthy evidences of the great postglacial cataract at Little Falls is the existence of potholes of varying

A POTHOLE

THE MOHAWK'S DEEP SPOT—150 FEET DEEP

The river's water here covers a giant pothole, said to be 150 feet deep, which marks the site of the great glacial cataract of the great Iromohawk, which carved out the Little Falls Gorge. The inlet into the old canal of 1797 is just around the corner of the low right hand cliff, and just below the lower falls. Moss Island on the left, the Rollaway in the distance. Seen from Central Railroad and Mohawk Turnpike.

sizes worn in the rocky sides of the gorge over which the waters of this tremendous falls once poured. They are from a few inches to thirty feet wide and the potholes in the Little Falls Gorge are the largest and most remarkable on earth. Some are fully thirty feet in depth and even deeper, as nearly all are filled with debris. These holes are cut in the Adirondack syenite. They were caused by round stones of varying sizes settling in a depression in the rock and then being whirled around until they had cut a circular hole or basin in the rock of varying depth. Most of these potholes are within a region of a half mile below the lowest falls, the largest examples being on Moss Island, between which and the mainland, the Big Lock of the Mohawk River Barge Canal is located. Some very fine examples are on the north shore a short distance east of the railroad bridge over the turnpike. They have been the subject of much study by geologists. During Indian Revolutionary forays, the red men frequently hid sheep and other loot, which they had stolen, in these holes and returned at night to remove them. They were also hiding places for the settlers during the Revolution. The largest of the potholes of the Little Falls Gorge is the basin just below the lower falls, with the water over 150 feet deep, at a point supposed to be where the last stage of the great cataract exerted its force during the process of wearing down the Gorge channel. In the Little Falls Gorge, evidences of powerful water action and even potholes are noted over 300 feet above the bed rock of the river.

THE CANAJOHARIE POTHOLE.

In the bed of the creek near the end of the Canajoharie Gorge, is a pothole about ten feet wide which is the original "Canajoharie" of the Mohawks—the name meaning, "the pot that washes itself"—with a popular interpretation of "the boiling pot". At medium high water the current flows in and out of the pothole in a way that justifies both names. The Mohawks named the entire region between Fall Hill and the Noses, "Canajoharie" and also so called several of their towns, which has been a cause of much historical confusion among historians who do not realize that it was a natural Indian trait to give one name to several locations. There is another pothole somewhat larger directly beneath Canajoharie Falls.

One of the most famous and deepest of the potholes of the Mohawk River is that which lay close to its outlet into the Hudson. It was sixty feet deep and here the famous Cohoes Mastodon was found in 1866. The Cohoes Falls, the Mohawk outlets and

the Cohoes Mastodon are so important in their history that they are given description in the next chapter, which is devoted to these interesting subjects.

CHANGE IN THE SACANDAGA'S COURSE.

Both the Sacandaga River and the Kennyetto Creek were streams which in preglacial times flowed southward into the preglacial Mohawk. The Sacandaga now flows southeastward to Northampton where it makes a sharp turn and flows northeastward to the Hudson. This eccentric course is due to a glacial moraine blockade left by the glacier from Gloversville to Northampton across the preglacial Sacandaga Valley which made the old outlet impossible, and turned the Sacandaga northward and did the same to Kennyetto Creek at Broadalbin and to Hans Creek farther north.

WEST CANADA CREEK CHANGED.

Closely associated with the postglacial example of the Sacandaga is the postglacial history of West Canada Creek and the famous chasm at Trenton Falls. The preglacial West Canada Creek flowed from Prospect (upper end of Trenton Chasm) past Holland Patent, through the valley of present Nine Mile Creek and into the Rome River opposite the Oriskany Battlefield. This channel was completely blockaded by glacial drift at Prospect so that the creek was forced to find a new course southward over the limestone at Trenton Falls and thence southeastward through its present course to its outlet into the Mohawk at Herkimer.

TRENTON FALLS GORGE.

The gorge between Prospect and Trenton Falls villages is two and a half miles long and from 100 to 200 feet deep and has been cut into the Trenton limestone by the postglacial stream. It contains five or six waterfalls, ranging in height from 10 to 80 feet, the total drop of water in the two and a half miles of the gorge being 360 feet.

POSTGLACIAL SUBSIDENCE.

At the beginning of the glacial period the region of New York particularly along its eastern side, was higher than at present. Toward the close of the Ice Age and shortly after, the land, perhaps because of the great weight of the ice cap, subsided to a lower level than the present one, the lower Hudson and the St.

Lawrence channels became submerged (drowned rivers) and the Atlantic sea coast took on its present outline.

As the land was lower then than today, a narrow arm of the sea extended northward through the Hudson and Champlain valleys and joined a broad arm of the St. Lawrence estuary.

WHEN MAN FIRST SAW THE MOHAWK RIVER.

In all this long story, through these aeons of time, and the passing of these countless myriads of years, there is no visible touch of human interest in the record of the rocks. We have witnessed the appearance of life even in the Precambric seas, while the curious water life forms of the Ordovicic and Siluric times have interested us, as shown in the sediments of those ancient seas. We have noted the curious plant life of the Devonic and Carbonic periods and the gradual development of fishes, reptiles, birds and mammals through long ages of time. However, it is not until the Quaternary period that we have signs of the life of human beings like ourselves in North America.

When did man first see the Mohawk? We do not know—neither do we know when the Indian first trod the forests which grew up on the Valley glacial soils and drift. There is a strong probability that the Eskimo were the first to enter our Valley as they gradually followed the border of the fading ice sheet northward. If so, they saw the great postglacial Mohawk River, and, along its shores, hunted the mastodon and other strange animals of that far distant day. Remains attributed to these most ancient dwellers along the Iromohawk are found on the beaches of that mighty river, which, of course, ran at a much higher level than the Mohawk of today, as well as upon the heights rising from those former shores of that once great ancestor of our present placid Mohawk.

THE RISING AND SUBSIDENCE OF TODAY.

The most recent development in the Quaternary period has been the gradual elevation of the land which probably is still proceeding around the Great Lakes.

And so we find our Mohawk Valley of today, the great "Gateway to the West," formed and moulded by Nature's mighty forces through the aeons of time since the dark rocks of our ancient Valley first rose above the surging waters of the primeval ocean.

CHAPTER 2.

LOWER MOHAWK VALLEY GEOLOGICAL HISTORY.

THE PREGLACIAL LOWER MOHAWK RIVER—CHANGES OF THE ICE AGE IN THE LOWER VALLEY—OUTLETS OF THE POSTGLACIAL MOHAWK INTO LAKE ALBANY—THE GEOLOGY OF COHOES FALLS—THE COHOES MASTODON AND PLEISTOCENE ANIMALS OF THE MOHAWK VALLEY.

THE PREGLACIAL LOWER MOHAWK.

The Mohawk Valley below Schenectady forms an interesting study of conditions before and after the coming of the glacier. The Valley, west of Schenectady, has all the signs of an old river valley, while, eastward from that city, the course of the river and its watershed has a decidedly modern character. The natural conclusion is that the Mohawk, from Schenectady westward, generally follows its ancient preglacial course while the present lower Mohawk channel is comparatively recent, as geological time is reckoned.

The Mohawk River and its watershed is peculiar in that a great part of its upper basin (from Little Falls westward) and its lower section (from Schenectady to Cohoes) are developments of glacial action and have been added to the main central Valley since preglacial times. Moreover the main eastward flowing river, by glacial action, has annexed a westward flowing upper stream ("Rome River," from Little Falls to Rome) and changed its course from west to east, a fact which gives the Mohawk's history a further and particular interest in connection with the story of the great glacier which overspread our Valley for thousands of years. In preglacial times this Rome River was one of the upper headwaters of the Dundas River, corresponding to the Mississippi of today. There are few existing streams which have undergone such peculiar changes as those here described in connection with the history of the Mohawk River.

The location of the buried channel of the preglacial Mohawk, eastward from near Schenectady, has not been definitely determined. The United States Board of Engineers of Deep Waterways in 1899, surveyed the Mohawk River to ascertain its availability as a ship canal channel. Borings made during this

survey show that "near South Schenectady, the bedrock stands at an elevation of 320 and then abruptly falls off to 210 feet beneath the valley of the Poentic Kill, a southern tributary to the Mohawk basin about three-fourths of a mile north, beyond which rock was not reached." The borings were made only to 190 feet sea level. Along a line extending from the bank of the river, at a point three-fifths of a mile west of the Schenectady waterworks to a point near South Schenectady, no rock was struck. These borings indicate that there is a depression in the bedrock in the locality north of South Schenectady. It is possible that the preglacial Mohawk flowed in this direction and found its outlet following, in a general way, the channel of the present Normanskill. It is this route that was favored by the Deep Waterways Survey, as the ship channel course from the Mohawk above South Schenectady to the Hudson River on the southern limits of Albany. If such a channel existed in preglacial times, a large part of the present site of Albany then lay in the Mohawk watershed, just as a considerable portion of the city of Cohoes, at the present outlet of the stream, is in the Mohawk's drainage basin.

THE PREGLACIAL HUDSON.

Geological evidences point to a preglacial stream flowing southward from the Ballston Lake channel into the Mohawk at about the present site of Schenectady. In the same period, a southward flowing stream drained the Saratoga-Round Lake depression which marks an ancient channel of the Hudson, as shown in the accompanying map. The foregoing conditions were those pertaining to the lower Mohawk River course during preglacial times.

THE POSTGLACIAL LOWER MOHAWK CHANNEL.

The development of the stages of the lower postglacial Mohawk channel is clearly shown by the accompanying maps. Together with this condensed description, they are taken from the "Glacial Geology of the Schenectady Quadrangle" (New York State Museum Bulletin 154) and "Glacial Geology of the Cohoes Quadrangle" (New York State Museum Bulletin 215-216) by James H. Slotter.

Following the withdrawal of the southern edge of the ice sheet, the waters of Lake Albany spread over the region from the present Hudson to and west of Schenectady, flooding the lower Mohawk River channel. The flooded Mohawk then began to build up the present delta between Schenectady and Albany, now known

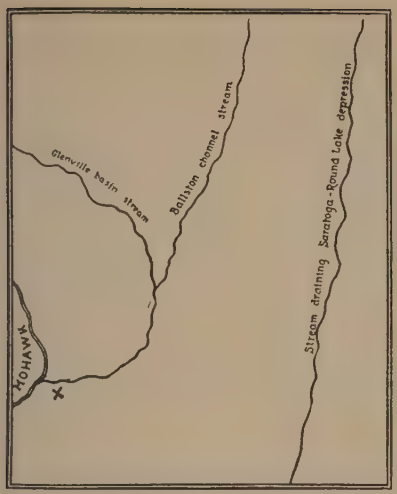


Fig. 1. Showing probable pre-glacial drainage of the lower Mohawk River outlet section. (X) marks present site of Schenectady.

Fig. 2. Sketch map showing the distribution of land and water on the areas of the Schenectady and Cohoes quadrangles when Lake Albany was at the height of its development, its level corresponding to the present 360-foot contour. This was one of the early stages following recession of the glacier from the Mohawk Valley.

Fig. 3. Sketch map showing areal extent of Lake Albany and drainage courses on the areas of the Schenectady and Cohoes quadrangles at the time when the Lake Albany waters had subsided to the level represented by the present 320-foot contour.

Fig. 4. Sketch map showing Lake Albany and drainage courses on the areas of the Schenectady and Cohoes quadrangles when the lake waters had subsided to the level represented by the present 240-foot contour.

Fig. 5. Sketch map showing drainage of the areas of the Schenectady and Cohoes quadrangles and breadth of waters occupying valleys when Lake Albany had receded to the level represented by the present 100-foot contour line and had taken on the character of a broad river. The Mohawk River had lowered its gorge at Aqueduct to the 300-foot level.

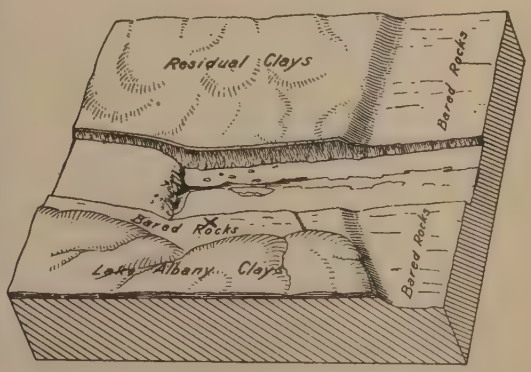


Fig. 6. Block diagram of the Cohoes region of the lower Mohawk. (X) marks site of Pothole where Cohoes Mastodon was found.

as the "sand plains." It may have been at this time that the preglacial Mohawk channel was filled up or the channel may have been previously obstructed by glacial drift as was the case with the Sacandaga River at Northampton and the West Canada Creek at Prospect. The size and character of these Mohawk delta deposits on the bed of Lake Albany show that this lake existed for a long period of geologic time, as did the great Iroquois-Mohawk or Iromohawk which carried the waters of the Great Lakes basin eastward to Lake Albany. The large volume of water and its accompanying silt, then carried by the great Iromohawk, also accounts for this great delta then laid down by our river's ancient waters. This condition is shown in the first of the maps showing the postglacial outlet of the Mohawk into Lake Albany.

SUBSIDENCE OF LAKE ALBANY.

The time came when Lake Albany's waters began to subside by the lowering of the outlet southward to the sea. The delta southeast of Schenectady then emerged as a land surface and the Mohawk's current became confined within a channel conforming with the basin near Schenectady. This basin exists today in the present broad river channel there filled with islands (of which Van Slyck's is the largest) and now crossed by the Great Western Gateway Bridge. From there the Mohawk had two channels to Lake Albany. It was then that the river found a spillway eastward across the rocks below Aqueduct and the eroding of the present lower channel of the Mohawk River began. The greatest flow of the waters of the then great Mohawk at first found their main outlet northward through the Ballston channel and discharged into the lowered Lake Albany near East Line. The present lower Mohawk, because of its narrow channel at Aqueduct, lowered its bed more rapidly than the wider Ballston channel. This greater flow of water through the Aqueduct channel cut out the present gorge east of that place and the flooded waters thence swept eastward in a broad path through the Lake Albany deposits. Thus was formed the broad depression extending southeastward, from Crescent to the islands in the mouth of the Mohawk.

As the waters of Lake Albany fell, the lake, greatly narrowed, began to take on the character of a broad river and the strong currents from the north and the Iromohawk (which then still had its upper channel into the Hudson at present Mechanicsville) cut deeply into the sediments still filling the midportion of the

general Hudson valley. As Lake Albany waters continued to fall and as the Mohawk deepened its channel through the rock barrier at Aqueduct, the river's bed was scoured out to a point below the elevation of the Ballston channel and the divide was then formed between the Mohawk and Ballston Lake. All the Mohawk's waters then passing through its present lower channel, the stream cut a broad path through the deposits southeast of Crescent, laying bare the rock floor of the preglacial Hudson valley. Where the Mohawk flowed over the rock slope, which marked the rim of the ancient valley, a falls developed which, through recession, formed the present falls and gorge of the Mohawk at Cohoes.

COHOES FALLS.

The previous description of the geology of the lower channel of the Mohawk shows that the Cohoes Falls are comparatively modern as reckoned in geological time, being postglacial in their origin and history. While Niagara Falls, another postglacial cataract, has receded seven miles since its beginning the falls of Cohoes have cut back a distance of only about 2,000 feet. This is due to the fact that only a part of the postglacial greater Mohawk's waters came through the present channel for a long period of time and also because of the character of the rock bed of the river in the region of the falls.

Says Stoller: "The Mohawk River, from near Crescent to its mouth, has its bed on rock and, in the last three miles of its course, occupies a rock gorge marked by the falls at Cohoes. A dam has been built across the upper portion of the gorge in order to supply power for the industries of Cohoes. The level of the water in the dam is 156 feet. From the dam to the falls the river has the character of a rapids descending 20 feet in the distance of three-fourths of a mile. It then falls 70 feet over a precipice of rock. The water does not descend abruptly as a vertical sheet but flows over the steeply inclined rock declivity. This slope corresponds in general to the dip of the rocks but, in the middle portion of the falls, the rocks have been worn and broken so that the angle of the fall is less than that of the dip and the falling water has the character of a cascade. At about one-third of the width of the river, from the left (north) bank, there is a projecting mass of smoothed rock over which very little water passes. At the inner side of this mass the volume of falling water is greater than elsewhere and, at the base, there is a deep pool of water occupying a depression worn in the rocks.

"Below the falls the river flows on a bed of jagged rock but with slower current, descending, in the course of a mile, from the level of 60 feet at the foot of the falls to 51 feet at the head of the lower rapids, where the river divides into three streams (popularly called the Sprouts of the Mohawk), forming the islands on the floor of the Hudson Valley. In the summer, when the river is low, most of the water below the falls is confined to a deepwater channel, which extends from the deepwater pool at the falls."

The slow recession of the falls is explained by the fact that the bed of the stream consists of indurated shales and sandstone dipping steeply eastward. The direction of flow follows the dip and the water wear, on the rocks at the front of the falls precipice, is over the surface of their bedding planes. At the summit of the falls, the water flows over the edges of the rock and here the wear is naturally more rapid. Due to this more rapid erosion of the rock strata on their upper ends than on their faces the angle of curve of the rock face of the falls is greater than that of the dip of the strata. This greater wear at the summit and at the base, due to the force of the falling waters, gives the Cohoes Falls their unusual and characteristic rounded appearance. This is fully shown when the rock structure of the falls is largely uncovered during the low water of summer. The great postglacial Mohawk, as well as the smaller stream of the later Quaternary period, has drilled a number of potholes in the rock bed of the stream, both above and below the present cataract.

The Cohoes Falls is both interesting and picturesque. When viewed, at high water, from the south bank at the base of the gorge, the cataract is truly impressive and justifies the somewhat sensational tales of early travelers concerning Cohoes.

In the general public consideration of Mohawk Valley geology, the point of view seems to have been largely sectional and not one embracing the Valley as a whole, which is the intent of this chapter. For the trifling reason that the falls of Cohoes lie outside of the imaginary lines which are supposed to define the six Mohawk Valley Counties, these interesting great falls of the Mohawk have had little attention in works written for the people of the middle and upper sections of the Mohawk Valley. Naturally the Cohoes Falls region is of equal importance with all other areas of the watershed of the Mohawk and this picturesque cataract and its interesting geological history give the lower Mohawk channel unusual interest.

* * *

THE COHOES MASTODON.

Probably the two most famous deceased animals of New York State are two representatives of the elephant family—Barnum's famous Jumbo, the skeleton of which stands in the Museum of Natural History in New York City, and the Cohoes mastodon, which makes its present home in the midst of the fine collections of the New York State Museum in the Education Building at Albany. This celebrated Mastodon Americanus rivals the famous Devonian tree trunks of Gilboa, the oldest in the world, as an attraction to students of geology and paleontology visiting the Museum. Both have brought fame to the Mohawk Valley as being products of our world-noted region. Here, too, we can see our old-time four-legged citizen both with his clothes off and on—making an imposing exhibit as a mastodonic skeleton, while his lifelike counterpart, standing nearby arrayed in his shaggy coat of fur, presents a most formidable appearance. To the Eskimo, who paddled the glacial lakes of the Mohawk Valley, thousands of years ago, such a vision as this meant food and raiment for an entire long postglacial winter.

The name mastodon is a word derived from the Greek and means "nipple teeth" from the peculiar nipples on the molars of the mastodon, seven of which were on each side of the upper and lower jaw. The character of these teeth is midway between those of herbivorous animals and those of the mammoth and its descendant, the elephant. Bones of the mammoth have been found with those of the mastodon in New York State. This mammoth Elephas Americanus is a different specie from the Asiatic and European mammoth Elephas primigenius, which is closely allied to the Indian elephant. The American mammoth's remains are much scarcer than those of the mastodon. The food of both species probably principally consisted of the leaves and branches of pine, willows, birches and other hardy trees. They roamed America and Europe in herds, much like the buffalo herds of the plains, prior to 1870. The stone age men of Europe hunted them and pictured them on bone surfaces and on the walls of their caves. Doubtless the Eskimo people, who here followed the retreating ice sheet at the close of the Ice Age, hunted them in the woods, swamps, lake and river borders of postglacial North America. Both the mastodon and the mammoth were heavily built creatures, having twice the weight of the modern elephant. We associate the word mammoth with colossal objects, because of this extinct creature's heavy, stocky bulk. The name, how-

ever, comes from the Tartar word "mamma", meaning earth, as this people thought the animals burrowed in the earth, because of their long tusks and from the fact that their fossil bones were brought to light below the surface of the ground.

The Cohoes mastodon is probably the most noted of his species in America, as this was one of the first specimens in which the skeleton was found largely intact and because it was one of the earliest mounted specimens. The incidents of its discovery also gave it wide publicity as it was uncovered in one of the deepest potholes ever excavated in the Mohawk River bed. The site of this pothole is shown on the relief model sketch of the Cohoes Falls neighborhood, which locates it on the upper rock level of the ancient Iroquois-Mohawk River, which site must date back to a period when the Mohawk first began to cut back its present falls, thus assuring the Cohoes mastodon a very respectable antiquity.

In September, 1866, workmen were excavating for a foundation for an addition to the Harmony Mills at Cohoes. In these digging operations the men came upon the lower jaw and single foot bone lying on a ledge of rock at the side of a filled-in pothole. Further excavation, to a depth of fifty feet, brought to light the principal parts of the skeleton lying on a bed of clay and broken slate above a layer of waterworn pebbles, with which the powerful water currents had drilled this great pothole. This lower layer was ten feet thick and showed that the pothole was old before the mastodon was here entombed. The fill in the pothole above these bones consisted of fifty feet of muck, peaty soil, fragments of tree limbs, rotten beaver-gnawed wood, washed here by the flood of the great Iromohawk. On top of this was a layer of artificial fill, the work of modern man.

The Cohoes mastodon is the only actual specimen found within the limits of the Mohawk Valley and its location was on its very eastern edge. There is reason to believe, however, that these animals ranged the more level parts of our Valley just as they did other parts of the State.

The remains of contemporary pleistocene mammals are frequently found mingled with those of the mastodon and mammoth in New York State. From a list of the following, thus found, we can form some idea of the animals which roamed the shores of the postglacial Mohawk: fossil bear of the character of the grizzly; black bear; fox; seal; fossil giant beaver "Castoroides", an animal with the bulk of a modern black bear and the proportions of a modern beaver, with which remains it is frequently associated; fossil peccary; deer; elk, "fossil stag"; caribou; moose;

American bison, which probably roamed a great part of the present State; fossil horse, of a type larger than our domesticated animal.

Some of these animals may have belonged to the period of the Eskimo-like people, whose remains are found in our State and Valley, and probably were hunted by these first of our known aborigines.

CHAPTER 3.

MOHAWK VALLEY ROCKS.

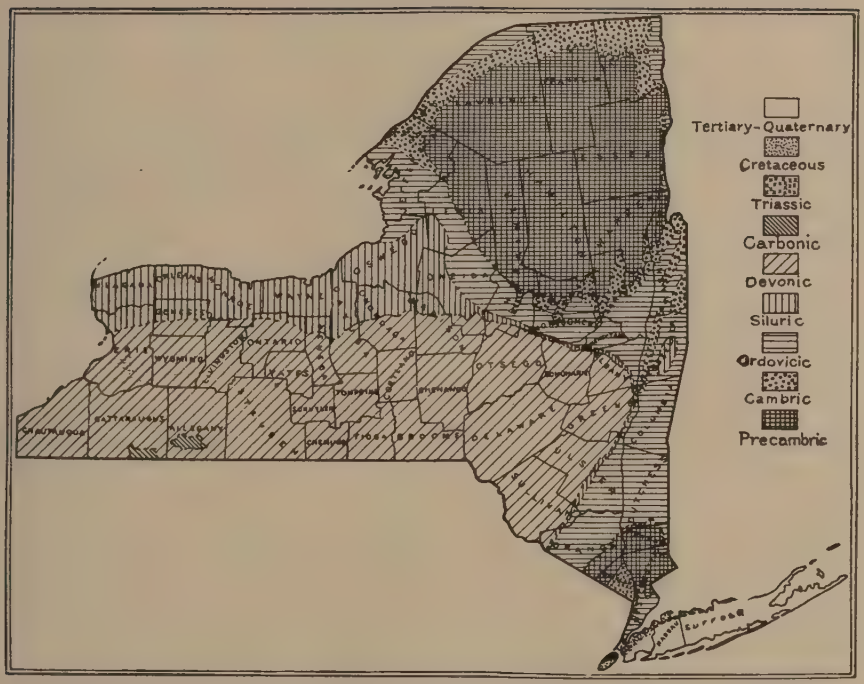
A DESCRIPTION OF THE ROCK FORMATIONS WHICH BEAR MOHAWK VALLEY NAMES—THE LITTLE FALLS DOLOMITE; TRENTON LIMESTONE AND SHALE; CANAJOHARIE SHALE; UTICA SHALE; FRANKFORT SHALE AND SANDSTONE; ONEIDA CONGLOMERATE; CLINTON SHALE, SANDSTONE, LIMESTONE AND IRON ORE; COBLESKILL LIMESTONE; HELDERBERG LIMESTONE; ORISKANY SANDSTONE.

In geological text-books of New York State, the Mohawk Valley furnishes about one-fourth of the rock designations in the geological charts. These rocks are among the most important in geology, both from a commercial and a scientific point of view. As the average reader could only arrive at a knowledge of our Mohawk group of rocks by much study of various authorities, they are here given a chapter by themselves. Thus the Valley reader can inform himself concerning the rocks which lie at his very door.

The Mohawk Valley rock group comprises the following formations, taken in their order from the lowest Valley formation upward. There is no mention of any of the other rock formations, except as they bound or overlie or underlie the rock which is under consideration. The rocks, as listed, do not always lie in conjunction, but this is their general order in the geological scale beginning with the lowest Mohawk Valley stratum.

Little Falls (Cambric) dolomitic limestone.
Trenton (Ordovicic) limestone and shale.
Canajoharie (Ordovicic) shale.
Utica (Ordovicic) shale.
Frankfort (Ordovicic) shale and sandstone.
Oneida (Siluric) conglomerate.
Clinton (Siluric) shale, sandstone, limestone, and iron ore.
Cobleskill (Siluric) limestone.
Helderberg (Devonic) limestone.
Oriskany (Devonic) sandstone.

There may be some argument as to the listing of the Helderberg limestone above, as the Helderberg regarded as a mountain chain, lies mainly in Albany County but this mountain ridge also extends into Schoharie County, which is in the Mohawk Valley.



GEOLOGIC MAP OF NEW YORK STATE SHOWING SURFACE ROCK SYSTEMS

From the Geological History of New York State by William J. Miller, Ph. D., reproduced by courtesy of Dr. Miller.

It continues across the entire State to the Niagara River, forming the Cherry Valley Hills and the heights along the southern ridge of our Valley, known as the Susquehanna and Unadilla Hills or mountains. This sharp, marked ridge (of varying altitudes) is called the Helderberg Escarpment by geologists and its close association with our Valley gives it a place here.

The Mohawk Valley surface rocks, which have given their names to important rock formations in the text-books of geology, are described in the following paragraphs.

LITTLE FALLS DOLOMITE.

Little Falls dolomitic limestone of the Cambric age is one of the oldest of the World's rocks. It is found in the southern Adirondacks, in the narrow limestone border between the Adirondack Precambric rocks and the Ordovicic shales of the central river section of the Mohawk Valley. Its most typical outcrop is on the face of the 200-foot Rollaway Cliff at Little Falls, where it is in full view of the thousands passing on the New York Central Railroad and Mohawk Turnpike. This notable exposure of dolomitic limestone at Little Falls has given the formation its name. It is hard, compact and light gray in color. Limestone is a rock composed of calcium carbonate. When crystalline it is marble-metamorphosed from limestone at a great heat below the earth's surface. Dolomite is a brittle rock, composed of calcium magnesium carbonate. Thus the Little Falls dolomite differs from limestone, in the presence of magnesium, not found in typical limestone. The sea which deposited the Little Falls dolomite swept the southern and eastern shores of the Adirondack region of Cambric times and the dolomite was probably deposited along these shores. Little Falls dolomite is the fourth rock of the Cambric series, lying above the Potsdam sandstone and limestone, Acadian limestone and Georgian slate and quartz. At Little Falls, however, it lies directly upon the Precambric syenite, one of the world's oldest rocks.

The famous "Little Falls diamonds" or white quartz crystals are found in cavities in the dolomite together with a substance called anthracite.

In passing our Little Falls dolomitic Rollaway, it is pertinent to here mention that most of the geological rock strata designations take their names from towns and places close to the main lines of travel, many of these terms being taken from towns which lie directly on or close to the New York to Buffalo Highway and its central section, the Old Mohawk Turnpike. This is particu-

larly true when the specified rock occurs in an unusual form or as a noteworthy landscape feature—as in the case of the Little Falls Rollaway, one of the world's best known cliffs, because of its proximity to the New York Central Railroad.

The Trenton limestone, at beautiful Trenton Falls; the Little Falls dolomite, exposed on a sheer cliff, 200 feet above the eyes of the passing thousands; the Canajoharie shale, forming the sheer hundred-foot walls of a beautiful small canyon, at Canajoharie; all are marked instances of the appropriate selection of geological terms in accessible localities.

The Middle and Upper Mohawk Valley (in the counties of Montgomery, Herkimer and Oneida), although of small area compared with the State at large, furnish a large number of the geological terms not only of New York State, but of our national geological text-books.

TRENTON LIMESTONE AND SHALE.

Dr. Miller says: "In the strata of Cambric age in New York, animal or plant remains are comparatively rare, while the Ordovicic rocks throughout fairly teem with fossils. If any formation deserves special mention, it is the Trenton limestone which is exceedingly rich in fossils. The type locality at Trenton Falls is justly famous as a collecting place for Ordovicic fossils. Among plants, none above very simple seaweed and algae are known to have existed. Among animals, hundreds of sea species have been described as occurring in the Ordovicic strata of New York." So great has been the change in the life forms of the sea that none of the Ordovicic species survives in our waters today.

The limestone at Trenton Falls is exposed, in its two miles of Gorge, often to a height of 200 feet. It is one of the most beautiful gorges in the country with equally beautiful falls. As the Trenton series was probably the greatest limestone era of geological time and as limestone enters so much into our life—in buildings and industries, a brief mention of it is pertinent here.

Limestone is a sedimentary rock composed chiefly of calcium carbonate. It may originate by precipitation of the mineral from solution in water of oceans or lakes, but this process is usually supplemented or replaced by an organic process, the material being secreted by aquatic animals or plants to form their tests or hard parts. These hard parts are not decomposed after death, but accumulate in layers which are afterward consolidated by the precipitation of calcium carbonate in the interstices. Such a deposit if incoherent is called shell marl or calcareous marl; marl

being a combination of structureless calcium carbonate, clay and sand in varying proportions. A special variety of fine texture is called chalk. Some limestone consists partly of magnesium carbonate and is called magnesian or dolomitic limestone. All other substances contained in limestone, are regarded as impurities. When precipitated limestone, instead of crystallizing, gathers in successive, coherent stony layers, it is called "tufa." Mexican onyx is a "tufa". Crystalline, metamorphosed limestone becomes marble, changed at great depths under conditions of tremendous heat which makes the limestone flowing or plastic. Cherty limestone has silex segregated in concretionary masses, called chert or flint—the material of which arrowheads and other weapons were made by our Mohawks and Oneidas.

Pure limestone is white. A yellow color is sometimes given by iron oxide. The ordinary limestone color is gray, which is due to the presence of organic matter. Limestones constitute about one-fifth of all the earth's sedimentary rocks and the Trenton was the greatest of all limestone periods. The limestones are extensively used for building, road material, a source of lime and for the fluxing of ores.

The Trenton series form the surface rock over a large area in the United States and Canada. The strata is about 100 feet thick in New York State, increasing to 1,000 feet in Pennsylvania.

The Black River, birds'-eye and Lowville limestones belong to the Trenton group, the Lowville being a particularly fine stone for building.

CANAJOHARIE SHALE.

The Canajoharie shale overlies the Trenton limestone with the Utica shale above it. With the Frankfort shale, these strata form the great central belt of rocks along the Mohawk on which the great majority of the Valley's population is located.

The entire terrain of shales of the Ordovicic period which is older than the Utica shales (but of Utica aspect) is now distinguished as Canajoharie shale. It lies generally in the lower Mohawk Valley (east of Little Falls) and in the Hudson Valley with outcrops of the greatest depth on the northern Vermont shore of Lake Champlain.

The Canajoharie Gorge is cut through this black shale and the falls drop over ledges of this rock. The typical exposure in this unusual and accessible Gorge has given the Canajoharie shale its name. It outcrops in the Rural Cemetery, on Van Schaick's Island at the mouth of the Mohawk. At Panton, Vermont, on the

northeastern shore of Lake Champlain, the Canajoharie shale has a depth of 1,000 feet; the Canajoharie is correlated with the Magog shale, appearing on the boundary region between Quebec and New Hampshire.

In the Valley, the Lorraine gray shale and sandstone are termed the Schenectady beds and similar beds to the north and east are called Snake Hill beds from Snake Hill, south of Saratoga Lake. All these formations—Canajoharie shale, Schenectady beds and Snake Hill beds are of Trenton age.

Shale is a rock composed of clay, divided into plates that lie generally parallel to its bedding and that split easily in the direction of the grain. Shale is the geological term, although, technically slate is the only shale which can be readily split into "slates". Our old time school slates were in reality pieces of this shale which is such a marked feature of the Mohawk Valley.

UTICA SHALE.

The Utica shale lies directly upon the Canajoharie shale in the middle and upper Mohawk Valley. Overlying the Utica shale is the Frankfort shale and limestone. These rocks were laid down at the close of the Ordovicic period, before the beginning of the great Taconic mountain revolution, of which the Berkshires, Green Mountains and White Mountains are the remains.

Typical outcrops of the Utica shale are along Starch Factory Creek, running through the New York State Masonic Home grounds, and beautiful Frederick T. Proctor Park, at the western limits of Utica. In drilling a well in Utica it was found that the shale extended to a depth of 700 feet.

FRANKFORT SHALE AND LIMESTONE.

The Frankfort shale and limestone is exposed in Frankfort Gulf south of Frankfort village. Both the Utica shale and the Frankfort shale outcrop in Central New York and on the western side of the Adirondacks.

ONEIDA CONGLOMERATE.

The Oneida conglomerate and Medina sandstone were the first Siluric sediments to form in Central and Western New York, the two being practically of the same age. These coarse deposits were washed into the shallow sea from the northern lands of the Adirondacks and Canada. The Oneida conglomerate extends from Central to Western New York. A conglomerate rock is one composed of heterogeneous materials, typically a rock composed of

rounded and waterworn pebbles or pre-existent rocks, sometimes called pudding stone. The Oneida conglomerate is banded with the Helderberg limestone and Oriskany sandstone, the three forming the narrow belt of the Helderberg Escarpment, from the Catskills to the Niagara River.

CLINTON SHALE, SANDSTONE AND IRON ORE.

Next in order, in the Siluric period, came the deposits of the Clinton series which consist of layers of shale, sandstone and iron ore. They are so named from the town or village of Clinton in Oneida County on Oriskany Creek. As Hamilton College lies in the midst of these formations, they have been particularly studied, inasmuch as Hamilton gives courses in geology. The Clinton limestone and sandstone have been extensively quarried here and have been used in the erection of the fine buildings of Hamilton College. The Clinton iron ore has been mined in two mines, one at the northern limits of Clinton and the other at Franklin Springs at its southern limits. This ore is now used in the manufacture of metallic paint at Clinton. Clinton sandstone is a rock consisting chiefly of particles of quartz sand, cemented with silica. The Clinton series extends from Central to Western New York.

At Clinton the following strata are exposed: Frankfort shale; Oneida conglomerate; Clinton shale, sandstone and iron ore; Niagara shale and limestone; Lower Salina or Vernon red limestone, Upper Salina shale and limestone; Cobleskill, Rondout and Manlius waterlimes; Helderberg limestone.

COBLESKILL LIMESTONE.

At the top of the Siluric beds are the Cobleskill, Rondout and Manlius limestone named from their outcrops at Cobleskill, Schoharie County, Rondout at Kingston, Ulster County, and Manlius in Onondaga County. These are not thick but are strongly in evidence across the state.

HELDERBERG LIMESTONE.

The Helderberg limestone forms the lowest stratum of the Devonic period. It takes its name from its marked outcrop on the picturesque Helderbergs which have their highest elevation and steepest fronts in Albany County. These mountains run into northeastern Schoharie County and also form the highlands known to geologists as the "Helderberg Escarpment" which runs from the angle of these heights south of Albany, westward to the

Niagara River. It is this hard limestone which caps the southern Mohawk-Susquehanna divide, its heights and its highlands and, with the Oriskany sandstone and Oneida conglomerate, forms a narrow belt, from the eastern face of the Catskills westward through Central New York to the Niagara River.

ORISKANY SANDSTONE.

The Oriskany sandstone of the lower Devonic period outcrops on Oriskany Creek. Devonic strata comprise the whole Catskill and southwestern plateau province, except for a few small patches of Carbonic rock and thus cover more than one-third of the area of the State. They are more widespread on the surface than the rocks of any other age. The combined thickness of the Devonic strata is over 4,000 feet, which is considerably more than for any other Paleozoic period in the State. The Oriskany sandstone extends from the East Central to Western New York and to the eastern base of the Catskill Mountains. As previously mentioned, the Oriskany sandstone and the Oneida conglomerate outcrop, with the Helderberg limestone, along the summit of the Helderberg Escarpment.

The Oriskany is the second from the bottom of the long series of Devonic rocks and is the last of the geological strata which take their names from localities in the Mohawk Valley. The Catskill sandstones, which cap the Devonic period, might be included, as the Catskill Mountains form part of the Mohawk Valley, inasmuch as they cover the southern half of Schoharie County. However, this makes a conclusion of the eleven rock formations which bear geological designations derived from their typical Valley outcrops, and these same rocks, with the Precambric formations of the Valley's Adirondack region, constitute practically the entire Mohawk Valley surface rocks.

CHAPTER 4.

THE MOHAWK VALLEY DRAINAGE SYSTEM.

ITS STREAMS AND LAKES—MOHAWK RIVER AND WATERSHED—VALLEY LAKE SYSTEMS—POINTS OF INTEREST—TOPOGRAPHY, MOUNTAIN AND HILL SYSTEMS, PEAKS AND PLATEAUS.

Three great drainage systems of the United States are represented in New York State, as follows: the Atlantic, the Great Lakes—St. Lawrence, and the Gulf of Mexico. The Hudson and its tributary, the Mohawk, belong to the Atlantic system. The ten great drainage basins of the State are the Hudson-Mohawk, Champlain, St. Lawrence, Lake Ontario, Erie, Alleghany (Mississippi River-Gulf of Mexico), Susquehanna, Delaware, Passaic, and Long Island.

MOHAWK RIVER AND WATERSHED.

The Mohawk River watershed is composed of sections of the six Mohawk Valley counties, as follows: Montgomery is the only county which has all its territory in the Mohawk River drainage basin. About three-quarters of Schenectady County drain into the Mohawk, while the southern portion is in the Hudson Valley watershed. All of Schoharie is in the Mohawk watershed except the southwestern part, in which lie the headwaters of the Delaware River. The western and southwestern parts of Fulton County are in the Mohawk basin, while the eastern third is in the Sacandaga watershed. The central river section of Herkimer County is in the Mohawk's watershed. The southern and southwest parts are in the watershed of the Susquehanna; the upper section, comprising fully one-half of the county, is in the Black River drainage basin. The central section of Oneida County lies in the Mohawk's watershed; the northeastern in the Black River drainage area; the western in the Oneida Lake basin, and the southern section in the Susquehanna watershed.

Besides these six Mohawk Valley counties parts of four other counties lie within the area drained by the Mohawk. The headwaters of the Mohawk lie within south central Lewis County. A few hundred acres of northern Otsego County are drained by the Otsquago, and part of the northern section is watered by the Canajoharie, both tributaries of the Mohawk. The northwestern

THE MOHAWK RIVER, ITS STREAMS AND WATERSHED

The names of its first and second class affluents are given to aid the reader in locating the different streams and Regions of the Watershed. Note the map of the six Mohawk Valley counties on page 35.

MAP OF NEW YORK STATE DRAINAGE BASINS

The Mohawk-Hudson, Long Island Sound, Delaware and Susquehanna (Atlantic Coast) systems; the Erie, Ontario, St. Lawrence, Champlain (St. Lawrence River) systems; Allegheny (Gulf of Mexico) system. From the Geological History of New York State by William J. Miller, Ph. D., reproduced by courtesy of Dr. Miller.

and western parts of Albany County lie in the Mohawk Valley, as well as part of the city of Cohoes and of Waterford at the northern side of the outlet of the Mohawk into the Hudson. The southern part of Saratoga County borders on the Mohawk, and its extreme southern portion is in the Mohawk Valley drainage system. The southwestern part of the wilderness of Hamilton County is in the West Canada Creek drainage section, which rises in West Canada Lake, the highest lake in the Adirondack region.

Reference to the drainage map of the Mohawk River will give the reader a clear idea of the Mohawk watershed and its principal streams. There are many small streams omitted from this list which are dry beds in summer and raging torrents in spring and fall. Some of these have considerable historical or geological significance but unless this gives the stream great importance it is not mentioned here, where only the Mohawk's main tributaries are given.

The Mohawk River is about 135 miles long from its source to its outlet into the Hudson. Its headwater west branch rises near Mohawk Hill, in the extreme southern part of Lewis County. Its eastern branch rises on the southern limits of Boonville and this stream is known as the Lansing Kill (lying in a deep gorge) southward to the junction of the two streams at Hillside, just above North Western.

The Mohawk's bed from North Western south for about five miles is occupied by the Delta reservoir of the Barge Canal. This is one of the two largest lakes in the Mohawk Valley, the other and the larger being the Hinckley Reservoir on West Canada Creek above Hinckley. The Delta dam is an important feeder for the Barge Canal summit level.

At Rome the Mohawk makes an abrupt turn (19 miles airline from its source) and runs southeast. Nine miles west of Utica is Nine Mile Creek, entering the Mohawk on the north shore opposite the Oriskany battlefield monument.

Going eastward, and with their north shore streams designated by "ns" and the south shore by "ss", the main streams of the Mohawk are listed as follows, according to class, and the point of their outlet:

Oriskany Creek (second class, ss), Oriskany; Sauquoit Creek (ss), Whitesboro; Reel's Creek (ns), Utica; Starch Factory Creek (ss), East Utica limits; Ferguson Creek (ss), Harbor separating Frankfort Hill and Dutch Hill; Sterling Creek (ns), opposite Dutch Hill; Moyer Creek (ss), at Frankfort; Gulf Stream or Steele's Creek (ss), at Ilion; Fulmer Creek (ss), at Mohawk;

West Canada Creek (first class tributary, 60 miles long, rising in West Canada Lake, highest lake in the Adirondacks), at Herkimer; Spoon Creek (ss), at Fort Herkimer; Beaver Brook (ns), opposite Jacksonburg; Asteronga (ns), at Little Falls; Herkimer (ss), near Gen. Herkimer Homestead; Crum Creek (ns), opposite Indian Castle; Nowadaga (ss), at Indian Castle; East Canada Creek, second class tributary, at East Creek; Crum Creek (ns); Timmerman Creek (ns), at Upper St. Johnsville; Zimmerman Creek (ns), at St. Johnsville; Garoga Creek (ns), at Palatine Church; Otsquago Creek (ss), at Fort Plain; Canajoharie Creek (ss), at Canajoharie; Plattekill or Onagerea (ss), at Sprakers Basin; Knauderack or Kanagora (ns), at Montgomery County Farm at Schenck's Hollow; Wasontha or Yatesville Creek (ss), at Randall; Brigg's Run (ns), east of Yosts; Cayadutta (ns), at Fonda; Dadanoscara (ns), one mile west of Tribes Hill; Aurieskill (ss), at Auriesville; Schoharie River (ss), first tributary of the Mohawk, 75 miles long, rising in the Catskill region near Catskill, at Fort Hunter; Chuctanunda (ns) and South Chuctanunda (ss), at Amsterdam; Evaskill (ns), at Cranesville; Chaughtanoonda (ns) at Hoffmans; Sandsea Kill at Pattersonville; Platterkill (ns), east of Rotterdam; two creeks at Schenectady (ss), now largely disappeared under the city streets; Alplauskill (ns) at Alplaus; Lishakill (ss), at Niskayuna; Stony Creek (ns), at Visscher's Ferry. Thence eastward about twelve miles to the outlet of the Mohawk into the Hudson, between the cities of Cohoes and Troy.

The five chief tributaries of the Mohawk west to east are the Oriskany, West Canada, East Canada, Garoga Creek and the Schoharie River.

The chief tributaries of the West Canada are North Creek, White Creek, Black Creek, Four Mile Creek, South Branch, Spruce Lake Creek.

The chief tributary of the Oriskany is Dean Creek.

The chief tributaries of the East Canada are Spruce Creek, Middle Sprite, Fish Creek, Ayers Creek, Brayhouse, Black Cat Outlet.

The chief tributaries of the Garoga are Mill Creek, North Creek, Sprite Creek, Peck Pond Outlet.

The chief tributaries of the Schoharie are Fly Creek, Cobleskill, Fox Creek, Panther Creek, Keyser Creek, West Kill, Manor Kill, Bear Kill, Batavia Kill, East Kill. The Schoharie rises near Haines Falls in southern Greene County about eight miles from the Hudson and ten miles from Catskill on the Hudson.

MOHAWK VALLEY LAKE SYSTEMS.

The chief lake systems of the Mohawk Valley are mainly in its Adirondack region. The two largest bodies of water on the northern side of the Valley are Lake Delta (five miles long) and Hinckley Lake (eight miles long), both artificial reservoirs of the Barge Canal. Mirror Lake, a small but beautiful lakelet, on the northern limits of Herkimer, is another artificial lake, created by the construction of the village Hydraulic Power Canal.

Besides Hinckley Lake, the West Canada has Jerseyfield Lake, Honnedaga Lake, Wilmurt Lake, and the West Canada Lakes which are its headwaters. The West Canada Lakes lie in a wild, wooded and rugged mountain section, well within the southern limits of the Adirondacks in Hamilton County. West Canada Lake has the distinction of being the highest body of water in the Adirondack Mountains, lying 2,367 feet above the sea level. The second highest is Honnedaga, also a West Canada Creek lake, with an altitude of 2,187 feet.

East Canada Creek rises in Morehouse Lake (1,975 feet sea elevation). There are a dozen or more tributary lakelets and ponds in the rugged Adirondack country of small mountains in this section southwest of Piseco Lake. The chief ones are Big Alderbed and Ferris Lake. The principal lake region of East Canada Creek is the Canada Lake group lying in the northwestern section of Fulton County. They drain into East Creek through Sprite Creek, now used for a local hydro-electric power station, one of the four power developments of the East Canada, the others being at Dolgeville, Ingham's Mills and Beardslee Falls.

Canada Lake and West Canada (surrounded by rugged mountain peaks) have an altitude of 1,542 feet. The other lakes of the group are Green Lake, Otter Lake, Pine Lake, Nine Corner Lake, Middle Lake, West Lake, East Lake, Irving Pond, Bellows Lake. Canada Lake is a great summer resort place.

The headwaters of the Garoga comprise three chief headwater lakes: Garoga Lake, East Garoga Lake (with altitudes of 1,450 feet). Peck Lake (altitude 1,360 feet, the largest and most picturesque of the Garoga group) rises in a swamp (near Peters Corners), from which the West Stony Creek runs northeastward into the Sacandaga. A group of ponds lies on the top of the Adirondack escarpment facing Gloversville,—called Mayfield Mountain—and which is a northward extension of Nose Ridge. They are Mountain Lake, Vandenberg Pond and Woodworth Lake (which lies close to the steep edge of the mountain about four

miles from Gloversville). Garoga Lake, like Canada Lake, is a favorite summer resort place for Mohawk Valley people.

Woodworth Lake has an elevation of 1,620 feet and is half a mile west of the mountain peak with an elevation of 1,960 feet, and another peak close by with 2,000 feet sea elevation and 1,200 feet above Mayfield Creek. These peaks are less than four miles northeast of the Gloversville city limits, and easily seen from the town which is truly the "Gateway to the Adirondacks."

The Chuctanunda has the artificial Amsterdam power reservoir, lying in the town of Galway, Saratoga County. Two lakes form the headwaters of the South Chuctanunda, which enters the Mohawk on the south shore at Amsterdam. They are Mariaville Pond (1,298 feet sea elevation) and Featherstone Lake (1,322 feet sea elevation), which lie on a plateau forming the summit of the Yantapooshaberg. Featherstone Lake was the seat of George W. Featherstonaugh, a prominent public man and scholar and the originator of the New York Central Railroad, who lived here in the early Nineteenth Century.

At Scotia, opposite Schenectady, is Sanders Lake, a pond cut off by the filling of one of the many Mohawk channels here.

There are no lakes along the southern side of the Mohawk watershed from the Oriskany to the Schoharie. Cedar Lake, the headwaters of the Unadilla and Little Unadilla Lake (at Miller's Mills) lie in Herkimer County, but are in the Susquehanna basin.

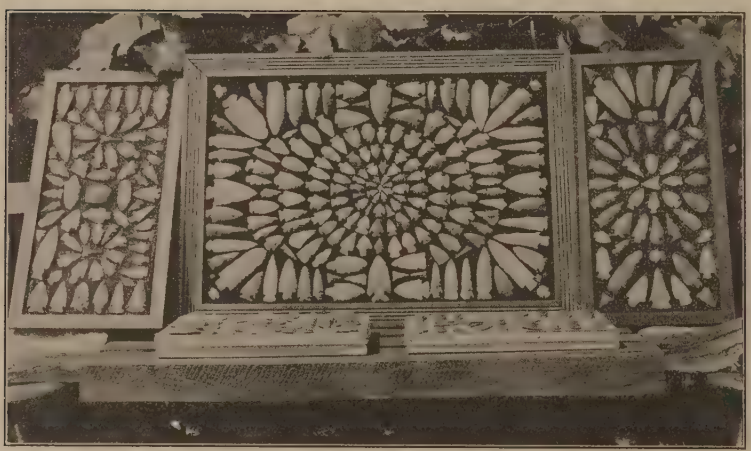
There are a number of ponds in the Schoharie watershed. There is a pond at Mineral Springs, near Cobleskill, Bear Swamp Pond and Reservoir draining into Oak Creek, a branch of the Cobleskill. The largest lake in the Schoharie basin is Warner Lake (1,190 feet sea elevation) in Albany County, which forms the main headwater of Fox Creek, chief tributary of the Schoharie.

MOHAWK VALLEY POINTS OF INTEREST.

There are a number of Mohawk Valley geological landscape and other points of interest which deserve mention in a chapter dealing with the Mohawk Valley and its watershed. From the source of the Mohawk eastward, these chief landscape features are as follows:

Lansing Kill Gorge, Delta Lake, West Canada Creek falls and chasm, Ilion Gorge, Little Falls Gorge, East Creek Falls, Van Hornesville Gorge, cave and burning spring on the Otsquago, Canajoharie Creek Falls and Gorge, salt spring at Salt Springville and Sharon Springs (famous for its mineral waters) on the

headwaters of the Canajoharie, the Noses, Mitchells Cave on the South Nose, Kinquariones, Touareuna, Wolf Hollow, Yantapooshaberg, Platterkill Falls, Cohoes Falls. On the Cobleskill branch of the Schoharie, is Howes Cave and Bouck's Falls on Panther Creek, both in Schoharie County. Besides the foregoing there are two iron mines at Clinton and one at Salisbury Center.



MOHAWK ARROW AND SPEAR HEADS

From the collection of Mr. C. Van Horne, Glen. Photograph by Mr. C. M. Vander Veer, Amsterdam, N. Y.

CHAPTER 5.

THE MOHAWKS.

THE MOHAWKS, ELDER BROTHERS OF THE IROQUOIS CONFEDERACY AND KEEPERS OF THE EASTERN GATE OF THE LONG HOUSE OF THE FIVE NATIONS—ESKIMO, ALGONQUIN AND MOUND BUILDER OCCUPATION OF THE REGION OF PRESENT NEW YORK STATE—STRATEGIC POSITION AND NATURAL ADVANTAGES OF NEW YORK—PARKER'S HYPOTHESIS OF THE IROQUOIS INVASION—HOCHELAGA, THE GREAT MOHAWK CASTLE ON THE ST. LAWRENCE, AT PRESENT MONTREAL—THE MOHAWKS RETREAT TO VERMONT, 1570—BEGINNING OF THE HUNDRED YEARS' WAR—ONONDAGAS, ONEIDAS AND MOHAWKS JOIN THE SENECAS AND CAYUGAS ON THE IROQUOIS TRAIL—FIRST FOUR MOHAWK CASTLES IN THE VALLEY—WHERE HIAWATHA AND DEKANAWIDA MET AND FOUND REFUGE WITH THE MOHAWKS—MOHAWK AND IROQUOIS LIFE, HABITS, CUSTOMS AND WARFARE—CARTIER'S VISIT TO THE MOHAWK CASTLE OF HOCHELAGA, 1535.

The story of the Mohawks is that of the most famous of the Indians of North America who were the elder brothers of the Iroquois Confederacy. Before the coming of the white man, they kept the Eastern Gate of the Iroquois Long House. To their Algonquin enemies, they were the terrible Mohowaugs who "ate living creatures"; from their land of blood and flame the Iroquois braves went out upon the warpath to the conquest of an Indian empire in Northeastern America.

When Champlain ascended the mighty St. Lawrence and when Hudson sailed up the great river, which bears his name, the League of Five Nations was already located in its Iroquois Long House. Seated upon the Iroquois Trail (from present Albany to Buffalo), these Confederates were in a strategic position which was to make them the masters of their Indian world. Before them the Algonquins and the Mound Builders had entered the present area of New York State, but the Iroquois now had taken possession of the great trail, which was the backbone of this favored region and here they were masters until the white men's vices and diseases so vitiated them that the white pioneers finally pushed them from their point of vantage.

Before we enter upon the story of the Mohawk let us briefly consider the land which he invaded and where he planted his Long House.

New York is fittingly called the Empire State, for, within its bounds it holds all the elements of an empire. It deserves the title, not alone for its present commanding position but because it was once the seat of government of one of the most famous confederacies of history—that of the Five Nations of Iroquois Indians.

Our State's key situation, with reference to the great eastern waterways and highways, and the fact that its Mohawk Valley affords the only easy gateway from the Atlantic coast to the Great Lakes, gave this territory its dominating situation. Occupying the Iroquois Trail which forms the very backbone of this region, and by utilizing its enormous natural advantages, the Iroquois were enabled to conquer the greater part of the Indians of Northeastern America.

Along streams and lakes, over hill and dale and following the high and dry ridges, the Indian trails ran to all the hunting and fishing grounds of the east and also formed the warpaths over which the Iroquois traveled to the conquest or destruction of their enemies.

The vital position of New York's territory with regard to America's waterways is truly remarkable. In streams on or along the Iroquois Trail the Confederates could launch their elm bark canoes in water, which with short portages, carried them northeastward to the St. Lawrence River, north or northwestward to the Great Lakes, Southwestward to the Allegheny, Ohio and Mississippi, southward to the Susquehanna and eastward, through the Mohawk and the Hudson, to the sea. Streams of all these great river systems have headwaters lying along or close to the Iroquois Trail. The utilization of the levels of the streams along this highway of the Five Nations, in the course of the construction of the Erie canal, gave our State America's first great artery of commerce, which, in its turn, first made New York our nation's leading commonwealth.

New York State, as a vantage point, must have appealed strongly to the keen mind of the Iroquois invader. From his Long House, he realized that he could strike north, south, east and west and then rapidly return to the strongholds of the Confederacy. The Iroquois also knew that, of all his trails and of all his streams, none was more vital than the river and trail that ran through the Mohawk Valley and connected the Mohawk castles. Added to the numerous easy paths and the many streams navigable by canoe, were the forests which teemed with game and the open flatlands

THE MOHAWK WARRIORS

Here are represented some of the customs of the famous Mohawk Indians, noted for their ferocious warfare. A war party has returned with two Mohican prisoners, one of whom has thrown down his burden and is about to be killed. With folded arms he awaits his fate when a clan matron coming up from the village holds forth the ransom wampum, saving his life for a family adoption. The background represents a Mohawk town on the hills south of the Mohawk River at Spraker's station.

Iroquois Indian Exhibit—Return of the Mohawk Warriors—Scene, Sprakers, State Museum, Education Building, Albany, N. Y.

INDUSTRIES OF THE ONEIDAS

This group represents six typical activities of the Iroquois Indians, the figures in this case being Oneidas. From left to right the industries are: Basket making, weaving, flint chipping, wood carving, moccasin making, and pottery moulding. Indians were always a busy people. The background represents Nichols Pond, the site of the capital town of the Oneidas in present Madison County.

Iroquois Indian Exhibit—Iroquois Industries—Scene, Nichols Pond, near Fenner. State Museum, Education Building, Albany, N. Y.

along the rivers, which afforded natural cornfields which could be easily cultivated.

Here was a country for a strong man to have and to hold, and the Iroquois was the strong man of his savage period.

The natural advantages here cited had also appealed to the people who had come into the region comprised within present New York State, prior to the advent of the conquering Iroquois.

Weak Indian tribes probably had feared to seat themselves along our river because, when here located, they would have been threatened with destruction by migrating tribes of redmen or by raiding war parties which followed this great natural travel route. To the Mohawks, this site offered a challenge to his valor. He accepted the challenge, took the land and held it in undisputed mastery, until the white man's teeming numbers alone ended his overlordship of the Valley.

* * *

The leading authorities on the North American Indian do not give any great antiquity to the redman's coming into the vast area of our continent east of the Rocky Mountains. It is probable that the Eskimo people, who have left remains in our state and in the Mohawk Valley, greatly antedated the Indian arrival and this Eskimo type may have been here some thousands of years before the arrival of Indians. It is but reasonable to suppose that the ancestors of the Eskimo went gradually northward with the waning of an ice cap which was so extensive that it must have prohibited the existence of life of any extent upon its surface.

At some time during the Glacial period, Asiatic peoples crossed the icebound Behring Sea from Siberia to Alaska, and began that southward march which was to eventually people the entire area of North and South America. These Asiatics of Turanian stock followed the Pacific Coast route southward and, the Pacific Coast, Central and South America were probably the home of large populations, before adventurous tribes crossed the Rockies and began their long migration to the Atlantic. Thus the red man's peopling of North America was by a route exactly opposite to the white man's invasion.

Until the Iroquois came, our Mohawk Valley does not seem to have had any general occupancy, probably due to the fact that this has always been a great highway and thus was unsafe for any but a strong and warlike race of Indians like the Mohawks.

In "The Archaeological History of New York," Mr. Arthur C. Parker, State Archaeologist (himself a member of the Seneca

nation), gives the various occupations of New York State as those of an Eskimo like people, Alogonquins, Indians of the Mound Builder culture type, and the Iroquois. Says Parker: "The Algonquin occupation of New York stretches back into comparatively remote times. There must have been wave after wave of these peoples coming in band after band, to hunt over the territory or to make settlements. Very likely the inviting regions south of the Lake Erie and Lake Ontario-St. Lawrence basins were as much occupied by the Algonquin tribes as was New England at the time of the discovery." Mr. Parker divides the Algonquin occupation into three periods, in the very first of which the Algonquins seem somewhat associated with the Eskimo type of people and, in the latest, when they covered a great part of the State. However, the Algonquins never seem to have occupied the entire Mohawk Valley, in fact, only the eastern area, and the extreme western end about Rome and Oneida lake, show evidences of Algonquin occupation, although there may be occasional exceptions. The Mohicans, a branch of this great family, occupied the extreme eastern end of the Valley, about Cohoes Falls and the Sprouts of the Mohawk, at the time of the Dutch location at present Albany in 1614. They have also left evidences of their occupancy of the Mohawk Valley between Amsterdam and Schenectady.

The Mound Builders are now known to have been Indians of a certain type and cultural development. They represent probably the third phase of the aboriginal occupation of New York. The extravagant stories of a mysterious mound-building people, who early were stated to have been other than Indians, have all been dissipated by scientific investigation. These elaborate fictions now take their place with the antiquated attempts of the Puritans and their descendants to connect the Indians with the lost tribes of Israel, a characteristic piece of New England inconsistency, because, while the Puritan ostensibly venerated his Israelites, he eliminated the Indian as rapidly as possible.

The works of the Mound Builders are those of the ancestors of the Indians now living. The mound builder type of culture is found in the river and lake valleys of western New York, on the shore of Lake Ontario northeast of the Oswego River and along the Iroquois Trail and into the western Mohawk Valley.

Says Parker: "The earthworks of New York are broadly divisible into two classes (1) walled and trenched inclosures, (2) mounds. With very few exceptions all the fortifications or walled inclosures in New York may be ascribed to the Iroquois

tribes. The earthworks outline retreats or strongholds and the earthen walls were the bases for stockades. In no sense are these banks and earth walls to be regarded as mounds. * * * It is not easy to define the boundaries of this (mound) culture, because the implements and ornaments that it produced are in many respects similar to some of those made by the Algonquin and Iroquois peoples in New York and the adjacent territory."

The mound building Indians evidently came from the west into western New York by way of the north and south shores of Lake Erie and through the Allegheny valley, probably pushing some of the Algonquin tribes out of their homes. Their probable long period of location here covered part of that of the Algonquin occupation, but they had all disappeared from the State before the Iroquoian invasion and settlements, the oldest of which in New York State, probably do not exceed 600 years in age.

* * *

Under the heading, "Iroquois Migration Hypothesis" in the "Archaeological History of New York," Mr. A. C. Parker gives the following hypothetical version of the migration which brought the Iroquois from the west into New York State and finally into the Mohawk Valley.

Let us suppose that the one, two or more related tribes of early Huron-Iroquois lived in a portion of a region embraced within a circle having a radius of 200 miles and with its center at the mouth of the Ohio River, where they were in contact with the Caddo, the Muskhogee, the Sioux and some of the Algonkin. They were more or less agricultural and sedentary and familiar with village life. They knew how to erect stockades and build earthen walls for their inclosures.

Some movement of intruding immigrants or other influence caused them as a body to push northward up the Ohio River. Some went eastward into the Carolinas, but the main body migrated in a northeasterly direction. The tribes of the Cherokee were the first to lead the way and crowded upon the mound-building Indians of Ohio, whom they fought for a long period of time. They finally overcame the Mound Builders and absorbed a large number into their own tribal divisions, and possessed themselves of the Mound-Builder country. Very likely they were assisted in this conquest by bands of Choctaw, Algonkins and by some of their own cognate kinsmen.

They then took upon themselves some of the characteristics of the Mound Builders, but endeavored to blot out some of their

arts, to the extent of mutilating objects they regarded as symbolic of their former enemies.

Other Iroquoian tribes then pushed northward and endeavored to pass through the Cherokee Mound-Builder country. Jealousies arose and the newcomers with the Delaware began a general war against them, finally driving them southward and across the Appalachian ranges. This estranged the two branches and led to wars up to well into the historic period.

The beauty and fertility of the country attracted settlement, but the Cherokee constantly raided their villages. Bands then began to cross the Detroit River and push their way into the peninsula between Lakes Huron, Erie and Ontario. A band now known as the Huron established themselves near and southward of Lake Simcoe. An allied tribe, the Attiwandaronk or Neuter, possessed the region south and east of them, taking the Grand River country and pushing eastward across the Niagara. Still other bands pushed over the northern shores of Lakes Erie and Ontario and fought their way to the mouth of the St. Lawrence.

Powerful bands established themselves about the St. Lawrence, with the site of Montreal as a center. They were the Mohawk-Onondaga, though the Onondaga soon pushed southward to the hilly region east of the foot of Lake Ontario, in the present Jefferson County.

Certain bands continued on the south shores of the lakes and pushed their way eastward. One division, the Erie, claimed nearly the entire southern shore of Lake Erie while the Seneca, pushing eastward, laid hold of the country from the Genesee River to Canandaigua Lake.

The Conestoga or Andaste took northern Pennsylvania, especially the region embraced by the two branches of the Susquehanna, including the Chemung River and southward, perhaps as far as Harrisburg. From thence to the headwaters of the Chesapeake the Susquehannock claimed dominion. Still southward but east of the Cherokee pushed the Tuscarora and it is possible that bands of them earlier lived there.

There was constant intercourse between the various tribes who were well aware of the seats of one another. Often the various bands were at war and often there were loose alliances, as of the Tuscarora with the northern Iroquois. The Cherokee and Iroquois, especially the Seneca, were constantly at war. To the north the chief enemies of the Iroquois were the Adirondack, who later allied themselves with the Huron.

The Huron-Iroquois pushed the eastern Algonkin to a narrow

strip along the coast and so separated them from their western kinsmen that they exercised a dominant influence over their material culture and to some extent their social organization. The Delaware, who were closely associated with the Iroquois, were always more or less friendly with them, and indeed in the historic period at least acknowledged the supreme authority of the confederated Iroquois over them.

The raids of the Adirondack or Abenaki of the north, and the hostility of the southern Iroquois at length compelled the Laurentian Iroquois, the Mohawk, Onondaga and Oneida tribes to form a compact which later took in the Cayuga and then the Seneca.

The Onondaga early had pushed farther south, leaving their east Ontario (Jefferson County) strongholds and occupying the hilly country south of Onondaga Lake, in the present Onondaga County. The incursions of the Abenaki made this necessary. The Mohawk soon followed owing to disagreements with the Laurentian Huron. In their southern migration they came upon the Mohawk Valley country where they established themselves first on the highlands north of the river, in the present Fulton and Montgomery counties, and later on the southern side of the river. The Oneida band, long a separate body, moved westward into the highlands of Madison County. Still west and on the hills near Limestone Creek were the Onondaga and beyond them the Cayuga living along the Seneca River and southward about Cayuga Lake.

Between these divisions of Iroquois in spite of a common origin and common stock dialects there were frequent feuds and much jealousy. In general their southern neighbors gave them too much trouble to leave much time for war between themselves. The Mohawk sent war parties north to harass their foes, the Huron and Abenaki and even the Micmac, but in turn were disturbed by the Conestoga or Andaste, whose Chemung Valley settlements made war on the Cayuga also. The Seneca and Erie tribes in the Genesee country and along Lake Erie were in constant intercourse and perhaps allied for defensive purposes. The westernmost Seneca settlements were especially friendly with the Erie. On both sides of the Niagara River were the villages of the Attiwandaronk or Neutral, considered an old and parent body of all the Huron-Iroquois. Within one of their villages near the Niagara lived Ji-gon-sa-seh, "The Mother of Nations," a woman who was a lineal descendant of "the first woman of earth."

The Neutral had a series of eastern settlements occupied by a band calling themselves the Wenro.

The pressure of the eastern Iroquois and the additional power their friendship would give, made the idea of a confederacy to the Seneca an inviting one and a large portion of the nation subscribed to it. The Erie were not kindly disposed to the idea and the southern Iroquois were not at all attracted by it. The Neutral saw no need of entering the league since they made no local war and since both their Huron and Iroquois kinsmen respected their ancient authority and the prestige given them by the "Mother of Nations." Thus, the Iroquois Confederacy or Long House came to embrace only the Mohawk, Oneida, Onondaga, Cayuga and Seneca. The fact that some of their kinsmen would not join the confederacy was displeasing to the Five Nations, who though dedicating their league to the establishment of peace saw grave danger in their neighbors who refused to subscribe to the articles of friendship. The new confederacy was soon beset with enemies on all sides who saw in its rising influence a general danger. But the confederacy developed certain mental qualities within its leaders who were not to be overwhelmed. They became astute statesmen as well as ferocious warriors. They learned the advantage of concerted action, of compromise among themselves and of organizing mass onslaughts. Thus nation after nation fell before them,—the Erie, the Neutral, the Huron, the Wenro, and the Conestoga. The Cherokee were too far away to reach effectively. Although the Five Nations lost thousands of warriors their foes lost more and the surviving enemy were made captives, led into the Iroquois villages and adopted. This swelled their ranks enormously and virtually united by blood mixture all the Iroquois.

The triumph did not come to them, however, until the middle of the colonial period, and with this triumph came the golden age of the Five Nations. This was from about 1650 to 1755. Before the earlier date their foes had been Indians; after that date they battled with the white man, it is true, but they lost no power. By 1755, however, the colonists had come in such numbers that the Five Nations saw the end of their ascendancy as a dictatory power. They had come, they had conquered and now they became engulfed in a complex of cultural elements of which their ancestors had never dreamed.

When one considers how many captives were taken by the Iroquois tribes, and how extensive their trade and their raids were, it seems little short of marvelous that so few non-Iroquoian articles are found on the sites of their former habitation. Nearly everything we find is unmistakably Iroquois, as if among all the

tribes that they met and conquered nothing that they made was worth taking or copying by the Iroquois. They even rejected certain objects, as we have already seen, that ordinarily must have been attractive to them. It is true that some non-Iroquoian articles may have been found, but these are very few and may have been lost by the wandering enemy or concealed by captives. We are thus compelled to believe, since the preponderance of evidence supports it, that the Iroquois held their material culture a crystallized thing, a possession that must not be adulterated or violated. They must have deliberately stripped their captives of everything distinctively non-Iroquoian and prevented them from making distinctive objects of other tribes. Historically we know that the Iroquois removed the moccasins of their captives and placed upon their feet those of the Iroquois pattern. In all this there is an interesting suggestion for the study of American Indian folk belief.

With the coming of the European many of these older beliefs began to crumble. The white man's goods were desirable to a degree that broke down all resistance. They were filled with the potent magic of the white man and gave power and speed to those who used them. Thus on all Iroquois sites that were occupied when the European traders tracked their way through the forests, European articles may be found. The number of implements of the white man's manufacture found on sites increases as time goes on, until in midcolonial times the sites of Iroquois towns, as at Boughton Hill and Rochester Junction, are strewn with scraps of brass and bits of iron. Even the graves contain guns, scissors, copper and brass kettles, and glass beads are shoveled up by the quart. In late colonial sites European articles predominate and as the nineteenth century advanced, distinctively Indian things all but disappear.

Only in a few places today do the Iroquois tribes make any durable thing that is similar to their old manufactures, though they do have a few ceremonial articles of bark, wood, husk, and skin. They make nothing more of stone, clay, or flint. They still make—at least some non-Christian Iroquois do—turtle shell rattles. Their early belief told how the earth rested on the back of a turtle. It was the first permanent thing; likewise the shell of the turtle, empty save for a few kernels of corn or small pebbles, is the last characteristic thing of their culture that when buried in the earth will survive the action of the elements. The white man's goods and the white man's way of living have all but obliterated the Iroquois. The so-called "pagans" have a few cere-

monies, make a few ceremonial and useful articles and remember a few legends yet, but outwardly the bronze-skinned Iroquois is dressed as a white man who gains his livelihood as white men do, by working as a section hand, upon the farm or in the shop, or perchance by writing treatises upon archeology. There are few things he cannot now do that other races do. And it should be recorded that several hundred of the younger men volunteered for the late war as soldiers of the American and Canadian expeditionary forces and went overseas in almost every capacity from private to captain, thereby in the most effective manner strengthening the bonds that unite them, the Iroquois, with the common brotherhood of nations. Thus we may see whither they go, but our problem has been to determine whence they came. Our information as we have seen, points to a source to the west, and down the Ohio. We ought to find plain evidences of early Iroquois sites all along the Ohio River and westward along the shores of Lake Erie and even as far as Wisconsin, thence southward to the mouth of the Ohio.

* * *

The Iroquois of the Five Nations boasted in the name of Onk-we-on-we-ke, meaning "real men" or "the only real men," all others being inferior. The name is variously spelled, one form being On-go On-gue.

The Iroquois called themselves Ko-no-shi-o-ni, meaning "cabin makers," while their name for their confederacy was Ho-de-no-sau-nee, signifying "people of the long house." The confederated Five Nations, lying along the Iroquois trail, they metaphorically termed "the Long House," of which the Mohawks guarded the eastern and the Senecas the western door. The true national names of the Five Nations were: Mohawks, Ga-ne-ga-o-no, "flint owners," frequently written Caniegas by historians. Oneidas, O-na-yo-te-ga-no, "people of the stone," referring to their ceremonial tribal stones. Onondagas, O-nun-dah-ga-o-no, "people of the hills." Cayugas, Gue-u-ghew-o-no, "people of the marshland," about the head of Cayuga Lake. Senecas, Nun-da-wah-o-no, "great hill people," referring to a high hill near which their main early castle stood. The name Iroquois was one given the Confederates by their Algonquin enemies and is said to mean "real snakes." The Indians used fully as uncomplimentary names regarding their enemies as white men have ever done.

The common name Mohawk came from one given this tribe by its Algonquin enemies—the name of Mohowaug signifying "they eat living creatures." Roger Williams gave us a lively

paragraph concerning them when he wrote: "The Maguagogs, or Men-eaters, that live three or four hundred miles west from us, make a delicious, monstrous dish of the heads and brains of their enemies." The enemies of the Mohawks also called them "Bears."

The Mohawk name for flint was "Kanna," which was probably the root word for the name Ca-ni-en-ga. This name was written as Annies, Agniers, Agniez, Agniehronons, by the French. The Mohawk name for our river is said to have been Te-non-an-at-che, "river flowing through mountains."

Champlain distinguished the Five Nations as Iroquois, meaning the Mohawks, and Entonhonorons, which covered the Oneida, Onondagas, Cayugas and Senecas. Both of these terms he learned from the Algonquins. Later French writers called them the upper and lower Iroquois. The Dutch called the Mohawks, Maquaas and, like the French, combined the other four Iroquois nations under the name of Senecas. To the English, they were the Five Nations with their five tribal names, the Mohawks being the most in evidence as the nearest and most affecting the English interests.

Besides its national name, each tribe of the Iroquois had a formal ceremonial title by which it was addressed in council. The primal necessity felt by human beings for synonyms was probably largely responsible for these ceremonial tribal designations. We seem to need two names for ideas as well as for objects in order to avoid tiresome repetition. David Cusick, the native Tuscarora historian, gives these council names as follows:

Mohawks: Te-haw-re-ho-ge, "A speech divided," meaning "many people of one voice," or "in union there is strength," "E pluribus unum."

Oneidas: Ne-haw-re-tah-go-wah, meaning "Big Tree," referring to Hiawatha's finding them beside a large tree, which they had just cut down.

Onondagas: Seuh-ne-keh-te, meaning "Bearing the Names," as the Onondagas were the wampum keepers of the League. Their castle was the Iroquois capital, as they were the middle nation.

Cayugas: Soh-ne-na-we-too-na, meaning "Great Pipe."

Senecas: Hoo-neen-ho-ho-ne-tah, meaning "Possessing a Door," or "The People of the Door," or, in the spirit of the phrase, "Keepers of the Western Door of the Iroquois Long House."

Tuscaroras (who became the sixth nation after 1711): Tuphah-te-ehn-yah-wah-kou, meaning, "The People who Embrace the Great Tree," referring to the fact that they were received by the

COUNCIL OF THE ONONDAGA TURTLE CLAN

Four principal chiefs of the great Onondaga nation have met for a clan council. The turtle clan has some matter of importance to bring before the nation. One chief is arguing the subject while the clan matron views his attitude with disfavor, instructing her spokesman what to reply for her and all the women of the clan. The bark house is genuine and was once inhabited by the Indians.

Iroquois Indian Exhibit—Onondaga Council House. State Museum, Education Building, Albany, N. Y.

THE FALSE FACE CEREMONY OF THE CAYUGAS

This group depicts the period after the coming of the white man, who brought steel tools, cloth and beads. The Indians now lived in log houses and wore cloth clothing cut in native style. This ceremony represents the mid-winter purification rite of the False Face Companions, who build a new fire, sweep the lodge, sprinkle ashes upon the heads of the people, bring good cheer and drive out the witches of evil and disease. The building here used is a real Indian log house from the Tonawanda reservation.

Iroquois Indian Exhibit—False Face Ceremony—Scene, Cayuga Lake. State Museum, Education Building, Albany, N. Y.

Oneidas and given lands, and that the latter's council name was the "Big Tree."

The national devices of the different Iroquois nations were: Mohawks, flint and steel; Oneidas, a stone in the fork of a tree (where they sometimes placed this ceremonial stone); Onondagas, cabin on top of a hill; Cayugas, a great pipe; Senecas, cabin on a mountain top.

The Mohawks, Onondagas and Senecas were the "elder brothers." The Oneidas, Cayugas and Tuscaroras were the "younger brothers." The precedence given the Mohawks as the first of the elder brothers would indicate that they were the descendants of the original Iroquois nation, tribe, or family, from which the other nations had branched out in the remote past.

* * *

When Henry Hudson sailed up the river which today bears his name, in 1609, he met several tribes of Indians, with whom he had both peaceful and warlike dealings. These were all Algonquins, chief of whom were the Mahikans who ruled the Albany and Upper Hudson districts and the Catskill Mountains. The other Algonquin tribes on the Hudson River and its mouth were the Manhattans (on Manhattan and Staten Island); the Canarsies (occupying Kings County, and the Rockaway Bay section); the Sankhikans (in the Jersey City and Newark sections). On the west bank of the Hudson above the Sankhikans, were the Tappans (of Rockland County), the Warranawankongs (in Orange County, around present Newburg), the Wappingers (on both sides of the Hudson at Poughkeepsie); the Esopus (around Kingston and vicinity); and the Mahikan or Mohican, northward nearly to Lake George.

On the east side of the Hudson, above the Manhattans on Manhattan Island were the Siwaneys (in lower Westchester County); the Sintsinks (near Sing Sing); and the Kitchawanks (upper Westchester County); the Weckquaeskecks (in middle Westchester County); the Pachami (just north of Poughkeepsie); the Waeranoecks (opposite Kingston).

When Captain Corstiaensen sailed on his tenth voyage to New Netherlands in 1614, he sailed up the Mauritius (Hudson River) to present Albany. Here he founded a trading post called Fort Nassau and here he met Algonquins who were deadly enemies of the Iroquois. From these Algonquins he learned of the nearest of the Five Nations, which was called Mohowaugs or "Man-eaters" by the Algonquins.

In 1609, when the Dutch explored Hudson River and when

Champlain met the Mohawks in a fateful battle on the shore of the lake which bears his name, the Iroquois League of Five Nations was already ranged along the Iroquois trail, from the Schoharie River westward to the Genesee. It claimed and ruled over all the territory of New York State including even that occupied by the (Hudson) "River" Algonquin Indians, which region was subsequently usurped, bought or claimed and ruled over by the Dutch West India Co., so that the Iroquois and Dutch rule defined and early created what is now the State of New York. Both the Iroquois and the Dutch were destined to play a very great part in the making of American history.

The order of the Iroquois Republic or the League of Five Nations, and their separate territories, in 1609 following the Iroquois Trail westward was: Mohawks, present Schenectady to Frankfort; Oneidas, Frankfort to Chenango; Onondagas, Chenango to Auburn; Cayugas, Auburn to Waterloo; Senecas, Waterloo to Genesee River.

On the north, the Mohawk territory ran to the St. Lawrence River and on the south to present Delaware County; the Oneidas, north to the St. Lawrence and south to Delaware and Broome counties; the Onondagas, north to Lake Ontario and the Thousand Islands and south into the present Tioga and Broome counties; the Cayugas, north to Lake Ontario and south to Chemung, Steuben, and Allegany counties.

These Five Nations had "castles" and villages only along or close to the Iroquois Trail. Over the remainder of their country they claimed suzerainty—it was their hunting and fishing grounds and other tribes or nations were not to trespass without the permission of the ruling Iroquois Nation.

In 1609 the Iroquois of the Five Nations were merely one branch of a great Indian family, which had probably originally been one tribe or clan. These New York Iroquois were five united, warlike nations, surrounded by enemies except where they had made vassals of certain adjoining nations or tribes. If it had not been for their union, they would have been annihilated. As it was, in the century following the Dutch settlement of New Netherland in 1613-1614, the Iroquois conquered practically all the tribes surrounding them and, if the wars of the English Colonies and New France had not finally exhausted them they might have conquered all the Indian tribes of North America. In individual fighting prowess they were not greatly superior to their neighbors, but their idea of union, gave them a tremendous advantage over the surrounding tribes, whom they conquered one

after another. Had their surrounding enemies united they could have destroyed the Iroquois, but the warriors of the Five Nations were the only savages of North America who had progressed so far as to grasp the idea that "in union there is strength."

This united warfare of the Iroquois enabled them not only to conquer the Indian territory of Northeastern North America, but it gave them a great place in history. It was very largely this barrier which prevented the skilled and united warriors of New France from sailing down the lake of Champlain and the Hudson River, and thereby conquering the weak and disunited English colonies. In those early times, it is a historical fact that the English governors used the Iroquois as catspaws in the same way the governors of New France cunningly made musket fodder of their Algonquin allies. It was lucky for both the white combatants that their savage dupes did not turn upon their wily white allies and drive them into the sea from which they came. In view of the well known instability and vacillation of the savage character, it is a great credit to the Mohawk that he never broke "the chain of friendship" with his Dutch or English allies of Fort Orange and Albany. Although the other Five Nations frequently wavered in their allegiance to their English allies, the Mohawks always remained the great bond of strength which kept this ancient alliance firm and unbroken. Had the Mohawks ever failed the English, the whole course of American history would have been changed.

In 1609, when Champlain fired the shot, from his arquebus, which killed two chiefs of the Mohawks, he made that tribe forever enemies of New France, and unalterably friends and allies of the Dutch and English. Against the savage warfare of the Mohawks, the splendid fighters of New France could make but little headway, and behind this Mohawk path of blood and flame, the gradually uniting English colonies at last grappled with and overthrew their common foe. This victory of the Colonies and England over New France is one of the great moments of history, for it made all North America English-speaking, with an influence upon the history of the world which is beyond computation.

A factor which early gave the Mohawks great power was the fact that the Dutch of Fort Orange, about 1640, began to sell the Mohawks guns with which they proceeded to make rapid conquests. They were then able to war with the Canadian Algonquins and Hurons on an equal footing, for these latter savages had received firearms from the French traders at an early date.

This chapter deals only with the Mohawks and the Iroquois up to the time of the location of the Dutch trading post of Fort Nassau (near present Albany) in 1614. Their later history is connected with that of the Dutch colony of New Netherland and the English pioneers of New York, and is treated under the chapters, in this work, which cover those periods.

The following, relative to the Iroquois Indians, of which the Six Nations were a part, is by J. N. B. Hewitt:

"The Indians of the Six Nations or the Iroquois Confederacy, were a branch of the Iroquois family of red men, perhaps the most important of the Indian families of North America. As before stated, the Iroquois Confederacy or Six Nations of the Eighteenth Century, was composed of Mohawks, Oneidas, Tuscaroras, Onondagas, Cayugas, and Senecas, in the order named, from east to west. The Mohawks occupied the valley of the river to which they gave their name. The word Iroquois is said to mean, in Algonquin, 'real natural snakes,' an appellation which seemed proper to the Algonquin tribes who were deadly enemies of the Iroquois. The Iroquois of the Six Nations called themselves the Aguinoshioni, or Konoshioni, signifying 'cabin makers,' or 'people of the Long House.' This 'Long House' became figurative of their political organization, extending from the shores of Lake Erie to the banks of the Hudson. The Mohawks kept the eastern door, the Senecas the western door. The chief tribes of the Iroquois Indians were the Hurons, Wyandots, Tionontates (or Tobacco nation), Attiewendaronk (or Neuter nation), Erie (or Cat nation), Canastogas (or Susquehannocks), Tceroki (Cherokee), the Nottoways, and the Six Nations—Oneidas, Tuscaroras, Onondagas, Cayugas, Senecas, and Mohawks.

"The Iroquoian Indians, before the coming of the white man, occupied New York, Pennsylvania, the region about Lake Erie, north of Lake Ontario and the St. Lawrence Valley. Others of the kindred tribes of the Iroquoian family lived in two areas in the present southern states, one in the eastern Carolinas, and the other partly in the western Carolinas, and parts of the States of Georgia, Alabama, Tennessee, Kentucky, and the Virginias. The Hurons or Wyandot tribe lived about Lake Simcoe and the St. Lawrence; the Tiononates, west of Lake Ontario and south of the Hurons and in New York; the Erie nation south of Lake Erie; the Canastogas (or Susquehannocks) and their allies, along the Susquehanna; and the Iroquois or Five Nations, in central New York.

"The western southern Iroquois area was occupied by the

Tceroki (Cherokees), and the eastern southern Iroquois area was the home of the Tuscaroras, the Nottoways and other kindred but unimportant tribes. Many of the tribes mentioned, although of kindred blood, were deadly enemies and waged a constant war against each other."

Says Hewitt regarding Iroquois characteristics: "The marriage tie was not a bond of strength, being broken for the good or convenience of the persons or families concerned—the line of descent was in the female, and the children were virtually the property of the clan.

In the Iroquois pantheon the gods of the sky, the sun, the moon, the earth, the stars, thunder and lightning, storm, and wind, fire, and of dreams (the mouthpiece of the sky god), were the chief and most influential. The treatment of disease and wounds was in the hands of the shamans (medicine men) mainly.

"Long houses of bark and saplings for dwellings, and caches of riven pieces of timber for the storage of their (maize) vegetables, roots, squashes, and gourds, were built by these people. They constructed palisades around their chief towns or villages. The tillage of the land was carried on mainly by the women and girls, but labor was not considered degrading. They raised tobacco and many kinds of vegetables, including a kind of potato. They also manufactured sugar and syrup from the sap of the maple tree, and it was from them that the white people learned the process of this manufacture.

"Their government was in the hands of the chiefs, divided into two classes, one of every class belonging to every clan. These chiefs were nominated by the suffrage of the women of the clan to which they belonged by birth or adoption, but such nomination had to be passed upon by the tribal, and, among the Iroquois (Five Nations), by the federal council as well. The chiefs held office for life unless deposed for cause. In statecraft the Iroquois were politic and crafty, but magnanimous to captives (providing they were spared from torture). Their cunning and caution were proverbial among their Indian neighbors. The adoption of captives into full citizenship with the free Iroquois, to replace those lost in battle or captured, was a marked policy of the Iroquois, and it was by means of aliens, under the discipline of Iroquois institutions and under the guidance of Iroquoian commanders, that the confederacy was able to complete its war parties, depleted by almost incessant warfare, and to hold high its name and power for so long a time. During the lengthy period of their intercourse with the Dutch and English colonists, before the Revo-

lution, these Indians were remarkably noted for their good faith when once their word was given."

* * * * *

The original defenses of the Iroquois were earthworks, which were always square, whereas those of the Algonquins were round —the square shape showing an advanced state of civilization over the round form. The course of the Iroquois migration eastward can be traced to a certain extent, by the remains of the square earthworks. In nearly every other characteristic, the great Iroquois family differed from the Algonquins. By the time of the Dutch settlement at present Albany in 1614, the Iroquois had abandoned earthworks and built palisades, although they sometimes combined the two. These palisades, or walls of logs, surrounded their chief villages and involved a great amount of labor and time in construction. They were called "castles" by the Dutch and English, not because they had the appearance but because they had somewhat the strength of the European castles—or rather because they were the only structures, in the New World, which in character approximated the castles of the Old World. The Iroquois form of palisaded defense was adopted by the Dutch and English for their early fortifications. The Colonial and Revolutionary American forts were generally built in this manner and the Mohawk Valley settlers built palisaded defenses around their homes, which frequently then were called "forts," as they actually were, in a limited way.

The great rock wall, which extends for forty miles along the west side of the lower Hudson, took its name—the Palisades—from its fancied resemblance to the upright log walls of the Indian towns.

Although the Iroquois traded furs for axes, they did not build log houses for nearly a century after the coming of the white man. This was not because the Iroquois was not keen and intelligent in seeing the advantage of better methods of construction, but because of his sense of Iroquois unity and his intense nationalism, which was natural and elemental. From the beginning of Iroquois history, we know that this people voluntarily put aside the better methods and even superior tools of their conquered enemies. They realized that to preserve their typical tools, customs, and life, meant the very preservation of their nation. They had no false sense of the supposed advantages of cosmopolitanism. Therefore the Iroquois, as a people, refused Christianity, and kept to their pagan rites, because they realized the new religion meant the end of their national life. The same spirit accepted

the axes with which to kill their enemies, but not for the building of log houses. They considered the log houses belonged to the white man, but the bark house was Iroquois.

This Iroquois national consciousness and their keen intelligence as to the dangers these innovations held for their Indian life, kept the Confederates alive and united as a nation, when less sensible Indian tribes had been dissipated and destroyed by the white man's invasion, his rum, his tools, his diseases, and his new ways and methods. This strong Iroquois nationalism is but an exemplification of a national characteristic which has likewise preserved certain white peoples intact through long centuries, while others have been destroyed through the innovation of many foreign ideas which break down and kill the basic vital national sense. America of today could take to heart and profit by the lesson of Iroquois nationalism.

The Iroquois warriors made their captives take off their own moccasins and put on those of Iroquois make before entering a Confederated town. Similarly today, we could insist that everybody in America today, should drop all foreign propaganda and wear nothing but Old Glory over the heart.

* * * * *

The Iroquois houses were long and narrow, made of slabs of elm bark and subdivided by bark screens, for the use of many families. Each family had its fireplace, in the center of the floor space, for cooking and heating, while a vent in the roof carried off the smoke. Elevated benches were made for beds, and bunches of corn hung from the rafters. The length of these bark cabins gave them the name "long houses."

These bark dwellings are shown in the illustrations to this article which shows the development of the Iroquois habitations from the bark long house to the log house built after the fashion of the white man's.

These Indian group illustrations are taken from the Iroquois Indian exhibit in the New York Museum in the Education Building at Albany. This unusual collection should be visited by every American who is interested in this most historically important Indian nation. In a few hours' time, one can here gain an insight into the life of the Five Nations which could not be supplied by months of reading on the subject.

The eastern Indians never used the skin tepees, so familiar in pictures of the life of the Sioux and other red men of the plains. The bark habitations of the Iroquois were much superior to those of the Algonquins, who generally lived in round huts of

bark, or wigwams, a name coming from the Algonquin word wekou-om-ut, meaning "in his house." The Iroquois culture and life habits more nearly resembled those of the Indians of the mid-southern states than they did the Algonquins. The Iroquois did not wear war bonnets, like those of the plains Indians. All Iroquois dress was adapted for forest wear.

Dr. Beauchamp says: "The Iroquois had a strong, but, in some ways, very vague religious belief. Unseen deities ruled their lives through mystic dreams, and these dreams must always be observed, however unpleasant this might be. All things, to them, had a touch of the supernatural. Trees, rocks, and animals had inner souls. There were viewless spirits, fairies and flying heads. Stone giants and monstrous beasts were frequent. The great Holder of the Heavens was a dwarf in size, for what need had omnipotent power of physical strength? The beasts of the field were their ancient kindred, necessary for food but reverently treated." The early settlers are unanimous in saying that the Indians worshipped or acknowledged the supernatural power of only the devil, but of course, the pioneers were unfamiliar with their difficult language and with their secret religious life and rites. We cannot rely any more implicitly upon the observations of the first settlers than we can depend upon their maps.

North American Indians are classified as nomadic and sedentary, the latter being people who cultivated the fields and who lived in permanent towns, which they kept until fuel and fields were exhausted or until some strong enemies drove them out and burned their castles.

In the case of the Mohawks, in historic times, practically the only reason for the changes of their village locations was enemy warfare which burned their castles and forced them to seek new town sites. During the 190 or more years of Mohawk life in the Valley, they occupied five series of castles. The first series may have been destroyed or made untenable in the Mohican war of 1626; we do not know the reason for the second removal; the third and fourth series of towns were destroyed by the French, and the Mohawks decamped from the fifth series because of the Revolutionary war, after an occupancy of three-quarters of a century.

Their weapons were simple at first. An ungrooved stone axe, a long bow and arrows; defensive armor, including a shield at times; a club with bone or stone inserted in the head, and a knife of stone or bone, were the main parts of a warrior's armament. Nets and bone harpoons were used in fishing and occasionally

lines with bone hooks. Weirs and hurdles were also employed, but in shallow water; spearing was the favorite sport. Arrows were tipped with bone, stone, or horn. Blowguns were largely used. Beauchamp says:

"Baskets and mats were woven in an artistic manner, and weaving embraced other simple articles. Thread and cords were made of Indian hemp and the inner bark of the elm, sinews being also used for many things.

"Baskets, bark vessels and carved wooden bowls were found in every house, and every Iroquois had his capacious and often handsome wooden spoon.

"At the period of European contact, pottery had gone beyond simple lining, pinching, and dotting, and many clay vessels were ornamented with the human face and figure. According to the maker's taste or skill, such vessels were rude or elegant. This is true of the early pipes, which the Iroquois made chiefly of fine clay. They were often simple and of a curved trumpet form, but frequently the bowl had some fanciful figures facing the smoker. Sometimes the pipes were ornamented throughout."

The true Iroquois canoe was of elm bark, quite clumsy in comparison with the graceful birch bark of the northern Algonquins and Hurons. On the Mohawk River dugouts were sometimes used. Snowshoes were used in winter and the back frame for carrying burdens. The sled was but rarely used.

Iroquois dress was scanty in summer and ample in winter with the usual ornaments of feathers, shells, and embroidery. Perforated or grooved teeth were much used for necklaces and so forth, and the introduction of bronze and silver along with the white man's blanket greatly changed the aboriginal costume. Elaborate bone combs were a favorite vanity of the Iroquois squaw and maidens, and stockings and mittens were in use. Of course, all these garments were of skins and furs, before the advent of the white man, after which they were largely of cloth.

In the long house in winter and outside in summer, the large wooden mortar and pestle were in constant use for mealing corn. They are somewhat used today by the Indians on the New York State reservations. A number of household utensils made from wood or horn, had their place in the Iroquois housewife's home.

Lacrosse was the Indian's great sport, although they had athletic competitions such as running and jumping. Their outdoor warfare and strenuous exercise in the work of the village made them splendid athletes. They had an ancient game of dish and bowl; the snow snake game, played by the boys in winter, is an

HARVEST TIME AMONG THE SENECAS

This scene, posed on the banks of the Genesee River below Squakie Hill, at Mount Morris, N. Y., shows the activities of the Senecas at harvest time. The men cleared the land and attended the fields until the corn was safe from the crows, when the women hoed and harvested. The figures in these groups were cast from carefully selected types of living New York Indians and the backgrounds are historic scenes.

Iroquois Indian Exhibit—The Corn Harvest—Scene, High Banks of the Genesee River. State Museum, Educational Building, Albany, N. Y.

THE SENECA HUNTER'S FAMILY

This group, representing the hunting phase of Indian life, depicts a Seneca hunter and his family posed before their lodge. The hunter is coming with a fawn, the wife is preparing a skin for tanning, the older son in the costume of a warrior, is trying his bow, the daughter is preparing jerked venison and the younger son is chopping down a tree. Hunting, the quest for meat-food, was difficult and arduous. The background scene shows Genundewa, the sacred hill of the Senecas, on Canadaigua Lake; the time, early morning in the spring of the year.

Iroquois Indian Exhibit—Seneca Hunter Group—Scene, Canandaigua Lake. State Museum, Education Building, Albany, N. Y.

inexplicable affair to a white man, as the writer can testify after seeing Indian boys play it in the winter on the Cattaraugas reservation.

Wampum—shells strung on threads and made into belts—was introduced among the Iroquois only shortly before the coming of the white man. It had great value to the Indian. Wooden masks were made by the Iroquois over 200 years ago, and are still made today.

Worship was varied, and consisted mainly of singing and dancing. At the original great Iroquois feast, dreams were related and the wildest follies committed. This became the white dog feast. There are many minor feasts, mostly of thanksgiving, also with singing and dancing. Thirty-two of these dances have been enumerated and described by Morgan.

"The story-teller was a favorite personage among the Iroquois as with all savage people who have no writing. He told tales of the relations of man to the lower creatures, pathetic, or comic stories wherein men, beasts, and birds met as friends or foes, often as kindred. Then there were the grotesque and fanciful tales of flying heads, stone giants, vampires, monstrous beasts, serpents and witches."

The myths and legends which were told around the fire by the Iroquois story-teller, were often poetic and sometimes beautiful. Frequently they reveal the savage soul in an ugly light. The Iroquois story of Nya-gwa-ih, the Celestial Bear, is said to be one common to all the Indian tribes of North America. This Indian Celestial Bear is Ursa Major (the Great Bear) of the astronomers, and the Great Dipper of all of us. In the Indian story, the hunted bear became the bowl of the dipper, while the pursuing hunters were the stars of the handle.

Miss Harriet Maxwell Converse has preserved many of these Iroquois traditions in her writings, which have been arranged by Mr. Arthur Caswell Parker (Ga-wa-so-wah-no), State Archaeologist, himself a member of the Seneca Nation. They have been published in New York State Museum Bulletin No. 125, by the University of the State of New York, Albany, N. Y.

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The early Dutch explorers of New Netherlands all agree that, like all barbaric peoples, both the Algonquins and the Mohawks were extremely immoral and lax in all their sexual and matrimonial relations. There were individual exceptions to this rule, and it is probable that this savage licentiousness belonged to the Indian's early years, as in middle and old age, there seem to have

been established matrimonial and family ties. The moral delinquencies mentioned were merely in keeping with the stage of development through which the Indians were passing, as was their general lack of personal cleanliness, which also was a matter of comment to the early explorers. Our own white ancestors went through the same savage periods, in which the red men were found at the time of the discovery of America. It is questionable just how far to believe the accounts of the first settlers. It is human nature to desire some individual or some people to look down upon, as the process reacts to the superiority of the critic—in his own mind. It is also pleasing to some natures to make a story as bad as possible. That the early white settlers frequently were uncleanly and lax in certain particulars, is a matter of history.

* * * * *

The origin of man had different versions in many tribes. Many American Indians shared, with the Iroquois, the creative myth, in which a woman falls from the sky, and alights on the back of a turtle, which henceforth supports the world.

A Seneca version is that a Seneca deity raised the land of Konoshioni above the waters and sowed five handfuls of seed, from which sprang the Five Nations.

David Cusick, the native Tuscarora historian, says that the Iroquois were hid in a great mountain at Oswego Falls. On their release by Tarenyawagon (Holder of the Heavens), they went down the Mohawk and the Hudson to the Sea. They retraced their steps and settled successively as the Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas, and Senecas. A southern Iroquois nation went west and split at the Mississippi, one part crossing it and the other remaining behind. The latter section became the Tuscaroras. They turned southeast, entered North Carolina, and settled there, remaining until 1711, when they were driven out in a bloody war with the white settlers.

There may be something of historical truth in the foregoing legend, with some reservations. The sea, at Manhattan Island, may have been the end of the Iroquois migration of some of the Iroquois tribes. After reaching this point they may have retraced their steps and selected lands which they had seen and passed on their journey, or else went northward to new national seats. The whole may be a foggy picture of part of the Iroquois migration from the west to the east.

The Iroquois were subject to waves of superstition and in a witch scare among the Onondagas, very similar to that of Salem,

so many of the tribe of both sexes were killed that it threatened their extermination. This witchcraft panic was the result of a malicious dreamer's vagaries. On the Oneida reservation an old woman was killed as a witch about 1800. A belief in witchcraft was somewhat general among the more primitive minded white Americans of Colonial days.

"The wampum belts were the national sagas, codes of ethics and ceremonials. They recorded history, established moral laws, and ceremonies. Songs were to be learned that religious rites might be duly observed; other songs preserving the names, deeds, and virtues of their ancestors, had to be exactly learned for condoling the dead or raising new chiefs. Points of etiquette had to be observed, for they were a punctilious people, having precise rules for every public act; how to speak; how to dance; many a regulation for private life. They often looked upon their white friends as an unpolished people, pitying them for their lack of good manners. Sometimes they even showed them a better way."

(Beauchamp.)

The Iroquois were noted for statecraft, for their skill as diplomats and for their eloquence in council.

* * * * *

The Mohawks were an offshoot of the Huron tribe, possibly the original branch of what later divided into the Five Nations. They were the "elder brothers" of the Oneidas, and closely related to them, so that the Oneidas may have been a development of the Mohawks. The Cayugas were strongly attached to the Senecas as a younger tribe, and may have been a branch of that large and important nation.

The Mohawks were the "elder brothers" of the Iroquois League. They, with the Senecas and Onondagas, constituted the three "elder brothers," while the Oneidas, Cayugas, and later the Tuscaroras, were the "younger brothers."

When Cartier sailed up the St. Lawrence in 1535, he found savages speaking the Mohawk language all the way from present Quebec to the great Mohawk castle of Hochelaga on the site of present Montreal.

At that time, it is probable that the Oneidas were located on both banks of the St. Lawrence in the country southwest of that of the Mohawks, with Oneida forts north and south of present Ogdensburg. About 1575 a great war broke out between the Algonquins of Canada and the Mohawks, in which the Oneidas, and probably the Onondagas, were involved. This war lasted

intermittently until 1622, when the Mohawks and Algonquins first discussed peace.

The Oneidas were probably engaged in this Algonquin war, the details of which are obscure, but which involved Mohawks, Oneidas, and Onondagas. The Oneidas fled southward to the vicinity of Cazenovia Lake and Chittenango Creek. Their earliest known fort, built about 1590, was a mile southeast of Perryville, where there was a remarkable stone (now destroyed) which may have given the tribe their name which means "People of the Upright Stone." At the time of Champlain's unsuccessful attack on them, they were located at Nichol's pond near Fenner (present Madison County). When Van den Bogaert visited them in 1634, they were located at Munnsville on the upper Oneida Creek.

The Onondagas were situated in Jefferson County around Sandy Creek at the outbreak of the Algonquin war. Onondaga traditions say that they issued from the ground at the head of the Te-can-on-ou-a-ron-e-sie, the south branch of the Et-ca-ta-ra-ga-ren-re, or the River of Sables. During the war, the Onondagas migrated from Jefferson County to the Oswego and Seneca rivers, and from there into the Onondaga hills, near Limestone Creek, where they probably located in 1580, and took their name, which means "People of the Hills."

The Mohawks stayed in the Vermont mountains until they had recovered their strength, in the meantime constantly warring with the Algonquins. Shortly before 1600, they migrated southward along Lake Champlain and Lake George, to the Mohawk Valley. This period was formerly put further back but the approximate date is 1590 or shortly before.

Cartier found the great Mohawk castle of Hochelaga on the site of Montreal and a numerous Iroquois population along the St. Lawrence River in 1535.

When Champlain ascended this great river in 1603, the Mohawks had disappeared and the Algonquins had taken their place. The Algonquins' account of the facts concerning the disappearance of the Mohawks was given to Champlain in 1609 and the story was subsequently written by De la Potherie, Charlevoix, Colden and others. This traditional account of the beginning of the Mohawk-Algonquin feud is as follows:

Some time after Cartier's visit, the Mohawks and neighboring Algonquins joined forces and lived peaceably, side by side, on the St. Lawrence. The Mohawks cultivated the fields and the Algonquins hunted; each supplying the needs of the other.

On one occasion, when the Iroquois wished to try hunting, the

Algonquins consented, willing to show their superior skill. Six of each went along, but the Algonquins left the Iroquois in the camp, taking the hunt to themselves, but taking nothing else. Three days passed and they killed nothing. Then the Iroquois went out secretly with great success. Night came on, and their jealous companions killed them all while asleep. When this was at last discovered, the Algonquins scornfully refused redress to their injured friends. The Mohawks were powerless to do anything then, but they "bound themselves by oath to perish to a man, or to have their revenge."

The Mohawks withdrew from the St. Lawrence River and moved southward into the northern mountain region of Vermont. Here they made their homes and practiced warfare and rigorously trained themselves until the time was ripe for avenging their murdered kinsmen, when they started out upon the warpath against the enemy. Charlevoix says: "They poured all at once upon the Algonquins and commenced the war of which we saw (1622) only the conclusion and which set all Canada on fire. Those who suffered most were the Hurons, who engaged in war as allies, auxiliaries or neighbors to the Algonquins, or because they lay in the way of both. * * * The Iroquois alone used circumspection in war, and there is no doubt that this is one of their superiorities which they have acquired over the enemies who have never yielded to them in valor and might easily have crushed them by numbers."

The Indians who accompanied Champlain, on his expedition of 1609 down the lake which bears his name, told him that "the Vermont shore belonged to the Iroquois and that there were beautiful valleys and fertile cornfields there."

On the Island of Montreal, the Mohawks left over thirty acres of cleared land where they formerly cultivated the soil. The Mohawks had their revenge, for by the early eighteenth century, there were but few Algonquins left in the neighborhood of Montreal. They had been wiped out in nearly a century and a half of incessant warfare with their Mohawk avengers and the other nations of the Iroquois League.

From Vermont, the Mohaws came southward over Lake Champlain and down Lake George to the Hudson. Thence they came westward over the Mohawk, and located, at first, in strongholds somewhat back from the river. This itinerary is indicated by the Dekanawida legend.

From now on, our story of the Mohawks has to do with their residence for nearly two centuries, along the beautiful river which

bears their name. When the Mohawks first entered our Valley, the Mohicans dominated its eastern end and remains of their village sites have been uncovered in the townships of Amsterdam, Montgomery County, and Glenville, Schenectady County. The Algonquin Mohicans probably were driven out or retreated before the Mohawk invasion of the Valley about 1590. When Hudson came to the site of present Albany in 1609, Mohicans still lived on that site and on the islands at the mouth of the Mohawk, on one of which they had their castle of Menominee. In 1630, these Indians sold their lands to the agents of Van Rensselaer and then moved southward into present Rensselaer County.

The first four sites of the Mohawks, in the Valley which bears their name, were (from west to east) : Otstungo, Garoga, Briggs Run, Cayadutta. These are names given them by Mr. Samuel Ludlow Frey, merely for location as the Mohawks' names for these castles is unknown. The towns had disappeared before the settlement at Albany and are known only through digging and study by the white man.

Otstungo was the most westerly site, located on the Otstungo, a branch of the Otsquago (four miles southwest of Fort Plain) ; Brigg's Run was on the north shore (four miles west of Fonda) ; Cayadutta, on the north shore (two miles northwest of Fonda). These are all mentioned more in detail in the chapter dealing with the first Mohawks' village in our Valley, wherein Mr. Frey's account of Garoga is given.

Two writers have given us excellent pictures of the towns of the Mohawks in two of their most important locations, at the time of the coming of the white man.

One account is that of the great Mohawk Castle of Hochelaga, on the site of present Montreal, when the Mohawks dominated the greater part of the lower St. Lawrence River. This is by one of America's greatest historians, Francis C. Parkman. The picture of Hochelaga gives us a clear view of the Mohawks when they, with the Oneidas and Onondagas, were masters of the St. Lawrence River. The second account is that of the Mohawk Indian castle of Garoga, situated about ten miles north of its outlet into the Mohawk River at Palatine Church. This site was occupied by the Mohawks after they had fled (about 1590) from Canada to Vermont, and from there to the Mohawk Valley, following their bitter war with the Algonquins. The very name "Canada" is Mohawk in its origin. It means "village" and "village neighborhood." Hochelaga was the great "Kanada" of the

Mohawks, which has gradually spread until it now embraces half of the North American continent.

The account of Garoga is by Mr. S. L. Frey, the leading authority on the Mohawk Indians, and is given in the next chapter.

Cartier really discovered the Mohawks on his voyage of 1535 and Parkman gives us our first historical picture of the famous savages who later retreated to the Mohawk Valley and there made world history.

On May 16, 1535, Jacques Cartier sailed from St. Malo on a voyage of discovery to the New World. Fortune led him into the St. Lawrence, and on the site of Quebec, he found the Indian village of Stadaconne, where he probably met the first Mohawks ever seen by a white man. Here he heard of the great town of Hochelaga, farther upstream. The River St. Lawrence, the Mohawk capital, and its surrounding district all bore the name of Hochelaga. On October 2, 1535, Cartier reached this Mohawk town. Francis Parkman describes Cartier's visit and Hochelaga as follows:

"Where are now seen the quays and storehouses of Montreal, a thousand Indians thronged the shore, wild with delight, dancing, singing, crowding about the strangers and showering into the boats their gifts of fish and maize; and, as it grew dark, fires lighted up the night, and far and near, the French could see the excited savages leaping and rejoicing by the blaze. At dawn of day, marshaled and accoutred, they set forth for Hochelaga. An Indian path led them through the forest which covered the site of Montreal. The morning air was chill and sharp, the leaves were changing hue, and, beneath the oaks, the ground was thickly strewn with acorns.

"They soon met an Indian chief with a party of his tribesmen, or, as the old narrative has it, 'one of the principal lords of the said city, surrounded by a numerous retinue.' Greeting them, after the concise courtesy of the forest, he led them to a fire kindled by the side of the path for their comfort and refreshment, seated them on the earth and made them a long harangue, receiving in a requital for his eloquence, two hatchets, two knives, and a crucifix, the last of which he was invited to kiss. This done, they resumed their march, and presently issued forth upon fields covered far and near with ripened maize, its leaves rustling, its yellow grain gleaming between the parting husks. Before them, wrapped in forests painted by the early frost, rose the ridgy back of the mountain of Montreal, and below, encompassed by its cornfields, lay the Indian town.

"Nothing was visible but its encircling palisades. They were of trunks of trees set in a triple row, the outer and inner ranges inclined till they met and crossed, near the summit, while the upright row between them aided by transverse branches, gave to the whole an abundant strength.

"Within were galleries for the defenders, rude ladders to mount them, and magazines of stone to throw down on the heads of assailants. It was a mode of fortification practiced by all the tribes speaking dialects of the Iroquois.

"The voyagers entered the narrow portal. Within they saw some fifty of those large oblong dwellings, so familiar in after years to the eyes of the Jesuit apostles in Iroquois and Huron forests. They were fifty yards or more in length and twelve or fifteen wide, framed of sapling poles closely covered with sheets of bark, and each containing many fires and many families.

"Here Cartier and his followers stopped while the surrounding houses of bark disgorged their inmates—swarms of children and young women and old, their infants in their arms. They crowded about their visitors crying with delight, touching their beards, feeling their faces, holding up the screeching infants to be touched in turn.

"Strange in hue, strange in attire, with moustached lip and bearded chin, with arquebus and glittering halberd, helmet and cuirass—were the marvelous strangers demigods or men? Due time allowed for this feminine rapture and the warriors interposed, banished the women and children to a distance, and squatted on the ground around the French, row within row of swarthy forms and eager faces, 'as if,' says Cartier, 'we were going to act in a play.' Then appeared a troop of women bearing a mat with which they carpeted the bare earth for the behoof of their guests.

"The latter being seated, the chief of the nation was borne before them on a deerskin, by a number of his tribesmen, a bedridden old savage, paralyzed and helpless, squalid as to the rest of his attire, and distinguished only by a red fillet, inwrought with the dyed quills of the Canada porcupine, encircling his lank black hair.

"They placed him on the ground at Cartier's feet and made signs of welcome for him, while he pointed feebly to his powerless limbs and implored the healing touch from the hands of the French chief. Cartier complied and received in acknowledgment the red fillet of his grateful patient. And now, from surrounding dwellings appeared a woeful throng, the sick, the lame, the blind, the

maimed, the decrepit, brought forth and placed on the bare earth before the perplexed commander, 'as if,' he says, 'a god had come to cure them.'

"His skill in medicine being far behind the emergency, he pronounced over his petitioners a portion of the gospel of St. John, of infallible efficiency on such occasions, made the sign of the cross, and uttered a prayer, not for their bodies only, but for their miserable souls. Next he read the passion of the Savior, to which, though comprehending not a word, his audience listened with grave attention.

"Then came a distribution of presents. The squaws and children were recalled, and with the warriors, placed in separate groups. Knives and hatchets were given the men, beads to the women, and pewter rings and images of the Agnus Dei flung among the children, whence ensued a vigorous scramble in the square of Hochelaga.

"Then there was a blare of trumpets and, bidding their hosts farewell, they formed their ranks and defiled through the gates once more. A body of Indians followed them and guided them to the top of the neighboring mountain. Cartier called it Mount Royal—Montreal—and thence the name of the busy city, which now holds the site of the vanished Hochelaga."

From the summit Cartier looked out "east, west, and south, and saw the mantling forest over all, and the broad blue ribbon of the river glistening amid a realm of verdure. Beyond, to the bounds of Mexico, stretched a leafy desert, and the vast hive of industry, the mighty battle ground of later centuries, lay sunk in savage torpor, wrapped in illimitable woods."

CHAPTER 6.

CHIEF CASTLES AND TOWNS OF THE MOHAWKS.

MOHAWK INDIAN CASTLES IN THE VALLEY FROM THE ENTRANCE OF THE MOHAWKS ABOUT 1580 TO 1775, WHEN THEY MIGRATED TO CANADA—DESCRIPTION OF GAROGA BY S. L. FREY—A VOCABULARY OF THE MOHAWKS IN 1634.

The preceding chapter, through Cartier's account, has enabled us to visualize the savage life which the Mohawks lived in Hochelaga on the St. Lawrence. The first Mohawk castles in our Valley are known as the result of careful investigation by archaeologists covering a period of many years. Mr. Samuel Ludlow Frey of Palatine Bridge, and General John S. Clarke of Auburn, have been the chief workers along these lines, and it is largely due to their efforts that we are enabled to give lists of the Mohawk's main castles during their residence along the river before they migrated to Canada (in 1775) to join the British army during the Revolution.

The editor of this work has supplemented Mr. Frey's and General Clarke's lists by Mr. John Fea's locations of the Mohawk castles and villages described in Van den Bogaert's Journal of 1634. There has been much discussion concerning these latter sites and Mr. Fea's locations have been disputed, but they appear to the author to be as accurate as possible, and they are backed up by the geographical features cited in the Journal, which is the first written account of our Valley. Some reasons for accepting Mr. Fea's locations of 1634 are given in the prefatory words before Van den Bogaert's Journal.

Some description of the Mohawk castles of the period of 1595-1626 is here given, following which, the reader will find a list of the chief Mohawk castles and villages which they occupied from about 1580, when they came into the Valley, to 1775, when they left it to join the British in Canada.

The first four Valley Mohawk castles are here mentioned with some detail, together with a fine description of the site of Garoga, one of the first Mohawk town sites, by Mr. S. L. Frey, Honorary Chairman of the Board of Advisory Editors of this History. It is taken from an important monograph entitled "The Mohawks"

which was first delivered as an address by Mr. Frey before the Oneida County Historical Society. The castle of Garoga was on the Garoga Creek, about ten miles north of its outlet into the Mohawk at Palatine Church. Its name is unknown and it is so termed by Mr. Frey merely for purposes of location, as were the other first castles of Otstungo, Briggs Run and Cayadutta.

Garoga, from Mr. S. L. Frey's "The Mohawks."

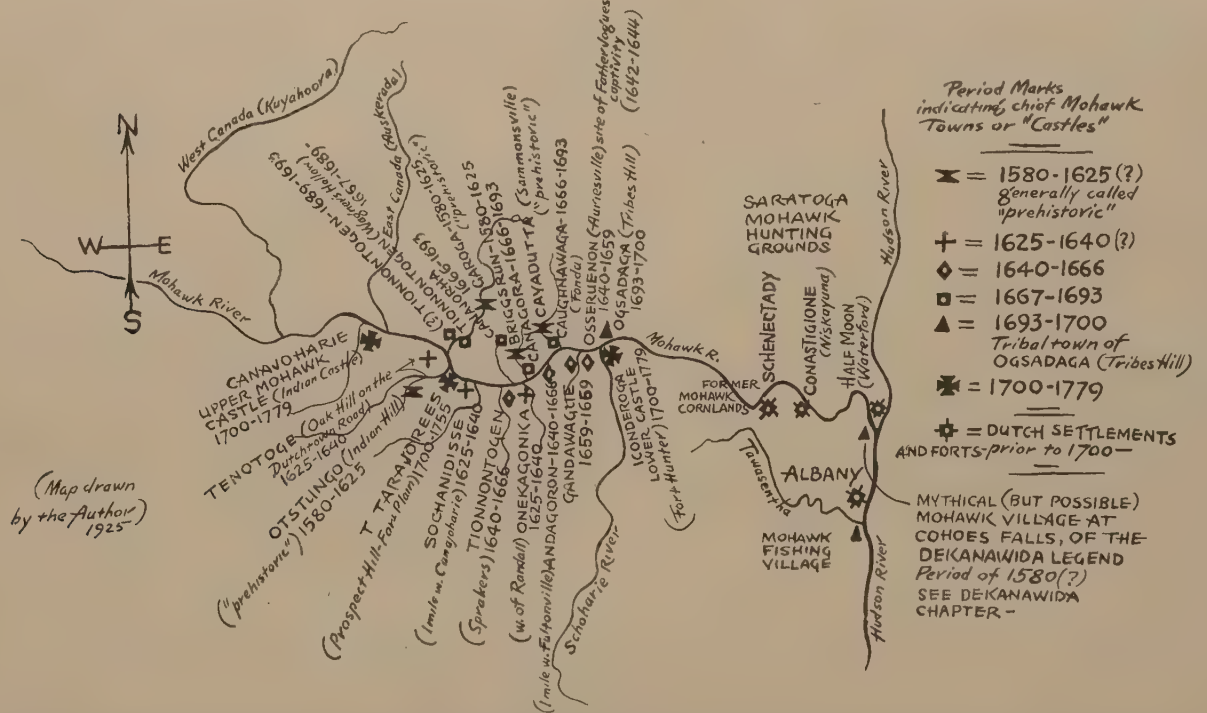
The town site is on the east bank of the Garoga Creek, about ten miles from where it empties into the river, and, as this one has never had the honor to be investigated and described, I will give some account of my own researches at the place, especially as the archaeological evidence is of importance, as bearing upon the origin, manners, customs, industries, and after migrations of the Mohawks.

For convenience we will call the old village "Garoga". It is a rough and rugged section of country where the old glaciers have scattered boulders in countless numbers and where hills and great banks of sand and gravel show the tumultuous action of currents, and swirling eddies of water.

The hill, on which the town was built, is very steep on all sides but one. The banks rise at a sharp angle for one hundred and fifty or two hundred feet but the top of the hill is level and contains several acres of land. Palisades, similar to those of Hochelaga, undoubtedly protected the town. The Iroquois and cognate tribes alone built these defensive structures. We have minute descriptions of them in the "Jesuit Relations," and other old writers. Sometimes there were as many as five concentric rows of palisades, the highest being thirty feet. Inside of this there was a row about six feet shorter and these two rows were connected by a platform upon which the defenders of the town could stand and upon which there were piles of stones and also tanks of bark for holding water. In case the enemy succeeded in starting a fire, the whole place could be deluged. This primitive and prehistoric water works and fire brigade was of the utmost importance, for, in attacking these wooden defenses, fire was the most efficacious weapon, and one which was dreaded more than all others. The danger was great at all times from the great mass of palisades, the piles of wood for fuel, and the extensive long houses of bark and poles.

Such a fortification could not be built without great labor; especially was it difficult for a people absolutely in their stone age.

In the defense of "Garoga" they must have used several thousand trees. To cut down a tree is a simple matter with a steel



MOHAWK INDIAN TOWN—1580-1779

Chart Map showing location of the chief Mohawk Indian towns on or near the Mohawk River from the time of their migration from Canada and Vermont to the Valley about 1580, until the few remaining Mohawks were removed by Col. Van Schaick in 1779. The Dutch settlements and forts of Albany, Waterford, Niskayuna and Schenectady settled prior to 1700 are here shown. Up until 1666, the dates here shown are all estimates; after that they are matters of historical record. See list of Mohawk Valley towns in Chapter 6.

axe but the way these savage men did it was slow and tedious. They first built fire around the tree, and as the wood charred they hacked it with their stone axes; then they cut the logs the required length by the same process of burning and hacking; afterward the palisades so formed had to be dragged or carried to their place, the holes dug, then elevated and securely fastened. To dig such a vast number of holes was a great labor, for they had no hoes or spades, or shovels, nothing but sharpened sticks, the shells of the tortoise and the fresh water clam and their hands.

As we reflect upon this great work our admiration for the savage man increases and our inherited and traditional ideas about his laziness suffer a change. His environment was hard and if he survived at all he could not be lazy.

Within this palisaded enclosure were the "Long Houses" peculiar to the Iroquois. Some of them were one hundred feet long, but the largest over five hundred feet. They called themselves "the People of the Long House." The Mohawks guarded its eastern door and the Senecas its western.

The description already given of these houses at Hochelaga will apply to them in the Mohawk Valley; their position at Garoga can be traced to this late day by the dark earth, the burned stones, the clam shells, and the fragments of bone and pottery.

In all these communal houses, and everywhere within the palisades there was, of course, a constant accumulation of ashes, bones, debris of all kinds, and, although savages have little idea of neatness or decency, still these accumulations had to be removed, and as this was done from time to time, they were carried out and thrown down the steep banks outside the palisades. Naturally where there was so much refuse many implements and weapons would be lost and carried out with the rest.

In the course of years these banks of refuse accumulated to an enormous extent and they resembled very closely the same class of remains found in many other countries, which in Denmark have been called by the archaeologists "Kjokenmoddings"—kitchen middens.

These refuse heaps are prolific sources of information in regard to the people who lived in Garoga. The rains and winds of ages and nature's chemistry have sweetened them, and we need not fear to dig among the dust of the past. Perhaps it would not add to our comfort to reflect upon what they once were.

When the place was occupied, no woods or trees were allowed to grow near at hand, the town stood bristling with its palisades "on the crown of this difficult hill" and no enemy could approach

without being seen. Now the steep banks are covered with a heavy forest, and it is no easy task to open the refuse heaps among the tangled mass of roots. But the hard work is forgotten in the fascination of the quest.

We dig a trench as near as we can, about twenty or thirty feet, from the top of the bank. The earth is black and filled with charcoal, ashes, and innumerable Unio shells, which are usually of one specie—"Unio Complanatus" and identical with those found at the present day in the Mohawk and its tributaries.

As we go deeper into the bed of ashes, we begin to find fragments of that archaic pottery, which is peculiarly Mohawk. It is "sui generis" and is one of the principal links that connect into one continuous whole the long line of Mohawk village sites, and not only so, but that connect these sites unmistakably with Cartier's village of Hochelaga; for in the museum of the McGill University can be seen many fragments of pottery, dug up on the site of Hochelaga which are identical in material, color, form and decoration to this Mohawk pottery which we find so abundantly in the refuse heaps of Garoga, and in all other Mohawk village sites. Although no whole jars are ever found, the fragments are often large enough for us to determine the shape and size, and to see that it was all made without the use of the potter's wheel. They were of all sizes, from the tiny toy made for the children to the great jar, solid and heavy, that would hold several gallons. At Garoga the pits from which the clay was taken can be plainly seen. The whole work was done by the squaws. It was worked into the proper consistency and mixed with pounded shells, or some kind of granite rock, to prevent cracking during the firing. All the jars were round on the bottom, as they were to stand upon the ground or in the ashes, and they had a flaring rim so that they could be suspended by a cord if necessary. The decoration was invariably certain conventionalized patterns of incised straight lines, but so varied that no two jars are ever precisely alike; there is a striking resemblance, but great variety, and they never advance from the straight line in their decoration. Not a curve is ever seen. The only departure from this uniformity is where the jar was made in a basket, in which case the imprint of the crossed meshes can be seen; or where, in very rare instances, the human figure was used as a decoration.

As the digging proceeds, we find the bones of many wild animals and birds, nearly all of them broken so that the marrow could be extracted. The comparative anatomist of the Smithsonian Institution has reconstructed for me the fauna of Garoga

so that now we know pretty well what wild animals roamed the woods of the Mohawk Valley in the prehistoric days. But we also find many bone implements such as harpoons, ornaments, awls and needles, and many the use of which we can only conjecture. The piercing implements are the most abundant; these were used for making their buckskin garments, and many of them are as smooth and hard and sharp as they were when first made. They are usually of the tibia of the deer, a very close and hard bone much like ivory in its texture. We find specimens of what may be called the jewelry of the Indians, and it shows how innate is the love of ornament in all mankind. These things at Garoga are generally exceedingly rude; a round piece of turtle shell; a piece of a deer's jaw with the teeth still in place, the canine teeth of the bear; the cutting teeth of the beaver; and necklace bones made either of the tarsus and metatarsus of the deer, or human phalanges. All these are perforated for suspension, and many of the latter are elaborately smoothed and worked.

Stone implements, in a more or less perfect condition, are quite common either in the beds of ashes or scattered on the surface of the fields where the village stood. The axes are all of the kind known as celts. No grooved axes have ever been found at Garoga.

The arrowheads are commonly of one type, which have been called "war arrows", made with barbs, so that it would remain in the wound when the shaft was withdrawn. There are also spearheads and scrapers, drills and knives, usually made of the mineral called chert or hornstone, and similar to those found among all savage men.

That the dwellers in Garoga had considerable artistic sense is shown in their fictile wares, in various carvings of bone, and more especially in their pipes, which are usually of clay moulded in the form of various animals, and of the human face.

The chief interest that attaches to these relics—as far as the present paper is concerned—is that they connect Garoga backward to Hochelaga and forward to the Mohawk in all the subsequent periods of their history, as long as they remained in the Mohawk Valley.

At Hochelaga and at Garoga are the same pottery and pipes, the same bone implements and arrowheads, identical in shape and material and suggesting strongly the same savage people, and, as we follow the tribe in its migrations from one village to another, we shall notice the same similarity only that there will be a gradual change as the white man's wares increased more and more in

variety and quantity, and as the savage, unable to understand the newer and higher civilization so suddenly thrust upon him, assimilated all of the vices and but so few of the virtues of the white man, and so lapsed from a state in which he was abundantly able to take care of himself to a state of dependence and weakness.

Garoga was one of four castles which the Mohawks built in the Mohawk Valley (about 1595) following their retreat from Hochelaga (present Montreal) by the Algonquins about 1570. As previously mentioned, these four castles were Otstungo, Garoga, Briggs Run and Cayadutta, names given them by Mr. Frey for purposes of identification.

OTSTUNGO.

The remains at Otstungo are typically Mohawk, just as those are at Garoga, previously described. Although the site probably was occupied not more than twenty-five or thirty years (1580-1610) the amount of village debris, broken pottery, weapons, implements, etc., found at Otstungo has been enormous. The site has been dug over for a century or more but still yields ordinary relics and an occasional interesting one.

Otstungo is on a high triangular point of land, formed by the junction of a small tributary stream and the Otstungo, both of which run through steep ravines. Otstungo was open to attack only on the south side, the steep cliffs on each of the two other sides being practically a defense in themselves. It is a position admirably suited for defense and is the most famous of the four first castles of the Mohawks, in as much as it was the first known of their original Valley castles, having been known since Revolutionary days when it was probably uncovered by plowing. This castle site is on the Otstungo, a short distance from the point where this stream enters the Otsquago which empties into the Mohawk at Fort Plain, four miles east.

The earliest investigators of the site, wrongfully attributed this Indian town to the Mound Builders. There are no remains of the Mound Builders or their mounds in the Mohawk Valley, so far as known.

BRIGGS RUN.

The third castle of the Mohawks in 1600 was located on the small stream known as Briggs Run which comes to the Sand Flats over the eastern spur of Big Nose Ridge. This castle is mentioned as follows in Van den Bogaert's Journal of 1634.

"January 20. In the morning, before daylight, Jeronimus

sold his fur coat for four beaver skins to an old man. We set forth, at one hour before daylight, and, after marching by guess two leagues, the Savages pointed to a high mountain where their castle stood nine years before. They had been driven out by the Mohicans, and after that time they did not want to live there."

This date, 1625, when the Mohicans attacked this north side castle may possibly give us a clue as to when the Mohawks abandoned their first castles, which may have been burned or injured in the Mohican-Mohawk war of 1625-26. Following this conflict the Mohawks moved all their castles to the south side of the river, with the exception of one small village. The north shore castle pointed out by the Mohawks was near the summit of Big Nose Mountain (sea elevation 940 feet) which is the highest elevation in the neighborhood of the Noses.

CAYADUTTA.

Cayadutta Castle stood on the east bank of the Cayadutta Creek near Sammonsville, about two miles northwest of Fonda. It has been examined by Mr. Frey with results similar to those obtained at Garoga. All the first four castles of the Mohawks in our Valley are identified by the typical Mohawk pottery, implements and weapons which are discovered therein, combined with the lack of the white trader's wares, such as iron or steel hatchets, knives, etc. The other Mohawk town sites contain trader's articles in quantities increasing with the later times.

LIST OF THE MOHAWK INDIAN CASTLES, 1580-1775.

The following is a list of Mohawk castles from the first settlement of the Caniengas (Mohawks) along the river, about 1580, until they left the Valley in 1775 with Col. Guy Johnson, to join the British army of Canada during the Revolution.

1580-1625.

1. Ots-tung-o. (Indian Hill) on the Otstungo Creek, a short distance from where it runs into the south bank of the Ots-qua-go, which enters the Mohawk, four miles east at Fort Plain. Otstungo is just east of Hallsville.

2. Ga-ro-ga. (Indian Hill.) On the east bank of Garoga Creek, on (1916), the farm of George Cristman, half way between Ephratah and Garoga.

3. Briggs Run. About one and a half miles east of Yosts, near the peak (940 feet sea elevation) of Big Nose Mountain.

4. Cay-a-dut-ta. On the east bank of the Cayadutta near Sammonsville.

The foregoing names are given these Mohawk castles for convenience of location, as their Indian names are unknown. All of these first castles were on the north shore of the Mohawk except Otstungo.

VILLAGES OF VAN DEN BOGAERT'S JOURNAL OF 1634.

The following locations of the Mohawk villages visited by Van den Bogaert on his journey of 1634, are by Mr. John Fea, the historical writer, of Amsterdam. All of these villages were on the south side of the river except Canowarode.

1. O-ne-ka-gon-ka. Lower Castle (probably of the Turtle Clan). On (1912) the Vrooman farm on Wasontha Hill on the west side of the Wasontha or Yatesville Creek, west of Randall. The trail which ran to the castle is probably the country road which now climbs the hill.

2. Ca-no-ra-wo-de. Village, on the site of the Montgomery County Home and its building on the Kanajora (or Knauderack) near the Mohawk Turnpike. This was the only Mohawk village site of the time which was on the north shore of the river.

3. Sen-at-sy-cro-sy. Village at Sprakers Basin.

4. Can-a-ge-re. Village on (1912) the Horatio Nellis farm, just east of Canajoharie.

5. Soch-an-i-dis-se. Middle Castle (probably of the Bear Clan) on the Brown farm on a projecting point of high land in the Happy Hollow section, about a mile west of Canajoharie.

6. Os-qua-ge. Village on Prospect Hill in Fort Plain.

7. Ca-wo-ge. Village on (1912) the Lipe farm west of Fort Plain, on Fort Hill near or on the later site of the Fort. Osquage and Cawoge made two Mohawk Indian villages of the period within the present limits of Fort Plain.

8. Te-no-to-ge. Upper Castle (probably of the Wolf Clan) on (1912) the Sponable and Moyer farms, two miles northwest of Fort Plain on Oak Hill.

MOHAWK CASTLES OF 1642-1666.

1. Os-se-rue-non or Os-ser-nen-on (1642-1659). On the east side of the Aurieskill at Auriesville. Here is the Shrine which marks the slaying of Father Jogues in 1646. The name of this castle is given in various forms as: Assure, Gandawague, Kaghenewage, Kahaniague, Caughnawaga, etc. The latter names are probably more correct than its usual title, as Osseruenon was

the Turtle Clan village and Gandawague has been translated "At the Turtle Village" or literally "Turtle Village At."

2. Gan-da-wa-gue (1659-1666). In the winter of 1659-1660, the castle of Osseruenon was ravaged by smallpox and the diminished Turtle Clan removed to Gandawague on a high point of land on the west side of the Aurieskill and about a mile or more distant from the old castle.

3. An-da-go-ron. The castle of the Bear Clan, on the hill back of the red brick house about a mile or more west of Fultonville.

4. Te-non-to-ge-re. The castle of the Wolf clan, on the steep hill on the south side of the Plattekill or Onagerea, and back of the little village of Sprakers Basin. The name is also given as Teonnontogen.

All of the above Mohawk castles, except Osseruenon, as previously described, were burned in De Tracy's great raid of 1666, after which the Mohawks removed to the north side of the river.

MOHAWK CASTLES, 1666-1693.

The following locations of the Mohawk castles, during the period from 1666 to 1693, are from the Journal of Greenhalgh the explorer of 1677. The four castles were all on the north side of the river. The Bear Clan had their village on the north side of the Mohawk River, almost opposite their old one while they were building their new castles of Canagorha and Canajorha. Greenhalgh's account has been supplemented by the results of the personal investigations of Mr. S. L. Frey and Gen. John S. Clarke.

The Wolf Clan rebuilt Tenontogere, a short distance west of their old castle at Sprakers, on the west side of the Plattekill or Onagerea. Here they probably lived while they were constructing their new castle of Tionondogue or Teonnontogen at Wagners Hollow on Garoga Creek, about one and a half miles east of Palatine Church. The castles and locations of the Mohawks were as follows according to Greenhalgh's list of 1677, together with the names he gave them.

1. Kahaniaga (Caughnawaga) Castle of the Turtle Clan. On the rise of ground, known as the Sand Flats on the west side of Fonda. The Jesuit spring is on the east side of this rise, near the F. J. & G. R. R. tracks in the Cayadutta ravine.

2. Can-a-gor-ha. Castle of the Bear Clan, on (1885) the Fox farm on Briggs Run, near the east side of Big Nose Mountain and about one and a half miles east of Yosts.

3. Can-a-jor-ha. Castle of the Bear Clan. On the head-

waters of Kanajorha Creek about two miles north of the Montgomery County Home on (1916) the Rice farm.

4. Ti-on-on-do-gue or Te-on-on-to-gen. Castle of the Wolf Clan. On the Garoga at Wagners Hollow, one and a half miles east of Palatine Church and two and a half miles northeast of Fort Plain.

The site of Teonontogen was moved to a better defensive position, a mile westward, in 1689. The latter site was that of the castle destroyed in 1693. Its location is at present indefinite.

All of the foregoing are the palisaded Mohawk castles of the period. Including these castles there were (in 1668) seven large villages along a river stretch of about twenty miles.

All the foregoing castles were burned in the French Canadian raid of February 8, 1693. The first three castles were burned and the invaders took 300 prisoners at Tionondogue which was destroyed in the attack.

OGSADAGA, 1693-1700.

After this disaster, the Mohawks were reduced in numbers and all three clans (Turtle, Bear, and Wolf) gathered together and built a tribal village called Og-sa-da-ga. It was located on a hill at the western end of Tribes Hill, which is so named because of this tribal town. The Mohawks lived here while they planned and worked upon the three castles which they built along the south shore of the Mohawk, which were their final ones in the Valley. In these latter castles the order of the three clans was reversed from that of their previous sites.

MOHAWK CASTLES OF 1700-1775.

1. I-con-der-o-ga. Castle of the Wolf Clan. On the east side of the Schoharie Creek at Fort Hunter. Fort Hunter was built to protect this castle in 1710 and Queen Anne's Chapel was erected for their religious education in 1711. This was palisaded and was the Lower Castle.

2. Ta-ra-jo-rees. Village of the Turtle Clan. On the southern point of Prospect Hill, Fort Plain. This was a small village compared with the castles of the Wolf Clan at Fort Hunter and that of the Bear Clan at Indian Castle. It was not palisaded. Many of its warriors were killed in the battle of Lake George in 1755, after which the depleted tribe moved up and was merged in the Canajoharie Castle of the Bear Clan at present Indian Castle. Tarajorees was the Middle Castle. Fort Frey (1701-11) at Palatine Bridge was built to defend this castle.

3. Can-a-jo-ha-rie. Castle of the Bear Clan. On the site of the Willis Greene farm at Indian Castle, west side of the Nowadaga Creek. Fort Hendrick was built to defend this castle in 1756. This was the largest Mohawk village of its time and was also known as the Upper Castle of the Mohawks, also as the Great Castle of the Mohawks.

During the latter part of the foregoing period the Oneida Indians had their main town at present Oneida Castle, on Oneida Creek at the western limits of the County of Oneida. They also had a small village on Oriskany Creek, at the site of the present village of Oriskany.

A study of the foregoing list will show that these Mohawk towns were all located on both sides of the River in present central and western Montgomery County, with the single exception of the Upper or Canajoharie Castle (1700-1775) at present Indian Castle. The Mohawk locations were generally in the territory on both sides of the Noses between the Schoharie River and Garoga Creek. Their villages and cabin sites were numerous and many relics have been found at these latter locations. The region between the Noses and Fall Hill was called "Canajoharie" by the Mohawks and its eastern end was a favorite dwelling place with them.

Tsi-dros-o-wen-gen or the Hog's Back is a high ridge of land (with an elevation of over 800 feet) running along the south shore of the Mohawk, from Prospect Hill in Fort Plain to Cliff Street in Canajoharie.

It was a favorite Indian dwelling place, admirably suited for defense, where one of their main castles and several smaller villages were located at different times. Its cabin sites must have been many as relic hunters find Mohawk relics along the entire steep ridge between the two towns of today.

It may be mentioned in passing, that this is the first published complete list of the Valley Mohawk Indian castles, to the author's knowledge.

Van den Bogaert's Journal of 1634, seems to designate all the Mohawk Castles and towns, big and little, of that time. Aside from this one instance only the main towns or castles are given in the different periods listed above.

It has often been said that the Mohawks changed the locations of their villages frequently. The removals noted above were in two instances (1666 and 1693) caused by the total destruction of all their castles by French raiders. Osseruenon was deserted in 1660 because of a terrible plague of smallpox and the Turtle Clan

of this castle then moved a mile west. In only one or two instances is there mention of their moving a town from one location to another during a time of peace. When they obtained iron or steel axes and hatchets from the Dutch, there was no further need for periodical removals. The white man's hatchet and axe enabled them to bring their firewood and bark for their cabins and new palisades to replace the old ones, from some distance. In the latter part of the Valley Colonial period (1700-1775) the Mohawks lived in their Upper and Lower Castles for seventy-five years. They then built log houses and had no more need to move than the white man, and there might be some Mohawks around these sites today, if the Revolution had not broken up their Mohawk Valley life and tribal existence. There is no recorded reason why the Mohawks removed, about 1642, from their second to their third series of river locations.

The history of the Mohawks, after the settlement of Fort Nassau (Albany), in 1614, is carried along with that of the white pioneers where it probably belongs, in the succeeding chapters. In these the reader will find interesting descriptions of several of the Mohawk castles listed above.

Where the story of our Mohawks in our Valley was a foggy mystery fifty years ago, it is now almost as clearly defined as that of the early settlers along our river. This is due to the painstaking investigation and research of several eminent scholars mentioned elsewhere.

MOHAWK INDIAN VOCABULARY.

The following Mohawk Indian vocabulary is that which is appended to the Van den Bogaert Journal of 1634. The editor considers this an appropriate place for this list of some of the most essential words of the Mohawk dialect of the Iroquois tongue, and it is printed so that Mohawk Valley people today may gain some insight into this savage speech which is said to have been one of the most difficult of the Indian languages for the white man to learn. In this 1634 vocabulary there are several words relating to the white man, his tools, weapons, etc., which of course, would not be present in the aboriginal Mohawk language of the period of the first four Valley Castles.

Assire or oggaha—Cloth.
Atoga—Axes.
Atsochta—Adze.
Assere—Knives.
Assaghe—Rapier.
Seranda—Male cat.
Ichar or sateeni—Dog.
Tali—Crane.
Kragequa—Swans.
Kahanckt—Geese.

Attochwat—Spoons.
Ondach—Kettles.
Endat hatste—Looking-glass.
Sasaskarisat—Scissors.
Kamewari (Garonare?)—Awls.
Onekoera—Seawan (their money)
Tiggeretait—Combs.
Catse (Garistats?)—Bell.
Dedaia witha—Shirts or coats.
Nonnewarory—Fur caps.
Eytroghe—Beads.
Canagosat—Scraper.
Caris—Stockings.
Achta—Shoes.
Aque (Gario?)—Deer.
Aquesados—Horse.
Adiron—Cat.
Aquidagon—Ox.
Senoto wanne—Elk.
Ochquari—Bear.
Sinite—Beaver.
Tawyne—Otter.
Eyo—Mink.
Senadondo—Fox.
Ochquoha—Wolf.
Onenta—Arm.
Osnotsa—Hands.
Onatassa—Fingers.
Otich kera—Thumb.
Otsira—Nails.
Onvare—Shoulder blade.
Orochquine—Spine.
Ossidan—Feet.
Onera—Pudenda.
Oeuda—Excrements.
Onsaha—Vesicle.
Canderes—Phallus.
Awahta—Testicles.
Casoya—Ship, canoe.
Conossade—House or hut.
Onega—Water.
Oetseira—Fire.
Schawariwane—Turkeys.
Schascari wanasi—Eagles.
Tantanege—Hares.
Onckwe—Men.
Etsi (Eightjen?)—A man.
Coenhechti (Gahetien?)—A woman.
Ocstaha—An old man.
Odasqueta—An old woman.
Sine gechtera—A wooer.
Exhechta—A lass.
Ragina—Father.
Distan—Mother.
Cian—Child.
Rocksongwa (Ronwaye?)—Boy.
Canna warori—Prostitute.
Onentar—Woman in labor.
Ragenonou—Uncle.
Rackesie—Cousin.
Anochquis—Hair.
Anonsi—Head.
Ohochta—Ears.
Ohonikwa—Throat.
Oneyatsa—Nose.
Owanisse—Tongue.
Onawy—Teeth.
Ossivenda—Blue.
Endatcondere—To paint.
Joddireyo—To fight.
Aquinachoo—Angry.
Jaghac teroeni—Frightened.
Dadeneye—To gamble.
Asserie—Very strong.
Carente—Artful, crooked.
Odossera—The bacon.
Keye—The fat.
Wistotcera—The grease.
Ostie—The bone.
Aghidawe—To sleep.
Sinekaty—Carnal copulation.
Jankurangue—Very tired.
Atsochwat—Tobacco.
Canonou—Pipe.

Oyente—Wood (firewood).
Oscante—Bark.
Canadera—Bread.
Ceheda (Osaheta?)—Beans.
Oneste—Maize.
Cinsie—Fish.
Ghekeront—Salmon.
Oware—Meat.
Athesera—Flour.
Satsori—To eat.
Onighira—To drink.
Katten kerreyager—Very hungry.
Augustuske—Very cold.
Oyendere—Very good.
Rockste—Friends.
Iachte yendere—'Tis no good.
Quane (Kewanea?)—Great.
Canyewa—Small.
Wotstaha—Broad.
Cates—Thick.
Satewa—Alone.
Sagat—Doubly.
Awaheya—Death.
Aghihi—Sick.
Sasnoron—Hurry up.
Archoo—At once.
Owaetsei—At present.
The derri—Yesterday.
Jorhani—To-morrow.
Careyago—The sky.
Karackwero—The sun.
Asistock—The stars.
Sintho—To sow.
Deserentekar—Meadow.
Sorsar—To raise.
Cana—The seed.
Onea—Stone.
Canadack or cany—Sack or basket.
Canadaghi—A castle.
Oyoghi—A kill (small river).
Canaderage—A river.
Esteronde—The rain.
Waghideria—To sweat.
Kayontochke—Flat arable land.
Ononda—Mountains.
Cayanoghe—Islands.
Schasohadee—The overside.
Caroo—Close by.
Cadadiene—To trade.
Daweyate—To sit in council.
Agetsioga—A string of beads.
Aquayanderen—A chief.
Seronquatse—A scoundrel.
Sari wacksi—A chatterer.
Onewachten—A liar.
Tenon commenyon—What do you want?
Sinachkoo—To drive the devil away.
Adenocquat—To give medicine.
Coenhasaren—To cure.
Sategat—To light the fire, make fire.
Judicha—The fire.
Catteges issewe—When will you come again?
Tosenochte—I don't know.
Tegenhondi—In the spring.
Otteyage—In the summer.
Augustuske—In the winter.
Katkaste—To cook dinner.
Jori—It is ready.
Dequoguoha—To go hunting.
Osqucha—I'll fetch it.
Seyendere ü—I know him well.
Kristoni asseroni—Netherlanders, Germans.
Aderondackx—Frenchmen or Englishmen.
Anesagghena—Mohicans, or Mohigans.
Torsas—To the north.
Kanon newage—Manhattan.
Onscat—One.

Johati—A path or road.
Onstara—To weep.
Aquayesse—To laugh.
Ohonte—Grass, vegetables.
Oneggeri—Weeds or reeds or straw.
Christittye—Iron, copper, or lead.
Onegonsera—Red paint.
Cahonsye—Black.
Crage—White.
Tiggeni—Two.
Asse—Three.
Cayere—Four.
Wisch—Five.
Jayack—Six.
Tsadack—Seven.
Sategon—Eight.
Tyochte—Nine.
Oyere—Ten.
Tawasse—Forty.
Onscat teneyawe—Hundred.

INDIAN HILL

The site of the Mohawk Castle of Ot-stun-go, on the creek of that name, four miles southeast of Fort Plain. The Mohawk town was on top of the slate cliff in one of the most natural defensive sites in the Mohawk Valley.

CHAPTER 7.

MOHAWK INDIAN SITES ABOUT FORT PLAIN.

By Douglas Ayres, Jr.

PREHISTORIC VILLAGE SITES—SPECIMENS FOUND—A PRIMEVAL PINE—OAK HILL—MOHAWK-MOHICAN BATTLE GROUND—WAGNER'S HOLLOW SITE—CEREMONIAL SITE NEAR FREYSBUSH ROAD.

Mr. Douglas Ayres, Jr., of Fort Plain, is the author of the following chapter, which is the result of his archaeological researches among the Mohawk Indian village sites in and around the present village of Fort Plain. Fort Plain and its immediate neighborhood is richer in Mohawk village sites and relics than any other section of the Mohawk Valley. As these village sites and remains cover all the periods—from the prehistoric to the later years in the tribal life of the Mohawks in our Valley—the field is a particularly fertile and varied one. With regard to several of the more important locations, it may be said that two of them are particularly noteworthy. Otstungo, or Indian Hill, is nationally famous, while Tenotoge, on Oak Hill, was probably the largest Mohawk Indian town in the Mohawk Valley, of which we have any historical record.

Otstungo was one of the first Indian village sites to be investigated and, while it has been dug over for a century, it still yields an occasional relic of interest. The castle site is remarkably well adapted for defense and is one of the most picturesque and interesting of the Mohawk locations. It is situated on a beautiful winding stream and the gorge of the Otstungo is well worth a visit.

The Dutch silver coin of 1618 which Mr. Ayres found on the site of Tenotoge, may well have been lost or given to some sachem by Van den Bogaert, during his memorable journey of 1634, elsewhere described. The Mohawk-Mohican battle-ground, close to Tenotoge, probably was a scene of one of their many conflicts—perhaps during the war between these bitter enemies which was being waged on or before 1627.

Mr. Ayres has made an interesting discovery in the uncovering of a small Mohawk Indian village site in the Second Woods neighborhood, just west of Fort Plain. This location might well

be called Tha-koi-e-keer-on, the Mohawk name for Little Woods Brook or Lipe's Creek, which rises near the site of this ancient Indian settlement, about two miles west of Fort Plain. The pottery which Mr. Ayres has uncovered there is of an unusual type.

Mr. Douglas Ayres, Jr., has spent many years in the investigation and study of the Fort Plain neighborhood sites. He is intimately acquainted with the topography and geology of the section and, in every way, is unusually well equipped to describe these important Mohawk locations. The chapter is historically important in that it gives us information as to the exact location and present-day condition of these Mohawk towns which had such an important bearing upon the history of America. The reader will find that Mr. Ayres has arranged his field notes in a very interesting chapter, descriptive of the Fort Plain archaeological field, which follows.

* * * * *

The Mohawk village sites in the vicinity of Fort Plain are typical of the Indian occupation of the Mohawk Valley. The prehistoric sites are situated on naturally fortified hills several miles from the river. The historic sites are generally on bluffs overlooking the river. Otstungo and Garoga were the largest prehistoric villages. Tenotoge (Oak Hill), Wagner's Hollow, Prospect Hill and The Hog's Back (Tsi-dros-o-wen-gen) were large historic villages.

A small prehistoric village site in the Second Woods, on a wooded ridge now owned by Mr. Adam Failing, has yielded some very fine artifacts. This site was discovered in 1921. A fragment of fresh water clam shell, lying on the surface of the ground where it had been dug up by some animal, gave us the clue. In exploring this village, the procedure we followed was to first locate the spots of charcoal-blackened earth, indicating the location of fireplaces. The fireplaces and areas of disturbed soil ran across the top of the low ridges forming the site. We found four rather distinct rows of blackened earth which apparently indicate roughly the approximate location of the "long houses". Among the specimens that have been found there, three human effigy clay pipe bowls are perfect. On the perimeter of each of the bowls are three neatly modeled faces. Beauchamp places the use of pipes of this type late in the 16th century. One slightly decorated pipe is perfect as to both bowl and stem.

The pottery from the Failing site is distinctive, although typically Iroquoian none of the potsherds bear the characteris-

tic incisions on the lower edge of the rim which is a decoration common to the bowls from other prehistoric sites such as Otstungo, Garoga and Cayudutta. Among the rarer decorations on the bowls from the Failing site are the corn-cob and the cord impressions and the imitation of the stitches made in ornamenting baskets with porcupine quills. Articles of earthenware are more common than those of chipped stone. I have found only one celt with the cutting edge and this specimen was imperfect. The other fragments of celts were from the handle portion. Two chipped stone implements of granite with blunt faces instead of a cutting edge are rather unique in that they seem to have been employed for hammering, although they may be remnants of large pestles as they are two and a half and three inches in diameter. One thread-stone has been found on the Failing site. It is grooved deeply by the wearing of thongs which were pulled across it to smooth and round off the leather.

One day while digging here in an undisturbed bed of clay-soil my pick struck two fine sharp arrowheads of triangular form lying one exactly on top of the other and held in close contact by a thin layer of clay. In ancient times I pictured a Mohawk hunter sitting down to rest. As he rested he laid his two favorite shafts with newly fashioned points beside him. Perhaps the red man lost them in the pine-needles or perhaps he had concealed them there for future use. At any rate none had disturbed them until my pick brought them to light.

It would require too detailed an account to discuss all the specimens removed from the various sites. A few specimens from Otstungo are worthy of consideration. The Otstungo prehistoric site embraces about six acres situated on the top of a high perpendicular cliff of Utica shale, overlooking the Otstungo Creek. The primeval forest on Otstungo was pine, as is the second growth today. We work around the virgin pine stumps and strike shallow trenches six feet wide and six inches deep between them. We cut a root. Out from under it tumbles a decoration of a pipe. It is an imitation of a great horned owl. There are the large round eyes, the facial disks, the ear tufts, the beak—crude, but easily recognizable as the silent-winged forest hunter whose hunting-cry must have often boomed through the Otstungo woodland. Some very fine stone axes, pestles, arrowheads, spears and bone implements have been excavated from this Mohawk fort. It has been dug over for a century.

On land now owned by Mr. Victor Bauder and embracing about one-half of the ancient Otstungo village site there grew a

virgin pine which measured, when cut, 7 feet 4 inches across the butt. This butt log ran up 15 feet and then branched into four forks each one of which was three feet in diameter. From this tree fourteen thousand feet of lumber was sawed. The only woodsman whom Mr. Nathan Bauder, then owner of the woods, could obtain to cut this tree was Mr. Hiram Delong. Others feared to assist Mr. Delong, as it was thought the tree was too large to be felled in any given direction and that the danger of being hit by the falling tree was very great. Mr. Delong felled the tree alone in four hours with an axe, making an eighteen inch cut completely around the tree.

A primeval pine that must have rivaled this tree in size once grew on the cliff's very edge at Otstungo. A tremendous wind must have uprooted it, for it remains today flat on the edge of the cliff, its stump splintered and jagged, and the upper part of the tree sawed off to permit the removal of other trees. The wood, although shorn of its bark, and weathered very grey, is still hard and dry.

Tenotoge on Oak Hill, in the locality northwest of Fort Plain known as Dutchtown, combines the vestiges of the aboriginal culture with the introduction of the white trader's articles. From this village site a tremendously expansive view is obtainable. To the northwest lies the Garoga Creek valley and in the blue distance the Adirondack foothills near Rockwood and Garoga Lake in Fulton County. Far to the northwest the uplift beginning at Little Falls runs in a broken line of hills northeasterly. To the south stretches the Valley of the Mohawk and on the southwest horizon lie the rolling, wooded summits of the Cherry Valley hills. To Tenotoge came the French and the Dutch traders. From Oak Hill the junction of the Canadian trail from Lake George with the river trail and the ford at the mouth of the Garoga could be seen.

On the Tenotoge site I found, in 1923, a trader's white clay pipe stem with the Fleur-de-Lis of France stamped upon it. Another pipe, presumably French, has upon the bowl the letters "I H S", from the Latin, meaning, "Jesus Saviour of Mankind." In the summer of 1924 I unearthed a little evidence of Dutch influence. It was a thin silver coin bearing the date 1618, and the word Zelandia (from the province of Zealand, Holland) on one side and on the other side a rampant, crowned lion clutching a bunch of arrows in one paw. This coin was pierced for suspension as an ornament. It lay in a fireplace pit when found, not over six inches deep. Other common traders' objects are copper

rolls, iron knives, copper sheets, beads, and other iron implements, found on the site of Tenotoge. One of the most interesting objects from Oak Hill is a small sandstone disk about one and one-fourth inches in diameter engraved with numerous lines. In the center of one set of apparently aimless lines is a rather neat figure of a bear.

Besides being a village site, Oak Hill served the Mohawks as a storehouse for corn. Here, and on a ridge running parallel to the village site, but two hundred yards farther down the hill to the south, are at least fifty corn pits which are still quite plainly visible. Near Oak Creek which runs along the south side of Oak Hill is another little ridge with about a dozen corn pits. Into these pits the Iroquois placed baskets of elm tree bark. Between the baskets and the wall of the pit charcoal was packed to absorb the moisture. Over the baskets peaked roofs of bark shed the rain and kept out the snow and wild animals. Pits of this kind seldom yield any relics, but in one pit on Oak Hill I dug up a small fragment of a bowl with a crude effigy of the human face. The earthen bowls were doubtless used to carry the grain to the village when it was needed for food and so broken fragments are likely to occur near the pits.

Oak Hill (the site of the Mohawk town of Tenotoge in 1634) is geologically speaking a drumlin. A drumlin is a glacial deposit of unsorted material which lies parallel to the general glacial flow. Oak Hill trends roughly northwest by southeast. The underlying rock outcrops on Oak Hill which are exposed in the creek gorges consist solely of Utica shale. On the top of the hill lie gray gneiss bowlders torn from their parent rock masses in the Adirondacks by the glacier and deposited in jumbled heaps many feet above the Utica shale beds which represent a younger deposit than the Pre-Cambrian rocks to which the gneiss belongs. The summit of Oak Hill is 780 feet above sea-level as recorded on the U. S. geological survey map. It was around these glacial-transported bowlders that the Tenotoge campfires were lighted by the Mohawks.

Towards the southern edge of the hill is a creek which is locally known as Oak Creek. On the southern side of Oak Creek on wooded land, now owned by Mr. Ambrose Failing, is an extremely interesting glacial deposit called an esker. An esker is caused by the deposition of stratified gravel and sand in the beds of streams flowing in, on or under the ice sheet. Such streams are evidence of a melting glacier, and they frequently may be studied today emerging from the ice caves in certain modern

glaciers. When the ice melts away entirely the sub-glacial stream deposit is left winding like a narrow artificial embankment above the surface of the surrounding country. The sides of the deposit may slump when the ice-retaining walls melt.

The Oak Hill esker is a fine example of this kind. The sides are steep and, towards the north, there is a drop of about 50 feet. The top of the esker is wide enough for a footpath and also to allow the growth of a row of fairly large beeches, hemlocks and pines. This esker was examined by Prof. F. F. Burr, of St. Lawrence University, in July, 1924. Professor Burr pronounced it to be one of the most striking deposits of this type he had ever seen.

There is a tradition in the Dutchtown section of Fort Plain that just south of Tenotoge the Mohawks once battled with the Mohicans. I can quote no exact authority for this statement but I have in my collection what might be considered proof that a battle was fought there. This consists of two iron trader's axes which were plowed up by Mr. Henry Beck on his farm on a ridge bordering Oak Creek on the north and about a quarter of a mile south of Tenotoge. This ridge is a small esker, similar in formation to the more prominent esker farther east along the same stream. This small esker was utilized by the Mohawks as a corn pit site and at least a dozen pits are still discernible. The esker on the Beck farm is soon lost in the general height of land forming a plateau bordering Oak Creek. On this plateau the Mohawk-Mohican battle may have been waged. Along with the axes an iron chisel and what resembles an old-time shotgun barrel have also been found. The axes are hand forged and bear respectively four and six pointed stars within circles arranged in a triangle on their flat surfaces. This is evidently a manufacturer's stamp. It is to be hoped that some one will be able to throw more light on what is perhaps the site of an intense Indian struggle for supremacy.

The Wagners Hollow site on Garoga Creek has yielded some very fine bone implements and many arrowheads.

Farther north the prehistoric Garoga site, situated on a prominent hogsback jutting out into a natural amphitheatre, was once a strong Mohawk fort. It was of the same period as Otstungo to which an age of 300 to 350 years can safely be ascribed. Unfortunately but very few relics now remain on the Garoga site as it was thoroughly excavated by the Peabody-Harvard Museum, about 1910.

Within the village limits of Fort Plain are several areas once

occupied by the Indians. The Taregiorus site, or the Middle Village (1700-1755) was on the southeastern point of Prospect Hill near the former Rean bee farm.

A number of graves have been exposed by drawing sand from the garden now owned by Mr. Jesse Brown on Institute Hill in Fort Plain. The burials were of the historic period. Scattered burials have also been discovered here and there in the Fort Plain cemetery, where fireplaces have also been uncovered. There was a fair-sized village of recent occupation on Sand Hill, on the edge of the plateau overlooking the river. This was Cawoge of the Dutch journal of 1634-35.

Before the Mohawk was dredged for the Barge canal, there was a camp site on the extreme upper end of Lipe's or Abeel Island. The gravel dredged from the river obliterated this site. The occupation may have been Algonquin, as a grooved axe was found there. This specimen might have belonged to an Algonquin captive of the Iroquois, or it might have been acquired by them in trade.

One ceremonial site near the Freysbush road is less well known than the village sites. This place is near the location of Revolutionary Fort Clyde and is in the woods of what was formerly known as the Robert Nellis farm. Here the Mohawks came for their annual festival of the green corn dance. Fifteen years ago the ring of depressed ground where the dance took place was still quite plain. It reminded one of an old path in which the pine needles and forest debris of the years had collected. The diameter of the circle was about thirty feet and it was roughly bounded by huge old pine stumps. Some stumps lay also within the circle. In recent years all traces of this dance-circle have been destroyed by pasturing cattle in the woods and by cutting down trees. The Dutch called this site the Danskammer, meaning the "Dance Chamber."

In considering the Indian in his natural forest life as the first traders found him we are impressed by the poetry in his life. A race who, looking down upon the Mohawk, could name it Canneoganakalonitade—"river which flows like a small continuing sky," when seen through the tree tops—was possessed of an aesthetic sense which the Twentieth century can hardly exceed, even if it has been able to harness the waters of the Mohawk. The redmen were the true nature lovers. It is well to keep uppermost in the mind the cultural side of the Indian rather than his worst traits as manifested in warfare. Much was unrecorded by the early historians of Indian life. Much was forgotten. It is only by little

fragments of evidence that we can piece together the picture of the Indian as he once lived. The archaeological evidence gives us bare facts. But to our imagination we must turn for the background and the color in which to clothe the facts of our findings.

Can it fail to stir the imagination to picture Oak Hill in the days of Tenotoge? Two warriors toil up the hillside with a deer slung between them. They are greeted by a cluster of women grinding corn in wooden mortars with stone pestles. The men drop the deer. They fling aside their stone axes, and bows, and quivers of arrows. They enter the Long House and eat. As the day wanes and the last rays of the sun dance through the swaying pines and the whispering oak leaves, the Mohawks sit about their lodges. In the distance the Adirondack foothills are purpling in the dusk. The forest is merging with the shadows. An Indian nods in slumber. His pipe falls into the lodge fire. The dying embers crack it. The ashes conceal it. There it has lain through the centuries. If only it could tell the real story.

DOUGLAS AYRES, JR.

Fort Plain, N. Y., September 9, 1924.

CHAPTER 8.

LEGEND OF THE "GREAT PEACE."

THE LEGEND OF DEKANAWIDA AND HAYONWATHA, THE TWO ADOPTED MOHAWK CHIEFTAINS AND THEIR "GREAT PEACE"—GAYANASHAGOWA, THE GREAT BINDING LAW OF THE COUNCIL OF THE GREAT PEACE—COMMENT ON THE VERSIONS OF THE LEGEND.

The annals of the Mohawks, following the time of their migration to our Valley about 1595 and their location here along the Iroquois Trail, belong to the history of the Mohawk Valley. In this period, the first great item of historical importance is the formation of the Iroquois Confederacy or League of Five Nations. This was the Inspiration of Dekanawida, seconded by Hayonwatha, both chiefs of the Mohawk tribe.

The second important event of this period was the coming of the white man and his settlement close to the territory of the Mohawks—the Frenchmen at Quebec in 1608 and the Hollanders at present Albany in 1614. To these white men as well as to the Iroquois themselves and the world at large, the formation of the Iroquois Confederacy was of the greatest importance. That it was originated by the Mohawks in the Mohawk Valley is substantiated by the legend of Dekanawida and Hayonwatha, the two great Iroquois heroes—chiefs of the Mohawk nation, who formulated "The Great Peace". The Mohawk origin of this noted confederacy is further supported by the myths and legends of the other nations of the League.

The white man knows of the legend of Hiawatha through the beautiful poem of that name by Henry W. Longfellow. Few, however, are conversant with the original Indian legend from which the central idea of Longfellow's epic was derived. Rarer still is the knowledge that this is an Iroquois legend, that it has a basis of historical truth, that it involves the creation of the Confederacy or League of Five Nations, that the working plan of this "Great Peace" was evolved in the land of the Mohawks, and that the great hero of the Iroquois and of the legend, is Dekanawida and not Hayonwatha (Hiawatha) who was his disciple and spokesman. Longfellow's poems has an Algonquin setting while he uses the Iroquois name of Hiawatha for his hero.

There can be no doubt that Dekanawida and Hiawatha were

actual Mohawk chiefs who developed the idea of a union of the Five Nations in the Mohawk country, where they were adopted as Mohawk chieftains, probably at a date very soon after the entrance of the Mohawks into our Valley, and their location along the Iroquois trail (about 1580 or 1590). The writer believes that the story of Dekanawida and Hiawatha and their Great Peace, deserves a place here because of its Mohawk Valley background, its mystical and poetic rendering of a great historical event, and because the actual Iroquois interpretation of the legend should be given historical publicity.

There is also much of historical suggestion in the story of the Great Peace, and a very evident mingling of folk lore and wonder tales with matter that is historic. The making of the Great Peace and the Confederacy of the Five Nations is generally assigned to a period just prior to 1600. Since that time, the story has taken on a legendary, symbolical and heroic character. But with all this, the salient facts of the historic event push themselves into view, and even the differing characters of Dekanawida and Hiawatha are somewhat clearly developed.

De-ka-na-wi-da is a Huron who is born of a virgin Huron maiden, or Wyandot, as the latter name is also given. Because of his handsome face and good mind he was hated by the Hurons and "Their hearts were bitter against a man who loved not war better than all things". So Dekanawida journeys to the country of the Mohawks bearing the tidings of the Great Peace, which is his mission in the world.

Ha-yon-wat-ha or A-yon-wat-ha is the Iroquois name of Hiawatha who is a Royaneh or Lord of the Onondagas, and is their leader in this legend, who combats the bad influence of Adodarho. He is the evil spirit of the nation, who lives in a swamp and has a headdress of live snakes and other revolting attributes in keeping with his symbolical character as a "bad mind" or the "bad mind" or evil spirit of the Iroquois Five Nations, as well as of the Onondagas.

A famous Onondaga "dreamer" now tells the troubled chieftains that a newcomer (Dekanawida) will prevail with Hayonwatha, but that all earthly ties must be severed which bind Hayonwatha to love of life, family and his people, so that he will live only for the furtherance of a great ideal. This is but one of the many symbolistic features of this greatest of savage legends. According to the dreamer's vision, Hayonwatha loses all of his beloved seven daughters and, in despair, sets out, a wanderer on the face of the earth. Destiny guides his steps from the Onondaga

country to a path along the Mohawk River which he follows to a Mohawk town at the great falls of the Cohoes. On his journey he has many adventures which probably embody some of the Iroquois wonder tales.

Before Hayonwatha's coming, Dekanawida had already converted the Mohawks to his idea of the Great Peace. At Cohoes, the two heroes meet, Dekanawida condoles with Hayonwatha over his great sorrow and "the mind of Hayonwatha was made clear". Mr. A. C. Parker has made an interesting map of the wanderings of Hayonwatha which appears in his "Constitution of the Five Nations."

Dekanawida reveals the Great Peace to Hayonwatha and together they set about its accomplishment. The breaking down of evil opposition to the union is symbolically expressed when, after a pilgrimage of Dekanawida, Hayonwatha and the Mohawk chiefs, carrying the news of the Great Peace to the Onondaga country, Dekanawida there sings the Peace Hymn "to cure the mind of Adodarho," the Iroquois evil genius. Again, when Dekanawida rubs the sorcerer's misshapen body, "Adodarho was made straight and his mind became healthy." The people of the United States could hark back to some national crises, involving certain ethical principles, and express the triumph of right in much the same sort of metaphor.

One of the interesting phases of the legend is that the Mohawk town to which Dekanawida and Hayonwatha both journeyed and where they developed the plan of the Great Peace, is stated to have been "on the lower fall of the river of the Flint (Mohawk) nation —a short way from the fall". There is generally some basis for such locality designations and the Cohoes Falls town of the Mohawks may have been one where the Canienga lived temporarily, during their migration from the banks of the St. Lawrence to their final locations in the middle Mohawk Valley. When Dekanawida and Hayonwatha and their Mohawk companions start on their mission of the Great Peace, they pass old Mohawk town locations. These, however, may have been of a later date and, in the years intervening, have become involved in the legend.

The Dekanawida Legend is taken from "The Constitution of the Five Nations," by Mr. Arthur Caswell Parker, State Archaeologist, and himself (Gawasowaneh), a chief of the Seneca nation of the New York State Iroquois. The version printed here is that given precedence in Mr. Parker's work.

Mr. Parker comments as follows on the Great Binding Law,

"Gayanashagawa," adopted by the Five Nations at the Council of the Great Peace.

"The Great Peace as a government system was an almost ideal one for the stage of culture with which it was designed to cope. I think it will be found to be the greatest ever designed by barbaric man on any continent. By adhering to it the Five Nations became the dominant native power east of the Mississippi and, during the Colonial times, exercised an immense influence in determining the fate of English civilization on the continent. They, as allies of the British, fought for it and destroyed all French hopes for colonization.

"The authors of the great immutable law gave the Iroquois two great culture heroes almost without equal in American Indian annals. Through the law, as a guiding force and through the heroes as ideals, the Iroquois have persisted as a people, preserved their national identity and much of their native culture and lore. Today, in their various bodies, they number more than 16,000 souls. This is a remarkable fact when it is considered that they are entirely surrounded by a dominant culture whose encroachments are persistent and unrelenting in the very nature of things.

"The Canadian Iroquois indeed govern themselves by the laws contained in these codes, proving their utility even in modern days.

"The two principal manuscripts that form the basis of this work were found in the Six Nations Reservation, Ontario, Canada, in 1910.

"The first manuscript was a lengthy account of the Dekanawida legend and an account of the Confederate Iroquois laws. This material has been brought together by Seth Newhouse, a Mohawk, who has expended a large amount of time and given the subject a lengthy study. His account, written in Indian English, was submitted to Albert Cusick, a New York Onondaga-Tuscarora, for review and criticism. Mr. Cusick had long been an authority on Iroquois law and civic rites, and had been a chief informant for Horatio Hale, William M. Beauchamp and, in several instances, for the present writer. Mr. Cusick was employed for more than a month in correcting the Newhouse manuscript until he believed the form in which it is now presented fairly correct and at least as accurate as a free translation could be made.

"In examining this code of Iroquois law it will be noted that no reference is made in the Canadian code to the 'Long House of the Five Nations.' Various reasons are assigned for this. Mr.

Newhouse cut out all reference to it from his original manuscript because some of the older chiefs said that Handsome Lake, the destroyer of the old religious system, had successfully associated his religious teachings with the Long House. The force of this fact is apparent when we learn that a follower of the Handsome Lake religion is called among other names, Ga-nun-sis-ne-ha. 'Long House Lover'. Another reason is that the historic Long House territory is in New York State and that the Ontario Iroquois who left New York after the Revolution to cling to the British, dislike any reference to their former habitation that seems to bind them to it. The Dekanawida code provides a refuge for the confederacy in distress, and in Canada they believe they have found 'the great elm' under which they may gather in safety to continue their national existence.

"In presenting these documents the original orthography has been retained."

The legend of Dekanawida and Hayenwatha follows in the next chapter, together with the first seven sections of Guyanshagowa, which shows the prominent part the Mohawks bore in this "Great Binding Law", and in "The Council of the Great Peace."

CHAPTER 9.

DEKANAWIDA AND HIAWATHA.

THE HEROIC LEGEND OF THE FORMATION OF THE LEAGUE OF FIVE NATIONS—HAYONWATHA'S JOURNEY TO DEKANAWIDA AT THE MOHAWK TOWN NEAR COHOES FALLS—ADODARHO SUBDUED—THE TWO IROQUOIS HEROES UNITE THE TRIBES AT ONONDAGA.

North of the beautiful lake (Ontario) in the land of the Crooked Tongues, was a long winding bay and at a certain spot was the Huron town, Ka-ha-nah-yenh. Near by was the great hill, Ti-ro-nat-ha-ra-da-donh. In the village lived a good woman who had a virgin daughter. Now strangely this virgin conceived and her mother knew that she was about to bear a child. The daughter about this time went into a long sleep and dreamed that her child should be a son whom she should name Dekanawida. The messenger in the dream told her that he should become a great man and that he should go among the Flint people [Mohawks] to live and that he should also go to the Many Hill Nation [Onondagas] and there raise up the Great Tree of Peace. It was true as had been said the virgin gave birth to a boy and the grandmother greatly disliked him and she rebuked her daughter.

"You refuse to tell me the father of the child," she said, "and now how do you know that great calamity will not befall us, and our nation? You must drown the child."

So then the mother took the child to the bay and chopped a hole in the ice where she customarily drew water and thrust him in, but when night came the child was found at his mother's bosom. So then the mother took the child again and threw him in the bay but at night the child returned. Then the third time the grandmother herself took the child and drowned him but in the morning the child nestled as before on his mother's own bosom.

So the grandmother marveled that the child, her grandson, could not be drowned. Then she said to her daughter:

"Mother, now nurse your child, for he may become an important man. He can not be drowned, we know, and you have borne him without having marriage with any man. Now I have never heard of such an occurrence nor has the world known of it before."

Beginning with that time the mother took great care of her child and nursed him. She named him Dekanawida in accord with the instruction of her dream.

The child rapidly grew and was remarkably strong and healthy. His appearance was noticed for its good aspect and his face was most handsome.

When Dekanawida had grown to manhood he was greatly abused by the Huron people because of his handsome face and his good mind. He was always honest and always told what he believed was right. Nevertheless he was a peculiar man and his people did not understand him.

Many things conspired to drive him away for the Crooked Tongues had no love for such a man. Their hearts were bitter against a man who loved not war better than all things.

After a journey by canoe across the lake he came into the hunting territory of the Flint Nation. He journeyed on to the lower fall of the river of the Flint Nation and made a camp a short way from the fall on the flat land above it. He sat beneath a tall tree and smoked his pipe in quiet meditation.

A man of the Flints passed by and seeing the fire and the stranger approached him cautiously to discover what weapon he bore, if any. Carefully the man of the Flint reconnoitered but saw no weapon, but only the stranger quietly smoking. Returning to the town a short distance away the presence of the odd stranger was reported. Then the chiefs and their men went out and assembled about the man who smoked. One of the head men was delegated to question the stranger and so he asked, "From whence came you?"

"I am from Ka-ka-na-yenh," the stranger replied.

"I am of the Wyandots, whom you call the Crooked Tongues because our speech is slightly different," answered the stranger, "My mother is a virgin woman."

"Then," said the speaker, "By what name are you known?"

"I am Dekanawidah, so named because my virgin mother dreamed that it should be so and no one else shall ever be named by this name."

"What brought you here to us," asked the speaker.

So then Dekanawidah answered, "The Great Creator from whom we all are descended sent me to establish the Great Peace among you. No longer shall you kill one another and nations shall cease warring upon each other. Such things are entirely evil and he, your Maker, forbids it. Peace and comfort are better than war and misery for a nation's welfare."

Then answered the speaker of the Flints, "All that you say is surely true and we are not able to contradict it. We must have proof, however, before we submit ourselves to you whereby we may know that you indeed possess rightful power to establish the Great Peace."

So answered Dekanawida, "I am able to demonstrate my power, for I am the messenger of the Creator and he truly has given me my choice of the manner of my death."

"Choose then," said the speaker, "a manner of destruction, for we are ready to destroy you." Dekanawida replied, "By the side of the falls at the edge of a precipice stands a tall tree. I will climb the tree and seat myself in the topmost branches. Then shall you cut down the tree and I shall fall into the depths below. Will not that destroy me?"

Then said the speaker, "Let us proceed at once."

Dekanawida ascended the tree and it was chopped down. A multitude of people saw him fall into the chasm and plunge into the water. So they were satisfied that he was surely drowned. Night came but Dekanawida did not appear and thus were the people sure of his death, and then were they satisfied.

The next morning the warriors saw strange smoke arising from the smoke hole of an empty cabin. They approached cautiously and peering in the side of the wall where the bark was loosened they saw Dekanawidah. He was alive and was not a ghost and he was cooking his morning meal.

So the watchers reported their discovery and then were the chiefs and people truly convinced that indeed Dekanawidah might establish the Great Peace.

THE TROUBLED NATIONS.

The Ongwe-oweh had fought long and bravely. So long had they fought that they became lustful for war and many times Endeka-Gakwa, the Sun, came out of the east to find them fighting. It was thus because the Ongwe-oweh were so successful that they said the Sun loved war and gave them power.

All the Ongwe-oweh fought other nations sometimes together and sometimes singly and, ah-gi! ofttimes they fought among themselves. The nation of the Flint had little sympathy for the Nation of the Great Hill, and sometimes they raided one another's settlements. Thus did brothers and Ongwe-oweh fight. The nation of the Sunken Pole fought the Nation of the Flint and hated them, and the Nation of the Sunken Pole was Ongwe.

Because of bitter jealousy and love of bloodshed sometimes

towns would send their young men against the young men of another town to practice them in fighting.

Even in his own town a warrior's own neighbor might be his enemy and it was not safe to roam about at night when Soi-ka-Gakwa, our Grandmother, the Moon, was hidden.

Everywhere there was peril and everywhere mourning. Men were ragged with sacrifice and the women scarred with the flints, so everywhere there was misery. Feuds with outer nations, feuds with brother nations, feuds of sister towns and feuds of families and of clans made every warrior a stealthy man who liked to kill.

Then in those days there was no great law. Our founder had not yet come to create peace and give united strength to the Real Men, the Ongwe-oweh.

In those same days the Onondagas had no peace. A man's life was valued as nothing. For any slight offense a man or woman was killed by his enemy and in this manner feuds started between families and clans. At night none dared leave his doorways lest he be struck down by an enemy's war club. Such was the condition when there was no Great Law.

South of the Onondaga town lived an evil-minded man. His lodge was in a swale and his nest was made of bulrushes. His body was distorted by seven crooks and his long tangled locks were adorned by writhing living serpents. Moreover, this monster was a devourer of raw meat, even of human flesh. He was also a master of wizardry and by his magic he destroyed men but he could not be destroyed. Adodarhoh was the name of the evil man.

Notwithstanding the evil character of Adodarhoh the people of Onondaga, the Nation of Many Hills, obeyed his commands and though it cost many lives they satisfied his insane whims, so much did they fear him for his sorcery.

The time came, however, when the Onondaga people could endure him no longer. A council was called to devise a way to pacify him and to entreat him to cease his evil ways. Hayonwatha called the council for he had many times sought to clear the mind of Adodarhoh and straighten his crooked body. So then the council was held in the house of Hayonwatha. It was decided that half the people should go by boat across the creek where it widens and that others should skirt the shore. Adodarhoh was not in his nest in the swale but in a new spot across the wide place in the creek.

The boats started and the people walked. From the bushes

that overhung the shore a loud voice sounded: "Stand quickly and look behind you for a storm will overwhelm you."

In dismay the people arose in their canoes and turned about. As they did so the canoes overturned and the men were plunged into the water and many were drowned. A few escaped and then all survivors returned to the village. So had Adodarhoh frustrated the attempt to meet with him.

Again the people prepared to conciliate Adodarhoh. Three times they agreed to attempt the undertaking. So on the second occasion they go by canoe and by land, those who go by canoe follow the shore and those who go by land walk on the pebbles close to the water's edge.

Again the cunning Adodarhoh sees them and calling down Hagoks he shook him, and the people in a wild rush scramble for the feathers, for the plumes of Hagoks are most beautiful and men are proud when their heads are adorned with them. There is a tumult and blows are struck. Evil feelings arise and in anger the people return to the village still contending. The mission of conciliation is forgotten.

The next day Ayonwhatha called the people to their promise and for the third time to attempt a council with Adodarhoh. Moreover, they promised to obey every instruction and listen neither to a voice outside nor an omen nor any commotion.

Another council was held in the lodge of a certain great dreamer. He said, "I have dreamed that another shall prevail. He shall come from the north and pass to the east. Hayonwhatha shall meet him there in the Mohawk country and the two together shall prevail. Hayonwhatha must not remain with us but must go from us to the Flint land people."

So when the journey across the lake was attempted there was a division and the dreamer's council prevailed.

Then the dreamer held two councils and those who believed in him conspired to employ Ohsinoh, a famous shaman.

Hayonwhatha had seven daughters whom he loved and in whom he took great pride. While they lived the conspirators knew he would not depart. With the daughters dead they knew the crushing sorrow would sever every tie that bound him to Onondaga. Then would he be free to leave and in thinking of the welfare of the people forget his own sorrow.

Hayonwhatha could not call the people together, for they refused further to listen to his voice. The dreamer's council had prevailed.

At night Osinoh climbed a tree overlooking his lodge and sat

on a large limb. Filling his mouth with clay he imitated the sound of a screech owl. Calling the name of the youngest daughter he sang:

"Unless you marry Osinoh
You will surely die, whoo-hoo!"

Then he came down and went to his own home.

In three days the maiden strangely died. Hayonwhatha was disconsolate and sat with his head bowed in his hands. He mourned, but none came to comfort him.

In like manner five other daughters passed away and the grief of Hayonwhatha was extreme.

Clansmen of the daughters then went to the lodge of Hayonwhatha to watch, for they knew nothing of Osinoh's sorcery. They gathered close against the large trees and in the shadows of bushes. The clansmen suspected some evil treachery and were there to discover it.

There was no moon in the sky when Osinoh came. Cautiously he came from habit but he was not afraid. He drove his staff in the ground, he breathed loud like a magic totem animal snorting and then he climbed the tree. He spat the clay about the tree to imitate the screech owl and as he did he said: "Si-twit, si-twit, si-twit." Then he sang:

"Unless you marry Osinoh
You shall surely die, whoo-hoo!"

The morning came and Osinoh descended. As he touched the ground a clansman shot an arrow and transfixed him. Prostrate fell Osinoh and the clansman rushed at him with a club.

Osinoh looked up. "You are unable to club me," he said. "Your arm has no power at all. It weakens. Today I shall recover from this wound. It is of no purpose to injure me."

It was true indeed; the clansman could not lift the club to kill Osinoh. Then Osinoh arose and went home and in three days the daughter died. So perished all by the evil magic arts of Osinoh.

The grief of Hayonwhatha was terrible. He threw himself about as if tortured and yielding to the pain. No one came near him so awful was his sorrow. Nothing would console him and his mind was shadowed with the thoughts of his heavy sorrow.

"I shall cast myself away, I shall bury myself in the forest, I shall become a woodland wanderer," he said. Thus he expressed his desire to depart. Then it was known that he would go to another nation.

Hayonwhatha "split the heavens," Watanwhakacia, when he departed and his skies were rent asunder.

Toward the south he went and at night he camped on the mountain. This was the first day of his journey. On the second day he descended and camped at the base of the hill. On the third day he journeyed onward and when evening came he camped in a hickory grove. This he named O-nea-no-ka-res-geh, and it was on the morning he came to a place where round jointed rushes grew. He paused as he saw them and made three strings of them and when he had built a fire he said: "This would I do if I found any one burdened with grief even as I am. I would console them for they would be covered with night and wrapped in darkness. This would I lift with words of condolence and these strands of beads would become words with which I would address them."

So at this place he stayed that night and he called the spot O-hon-do-gon-wa, meaning Rush-land.

When daylight came he wandered on again and altering the course of his journey turned to the east. At night he came to a group of small lakes and upon one he saw a flock of ducks. So many were there and so closely together did they swim that they seemed like a raft.

"If I am to be truly royaneh (noble)," he said aloud to himself, "I shall here discover my power." So then he spoke aloud and said: "Oh you who are 'floats' lift up the water and permit me to pass over the bottom of the lake dryshod."

In a compact body the ducks flew upward suddenly and swiftly, lifting the water with them. Thus did he walk down the shore and upon the bottom of the lake. There he noticed lying in layers the empty shells of the water snail, some shells white, and others purple. Stooping down he filled a pouch of deer skin with them, and then passed on to the other shore. Then did the ducks descend and replace the water.

It was here that Hayonwhatha desired for the first time to eat. He then killed three ducks and roasted them. This was the evening of the fifth day.

In the morning he ate the cold meat of the roasted ducks and resumed his journey. This was the sixth day and on that day he hunted for small game and slept.

On the morning of the seventh day he ate again and turned his way to the south. Late in the evening he came to a clearing and found a bark field hut. There he found a shelter and there he erected two poles, placed another across the tops and suspended three shell strings. Looking at them he said: "Men boast what

they would do in extremity but they do not do what they say. If I should see any one in deep grief I would remove these shell strings from the pole and console them. The strings would become words and lift away the darkness with which they are covered. Moreover what I say I would surely do." This he repeated.

A little girl discovered smoke arising from the field lodge and she crept up and listened. She advanced and peered in a chink in the bark. Then she ran homeward and told her father of the strange man.

"The stranger must be Hayonwhatha," said the father, "I have heard that he has departed from Onondaga. Return, my daughter, and invite him to our house."

The girl-child obeyed and Hayonwhatha went to her house. "We are about to hold a council," the father said. "Sit in that place on one side of the fire and I will acquaint you with our decisions."

The council was convened and there was a great discussion. Before darkness every evening the council dissolved and at no time was Hayonwhatha called upon for advice nor was anything officially reported to him.

On the tenth day of his journey during the debate in the council Hayonwhatha quietly left and resumed his wandering. Nothing had been asked of him and he felt himself not needed by the people. Late in the evening he came to the edge of another settlement and as was his custom he kindled a fire and erected a horizontal pole on two upright poles. On this he placed three strings of the wampum shells. Then he sat down and repeated his saying: "Men boast what they would do in extremity but they do not do what they promise. If I should see any one in deep grief I would remove these shells from this pole and console him. The shells would become words and lift away the darkness with which they are covered. Moreover, I truly would do as I say." This he repeated.

The chief man of the village saw the smoke at the edge of the forest and sent a messenger to discover who the stranger might be. Now when the messenger reached the spot he saw a man seated before a fire and a horizontal pole from which three strings of small shells were suspended. He also heard the words spoken as the stranger looked at the strings. So then when he had seen all he returned and reported what he had seen and heard.

Then said the chief man, "The person whom you describe must truly be Hayonwhatha whom we have heard left his home at Onondaga. He it is who shall meet the great man foretold by

the dreamer. We have heard that this man should work with the man who talks of the establishment of peace."

So then the chiefs sent a messenger who should say, "Our principal chief sent me to greet you. Now then I wish you would come into our village with me."

Hayonwhatha heard the messenger and gathered up his goods and went into the village and when he had entered the chief's house the chief said, "Seat yourself on the opposite side of the fire so that you may have an understanding of all that we do here in this place."

Then Hayonwhatha sat there for seven days and the chiefs and people talked without arriving at any decision. No word was asked Hayonwhatha and he was not consulted. No report was made officially to him. So he did not hear what they talked about.

On the eighteenth night a runner came from the south. He was from the nation residing on the seashore. He told the chiefs of the eminent man who had now come to the town on the Mohawk River at the lower falls. Then the messenger said: "We have heard of the dream of Onodaga which told of the great man who came from the north. Now another great man who shall now go forward in haste to meet him shall change his course and go eastward to meet in the Flinty land village (Kanyakahake), the great man. There shall the two council together and establish the Great Peace." So said the messenger from the salt water seashore, who came to tell Hayonwhatha to journey east.

So the chiefs of the town where Hayonwhatha was staying chose five men as an escort for Hayonwhatha. They must go with him until he reached the house where Dekanawida was present. So then on the next day the chief himself went with the party and watched carefully the health of Hayonwhatha. The journey lasted five days and on the fifth day the party stopped on the outskirts of the town where Dekanawida was staying and then they built a fire. This was the custom, to make a smoke so that the town might know that visitors were approaching and send word that they might enter without danger to their lives. The smoke was the signal of friends approaching. The Mohawks (People of the Flinty Country) knew the meaning of the signal so they sent messengers and invited the party into the village.

When Hayonwhatha had entered the house where the people had gathered the chief asked him whom he would like to see most. Then Ayonwhatha answered, "I came to see a very great man who lately came from the north." The chief said, "I have with

me two men who shall escort you to the house where Dekanawida is present." Then the people went out and the two men escorted Hayonwhatha to Dekanawida. This was on the twenty-third day. Then Dekanawida arose when Hayonwhatha had entered and he said: "My younger brother, I perceive that you have suffered from some deep grief. You are a chief among your people and yet you are wandering about."

Hayonwhatha answered, "That person skilled in sorcery, Osinoh, has destroyed my family of seven daughters. It was truly a great calamity and I am now very miserable. My sorrow and my rage have been bitter. I can only rove about since now I have cast myself away from my people. I am only a wanderer. I split the heavens when I went away from my house and my nation."

Dekanawida replied, "Dwell here with me. I will represent your sorrow to the people here dwelling."

So Hayonwhatha had found some one who considered his distress and he did stay. Then Dekanawida told of his suffering and the people listened.

The five escorts were then dismissed and Hayonwhatha gave thanks to them and told them to return to their own region again. Then the escorts said, "Now today it has happened as was foretold in a dream. The two are now together. Let them now arrange the Great Peace." Then they returned home.

When Dekanawida laid the trouble before the council he promised to let Hayonhwatha know their decision. The chiefs deliberated over the sad events and then decided to do as Dekanawida should say. He then should remedy the trouble. Then Dekanawida went in perplexity to his lodge and as he came to it he heard Hayonhwatha say, "It is useless, for the people only boast what they will do, saying, 'I would do this way,' but they do nothing at all. If what has befallen me should happen to them I would take down the three shell strings from the upright pole and I would address them and I would console them because they would be covered by heavy darkness." Dekanawida stood outside the door and heard all these words. So then Dekanawida went forward into the house and he went up to the pole, then he said: "My younger brother, it has now become very plain to my eyes that your sorrow must be removed. Your griefs and your rage have been great. I shall now undertake to remove your sorrows so that your mind may be rested. Have you no more shell strings on your pole?"

Hayonhwatha replied, "I have no more strings but I have many shells in a tanned deer's skin. So he opened his bundle, and a

great quantity of shells fell out. So then Dekanawida said, "My younger brother, I shall string eight more strands because there must be eight parts to my address to you." So then Hayonhwatha permitted the stringing of the shells and Dekanawida made the strings so that in all there were thirteen strings and bound them in four bunches. These must be used to console the one who has lost by death a near relative. "My younger brother, the thirteen strings are now ready on this horizontal pole. I shall use them. I shall address you. This is all that is necessary in your case."

So then he took one bunch off the pole and held it in his hand while he talked. While he talked, one after another he took them down and gave one to Hayonwhatha after each part of his address.

The words that he spoke when he addressed Hayonwhatha were eight of the thirteen condolences.

When the eight ceremonial addresses had been made by Dekanawida the mind of Hayonhwatha was made clear. He was then satisfied and once more saw things rightly.

Dekanawida then said, "My younger brother, these thirteen strings of shell are now completed. In the future they shall be used in this way: They shall be held in the hand to remind the speaker of each part of his address, and as each part is finished a string shall be given to the bereaved chief (Royaneh) on the other side of the fire. Then shall the Royaneh hand them back one by one as he addresses a reply; it then can be said, 'I have now become even with you.' "

Dekanawida then said, "My junior brother, your mind being cleared and you being competent to judge, we now shall make our laws and when all are made we shall call the organization we have formed the Great Peace. It shall be the power to abolish war and robbery between brothers and bring peace and quietness.

"As emblems of our Royaneh titles we shall wear deer antlers and place them on the heads of Royaneh men."

Hayonhwatha then said, "What you have said is good, I do agree."

Dekanawida said, "My younger brother, since you have agreed I now propose that we compose our Peace song. We shall use it on our journey to pacify Adodarhoh. When he hears it his mind shall be made straight. His mind shall then be like that of other men. This will be true if the singer remembers and makes no error in his singing from the beginning to the end, as he walks before Adodarhoh."

Hayonhwatha said, "I do agree, I truly believe the truth of what you say."

Then Dekanawida said, "My younger brother, we shall now propose to the Mohawk council the plan we have made. We shall tell our plan for a confederation and the building of a house of peace. It will be necessary for us to know its opinion and have its consent to proceed."

The plan was talked about in the council and Dekanawida spoke of establishing a union of all the nations. He told them that all the chiefs must be virtuous men and be very patient. These should wear deer horns as emblems of their position, because as he told them their strength came from the meat of the deer. Then Hayonwhatha confirmed all that Dekanawida had said.

Then the speaker of the Mohawk council said, "You two, Dekanawida and Hayonhwatha, shall send messengers to the Oneida (People of the Stone) and they shall ask Odatshedeh if he will consider the plan."

When Odatshedeh had been asked he replied, "I will consider this plan and answer you tomorrow." [meaning a year from that time].

When the tomorrow of the next year had come, there came the answer of the Oneida council, "We will join the confederation."

So then the Mohawks (Kanyenga) sent two messengers to Onondaga asking that the nation consider the proposals of Dekanawida. It was a midsummer day when the message went forth and the Onondaga council answered, "Return tomorrow at high sun." So the two great men returned home and waited until the next midsummer. Then the midday came and the Onondaga council sent messengers who said, "We have decided that it would be a good plan to build the fire and sit about it with you." Dekanawida and Hayonhwatha heard this answer.

So then at the same time Dekanawida and Hayonhwatha sent messengers to the Cayuga nation and the answer was sent back. The Cayugas said they would send word of their decision tomorrow, upon the midsummer day. The next year at midsummer the Cayugas sent their answer and they said, "We do agree with Dekanawida and Hayonhwatha."

Now the People of the Great Hill were divided and were not agreed because there had been trouble between their war chiefs, but messengers went sent to them but the Senecas could not agree to listen and requested the messengers to return the next year.

So when the messengers returned the councils did listen and considered the proposals. After a year had passed they sent messengers to say that they had agreed to enter into the confederacy.

Then Dekanawida said, "I now will report to the Mohawk council the result of my work of five years." Hayonhwatha then said, "I do agree to the report."

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE GREAT PEACE.

Dekanawida requested some of the Mohawk chiefs to call a council, so messengers were sent out among the people and the council was convened.

Dekanawida said, "I, with my co-worker, have a desire to now report what we have done on five successive midsummer days, of five successive years. We have obtained the consent of five nations. These are the Mohawks, the Oneidas, the Onondagas, the Cayugas and the Senecas. Our desire is to form a compact for a union of our nations. Our next step is to seek out Adodarhoh. It is he who has always set at naught all plans for the establishment of the Great Peace. We must seek his fire and look for his smoke."

The chief speaker of the council then said, "We do agree and confirm all you have said and we wish to appoint two spies who shall volunteer to seek out the smoke of Adodarhoh."

Two men then eagerly volunteered and Dekanawida asked them if they were able to transform themselves into birds or animals, for such must be the ability of the messengers who approached Adodarhoh. The two men replied, "We are able to transform ourselves into herons and cranes."

"Then you will not do for you will pause at the first creek or swamp and look for frogs and fish."

Two men then said, "We have magic that will transform us into humming birds. They fly very swiftly."

"Then you will not do because you are always hungry and are looking for flowers."

Two other men then said, "We can become the Dare, the white crane."

"Then you will not do because you are very wild and easily frightened. You would be afraid when the clouds move. You would become hungry and fly to the ground looking about for ground nuts."

Then two men who were crows by magic volunteered but they

were told that crows talked too loudly, boasted and were full of mischief.

So then in the end two men who were powerful by the magic of the deer and the bear stepped before the council and were chosen. The speaker for the council then reported to Dekanawida that the spies were ready to go. Then they went.

Now Dekanawida addressed the council and he said, "I am Dekanawida and with me is my younger brother. We two now lay before you the laws by which to frame the Ka-ya-neh-renh-ko-wa. The emblems of the chief rulers shall be the antlers of deer. The titles shall be vested in certain women and the names shall be held in their maternal families forever." All the laws were then recited and Hayonhwatha confirmed them.

Dekanawida then sang the song to be used when conferring titles. So in this way all the work and the plans were reported to the Mohawk council and Hayonhwatha confirmed it all. Therefore the council adopted the plan.

When the spies returned the speaker of the council said, "Ska-non-donh, our ears are erected." Then the spies spoke and they said, "At great danger to ourselves we have seen Adodarhoh. We have returned and tell you that the body of Adodarhoh has seven crooked parts, his hair is infested with snakes and he is a cannibal."

The council heard the message and decided to go to Onondaga at midsummer.

Then Dekanawida taught the people the Hymn of Peace and the other songs. He stood before the door of the long house and walked before it singing the new songs. Many came and learned them so that many were strong by the magic of them when it was time to carry the Great Peace to Onondaga.

When the time had come, Dekanawida summoned the chiefs and people together and chose one man to sing the songs before Adodarhoh. Soon then this singer led the company through the forest and he preceded all, singing the Peace songs as he walked. Many old villages and camping places were passed as they went and the names were lifted to give the clan name holders. Now the party passed through these places:

Old Clearing
Overgrown with bushes
A temporary place
Protruding rocks
Between two places
Parties opposite at the council fire

In the Valley
Drooping Wing
On the Hillside
Man Standing
I have daubed it
Lake Bridge
Between two side hills
Lake Outlet
At the forks
Long Hill
Broken Branches Lying
The Spring
White
Corn Stalks on both sides
Two Hillsides
The Old Beast

All these places were in the Mohawk country.

Now they entered the Oneida country and the great chief Odatshedeh with his chiefs met them. Then all of them marched onward to Onondaga, the singer of the Peace Hymn going on ahead.

The frontier of the Onondaga country was reached and the expedition halted to kindle a fire, as was customary. Then the chiefs of the Onondagas with their head men welcomed them and a great throng marched to the fireside of Adodarhoh, the singer of the Peace Hymn leading the multitude.

The lodge of Adodarhoh was reached and a new singer was appointed to sing the Peace Hymn. So he walked before the door of the house singing to cure the mind of Adodarhoh. He knew that if he made a single error or hesitated his power would be weakened and the crooked body of Adodarhoh remain misshapen. Then he hesitated and made an error. So another singer was appointed and he too made an error by hesitating.

Then Dekanawida himself sang and walked before the door of Adodarhoh's house. When he finished his song he walked toward Adodarhoh and held out his hand to rub it on his body and to know its inherent strength and life. Then Adodarhoh was made straight and his mind became healthy.

When Adodarhoh was made strong in rightful powers and his body had been healed, Dekanawida addressed the three nations. He said, "We have now overcome a great obstacle. It has long stood in the way of peace. The mind of Adodarhoh is

now made right and his crooked parts are made straight. Now indeed may we establish the Great Peace.

"Before we do firmly establish our union each nation must appoint a certain number of its wisest and purest men who shall be rulers, Rodiyaner. They shall be the advisers of the people and make the new rules that may be needful. These men shall be selected and confirmed by their female relations in whose lines the titles shall be hereditary. When these are named they shall be crowned, emblematically, with deer antlers."

So then the women of the Mohawks brought forward nine chiefs who should become Rodiyaner and one man, Ayenwaehs, as war chief.

So then the women of the Oneidas brought forward nine chiefs who should become Rodiyaner, and one man, Kahonwadironh, who should be war chief.

So then the Onondaga women brought forward fourteen chiefs who should become Rodiyaner, and one man, Ayendes, who should be war chief.

Each chief then delivered to Dekanawida a string of lake shell wampum a span in length as a pledge of truth.

Dekanawida then said: "Now, today in the presence of this great multitude I disrobe you and you are not now covered by your old names. I now give you names much greater." Then calling each chief to him he said: "I now place antlers on your head as an emblem of your power. Your old garments are torn off and better robes are given you. Now you are Royaner, each of you. You will receive many scratches and the thickness of your skins shall be seven spans. You must be patient and henceforth work in unity. Never consider your own interests but work to benefit the people and for the generations not yet born. You have pledged yourselves to govern yourselves by the laws of the Great Peace. All your authority shall come from it.

"I do now order that Skanawateh shall in one-half of his being be a Royaneh of the Great Peace, and in his other half a war chief, for the Rodiyaner must have an ear to hear and a hand to feel the coming of wars."

Then did Dekanawida repeat all the rules which he with Ayonhwatha had devised for the establishment of the Great Peace.

Then in the councils of all the Five Nations he repeated them and the Confederacy was established.

THE COUNCIL OF THE GREAT PEACE.
THE GREAT BINDING LAW, GAYANASHAGOWA.

I am Dekanawida and with the Five Nations' Confederate Lords I plant the Tree of the Great Peace. I plant it in your territory, Adodarhoh, and the Onondaga Nation, in the territory of you who are Firekeepers.

I name the tree the Tree of the Great Long Leaves. Under the shade of this Tree of the Great Peace we spread the soft white feathery down of the globe thistle as seats for you, Adodarhoh, and your cousin Lords.

We place you upon those seats, spread soft with the feathery down of the globe thistle, there beneath the shade of the spreading branches of the Tree of Peace. There shall you sit and watch the Council Fire of the Confederacy of the Five Nations, and all the affairs of the Five Nations shall be transacted at this place before you, Adodarhoh, and your cousin Lords, by the Confederate Lords of the Five Nations.

Roots have spread out from the Tree of the Great Peace, one to the north, one to the east, one to the south and one to the west. The name of these roots is The Great White Roots and their nature is Peace and Strength.

If any man or any nation outside the Five Nations shall obey the laws of the Great Peace and make known their disposition to the Lords of the Confederacy, they may trace the Roots to the Tree and if their minds are clean and they are obedient and promise to obey the wishes of the Confederate Council, they shall be welcomed to take shelter beneath the Tree of the Long Leaves.

We place at the top of the Tree of the Long Leaves an Eagle who is able to see afar. If he sees in the distance any evil approaching or any danger threatening he will at once warn the people of the Confederacy.

To you Adodarhoh, the Onondaga cousin Lords, I and the other Confederate Lords have entrusted the caretaking and the watching of the Five Nations Council Fire.

When there is any business to be transacted and the Confederate Council is not in session, a messenger shall be dispatched either to Adodarhoh, Hononwirehtonh or Skanawatih, Fire Keepers, or to their War Chiefs with a full statement of the case desired to be considered. Then shall Adodarho call his cousin (associate) Lords together and consider whether or not the case is of sufficient importance to demand the attention of the Confederate Council. If so, Adodarhoh shall dispatch mes-

sengers to summon all the Confederate Lords to assemble beneath the Tree of the Long Leaves.

When the Lords are assembled the Council Fire shall be kindled, but not with chestnut wood; and Adodarhoh shall formally open the Council.

Then shall Adodarhoh and his cousin Lords, the Fire Keepers, announce the subject for discussion.

The Smoke of the Confederate Council Fire shall ever ascend and pierce the sky so that other nations who may be allies may see the Council Fire of the Great Peace.

Adodarho and his cousin Lords are entrusted with the Keeping of the Council Fire.

You, Adodarho, and your thirteen cousin Lords, shall faithfully keep the space about the Council Fire clean and you shall allow neither dust nor dirt to accumulate. I lay a Long Wing before you as a broom. As a weapon against a crawling creature I lay a staff with you so that you may thrust it away from the Council Fire. If you fail to cast it out then call the rest of the United Lords to your aid.

The Council of the Mohawk shall be divided into three parties as follows: Tekarihoken, Ayonhwhathah and Shadekariwade are the first party; Sharenhowaneh, Deyoenhegwenh and Oghrenghrehgowah are the second party, and Dehennakrineh, Aghstawenserenthah and Shoskoharowaneh are the third party. The third party is to listen only to the discussion of the first and second parties and if an error is made or the proceeding is irregular they are to call attention to it, and when the case is right and properly decided by the two parties they shall confirm the decision of the two parties and refer the case to the Seneca Lords for their decision. When the Seneca Lords have decided in accord with the Mohawk Lords, the case or question shall be referred to the Cayuga and Oneida Lords on the opposite side of the house.

I, Dekanawidah, appoint the Mohawk Lords the heads and the leaders of the Five Nations Confederacy. The Mohawk Lords are the foundation of the Great Peace and it shall, therefore, be against the Great Binding Law to pass measures in the Confederate Council after the Mohawk Lords have protested against them.

No council of the Confederate Lords shall be legal unless all the Mohawk Lords are present.

Whenever the Confederate Lords shall assemble for the purpose of holding a council, the Onondaga Lords shall open it by

expressing their gratitude to their cousin Lords and greeting them, and they shall make an address and offer thanks to the earth where men dwell, to the streams of water, the pools, the springs and the lakes, to the maize and the fruits, to the medicinal herbs and trees, to the forest trees for their usefulness, to the animals that serve as food and give their pelts for clothing, to the great winds and the lesser winds, to the Thunderers, to the Sun, the mighty warrior, to the moon, to the messengers of the Creator who reveal his wishes and to the Great Creator who dwells in the heavens above, who gives all the things useful to men, and who is the source and the ruler of health and life.

Then shall the Onondaga Lords declare the council open.

For the balance of Gayanshagewa, "the Great Binding Law," the reader is referred to "The Constitution of the Five Nations" by Mr. Arthur C. Parker, published 1916, as Bulletin No. 184 of the New York State Museum, University of the State of New York.

The second version of the Confederation and its constitution was compiled by the chiefs of the Six Nations council at Grand River, Canada, and adopted by the Council of Chiefs, July 3, 1900. Compared with the first legend, it is somewhat obscure and involved. In the second version, Hayonwatha is a Mohawk of the Turtle Clan, and Dekanawida says to Hayonwatha "as the Good Tidings of Peace and Power first originated at Kan-yen-geh (flinty place) you shall be called Kan-yen-geh-ha-ka (Canienga, Mohawks), Flint People."

In Mr. Parker's work "The Hiawatha Tradition", is given, as related by Baptist Thomas (Sa-ha-whi), an Onondaga Indian. He had it from Thomas Commissary (Os-te-wa-go-na, Big Feather). This version says that Ha-yent-wat-ha was a Mohawk who left his country because of his great sorrow over the death of an only sister.

So it is evident from the versions of the Dekanawida legend that is here mentioned, that the Confederation had its inception among the Mohawks, in our Mohawk Valley. The original League is said to have been formed with the Mohawks, Oneidas and Onondagas as the confederate parties and it may at first have consisted only of these tribes because of their having been former neighbors along the St. Lawrence before the Algonquin war.

To lovers of legendary lore, to students of governmental systems, to students of anthropology, and to the thousands all over the United States who love the romance of the Mohawk Valley,

its greatest legend—that of Dekanawida and Hayonwatha and their Great Peace offers a theme of poetic and heroic interest.

The earliest account of the formation of the Iroquois' League is that of Pyrlaeus, who received it in 1743, which says that the Confederation was proposed by Thannawaga (Dekanawida) an aged Mohawk. In the council which formed the League of Five Nations, Toganawitha (Hiawatha) appeared for the Mohawks, Otatschta for the Oneidas, Tateyarho (Adodarho) for the Onondagas, Togarhayon for the Cayugas and Ganiatario and Satagarnyes for the Senecas. This may be the nearest to a correct historical version of the formation of the League that we possess, just as it was nearest in point of time. In the great number of accounts of and poetical versions inspired by the formation of the League, this simple record is important.

The meaning of Hiawatha or Hayonwhatha, Ha-yon-wha-tha, is "he who seeks his lost mind and knows where to find it," or possibly a more spiritual rendering might be "he who seeks his ideal and knows where to realize it." (O-tat-sheh-te or Tat-she-teh) signifies "Quiver-bearer," Ta-teyar-ho (Ta-too-ta-hoo or A-do-dar-ho), means "Entangled", referring to his headdress of snakes. To-gar-ha-yon (Te-ka-ha-hoonk) means "He looks both ways", Gan-ia-tar--i-o, (Kan-ya-tai-yo), signifies "Beautiful Lake" similar to Ontario, with the same meaning. Sat-a-gar-nyes (Sat-ta-kass-yes) means "Skies of equal length".

It must be remembered that the Iroquois as well as all Indian names vary greatly through their rendering in writing by various people and by slight or marked variations in pronunciation by the Indians at the time these names were written down. Seth Newhouse, the Mohawk who transcribed the Dekanawida legend, spells Hiawatha's name in three different forms:—Hayonwatha, Hayonhwatha and Ayonhwatha.

The League of the Five Nations was formed between 1580 and 1600 and, as the Iroquois had of course no written records but only their wampum belts which were mnemonic signs or aids to memory, the legend may have had considerable variation in the intervening years, with some influence of the white man creeping into the story.

CHAPTER 10.

1609-1615, CHAMPLAIN'S BATTLES WITH THE MOHAWKS AND ONEIDAS.

SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN, FOUNDER OF NEW FRANCE—EPOCHAL DEFEAT OF THE MOHAWKS ON THE SHORE OF LAKE CHAMPLAIN IN 1609—INVASION OF THE IROQUOIS COUNTRY AND ATTACK UPON THE ONEIDA CASTLE, 1615—REPULSE AND WOUNDING OF CHAMPLAIN—CHAMPLAIN'S WARFARE AGAINST THE FIVE NATIONS MAKES THEM THE DEADLY ENEMIES OF NEW FRANCE AND SOWS THE SEED OF ITS EVENTUAL DESTRUCTION.

Samuel de Champlain may justly be regarded as the founder of New France. He also is numbered among the few men who have had a vital effect upon the history of our Mohawk Valley. Champlain's attack on the Mohawks, in 1609, upon the shore of the lake which bears his name, shaped the course of world history for three centuries. It also began a conflict between the French and the Five Nations which lasted for 150 years and which eventually ended French dominion in America.

Champlain's battle with the Oneidas in 1615 comes into our story as part of the annals of the latter Indians who were closely connected with the early history of our six Mohawk Counties.

Samuel de Champlain was born at Brouage, France, in 1567; died December 25, 1635. His family had been a seafaring one and he was educated as a navigator. Henry IV, King of France, commissioned Champlain Lieutenant-General of Canada in 1603, when he sailed for America to assist M. de Chastes, governor of Dieppe, in founding a colony in America. On this voyage, he ascended the St. Lawrence to Quebec and the boat's crew went to Montreal. Champlain bore a leading part in the founding of Port Royal in 1605. In 1608, on the site of the former Indian village of Stadacona, he founded the city of Quebec, the name being derived from the Indian "Kebec", signifying "the Narrows", with reference to the narrowing channel of the St. Lawrence at this point.

Champlain made friends with the Montagnais Indians about the new settlement. During the winter some Indians from Ottawa implored "the man with the iron breast", as they called Champlain, to help them in a raid against the dreaded Iroquois. In

the spring of 1609, Champlain gathered a war party of two Frenchmen and a band of 60 Hurons and Algonquins of the Montagnais, so called because they lived in the mountains near Quebec. He left Chambly, July 2, 1609, with 20 canoes and started up Lake Champlain. The eastern shore (Vermont) had formerly belonged to the Mohawks but they now lived far south in the Mohawk Valley.

On July 29, Champlain's party came upon 200 Mohawks on the western shore, probably in the vicinity of Crown Point. The battle did not take place till the following day and it differed much from our ideas of Indian warfare. The chiefs of the two war parties met and made arrangements for the next day's conflict. On the 30th, the Montagnais landed and the Mohawks advanced in good order, led by two chiefs distinguished by their large plumes. The Canadian Indians ran toward their enemy and then suddenly their ranks parted in the center and Champlain came forward with his arquebus. The Mohawks halted in astonishment at the unexpected sight of this armed and armored white man. Champlain fired and killed two Mohawk chiefs and wounded a third at the first shot. The terrific report, fire and smoke of Champlain's weapon and the sight of their three fallen chiefs decided the combat and the Mohawks fled, a number of them being killed in the rout which followed.

In this battle, the Mohawks carried both stone and iron axes, and their chiefs were clad in arrow-proof armor. The iron axes were probably taken by the Mohawks from their enemies who had secured them in trade with the French.

The Mohawks sadly returned to their towns in our valley. Their panic flight rankled in their bosoms and they immediately began to plot revenge on the French and their Indian allies. It was a costly victory for Champlain and New France. It made the Mohawks forever enemies of the French and eventually cost the latter their great empire in America.

Champlain wrote: "The place where this battle was fought is in 43 degrees, some minutes latitude, and I named it Lake Champlain." In 1610, Champlain and his Indian allies won another victory over 100 Iroquois, in which he was wounded by an arrow.

Next in historic importance to the defeat of the Mohawks on Lake Champlain, comes Champlain's repulse by the Oneidas in 1615. This is generally referred to as Champlain's expedition into "the Onondaga country", but it was an Oneida and not an Onondaga castle that Champlain attacked. The Oneida castle was

then located on present Nichols Pond, in the town of Fenner in what is now Madison County. The skilled French soldier and his Indian allies probably selected this point as it was more exposed than any other of the Iroquois castles—than the Mohawk in our valley or the Onondaga to the westward. This combat is important because the Oneidas repulsed Champlain's attack and this victory gave the Iroquois confidence in their power to conquer their white as well as their red enemies.

In 1615, Champlain prepared what he expected would be a crushing blow against the Iroquois. He then visited the Hurons, sometimes called the good Iroquois, from their friendship for the Algonkins and the French, who were known to them as the Agnonha, or "Iron men". Champlain took Etennie Brule, an interpreter, a French servant and some Indians and began his journey up the Ottawa, July 9, 1615. Reaching Georgian Bay, he followed its shores to the Huron towns toward Lake Simcoe. He finally came to Caragouha, with its swarm of long lodges and its lofty palisade. The Recollect Father Le Caron had already established a mission at Caragouha and five Frenchmen here joined Champlain's war party.

Champlain's journey to the Huron capital was through six hundred miles of wilderness. Here, on the inland waters of North America, a French priest had established a mission and here six French traders had come. This was in the early year of 1615, when the English were sticking closely to their settlements on the James River and when the Dutch were located in three small Hudson River posts at present New York, Kingston, and Albany. These early long journeys of the French, to distant Indian strongholds far into the interior of America, were characteristic of French dominion in America and laid the foundations of a New France which was early a menace to the English settlements, because of the leadership and intrepid boldness of the French rangers of the forest.

From Caragouha, Champlain sent Brule with a Huron war party to the Andastes (or Susquehannas living on the Chemung River in New York State) who wished to join with 500 men in this proposed attack on the Iroquois. Brule had to make a long detour to avoid the Five Nations and consequently did not arrive in time to join in Champlain's attack.

Champlain, with his Frenchmen and a large war party of Hurons, started on the warpath along the north shore of Lake Ontario, crossed to the opposite shore and marched to the Oneida castle, then located on present Nichols Pond in Madison County.

This site is shown in the Oneida group in the Indian exhibit of the New York State Museum, Education Building, Albany. On the site is a boulder 15 feet long which may have been the Oneida stone of that day.

The Oneida castle of 1615 had a stockade made of four rows of palisades, crossing at the top and affording broad battlements reached by simple ladders. It extended some distance into a very shallow pond which enabled the defenders to secure a large supply of water with which to quench fire, which was the thing most dreaded by the defenders of an Indian wooden castle. The Oneidas were harvesting corn, at Champlain's approach and retreated into their castle. Champlain reached it October 10, 1615.

In spite of Champlain's attempt to guide his Indians in a well ordered attack, they rushed upon the castle in a screaming disorderly mob. The arrow fire of the Oneidas drove them back with loss and they retreated much disheartened as Indians generally were after a repulse. Champlain directed his savages to build a high movable, covered tower from which his musketeers could shoot into the stockade. The next day the tower was pushed near the palisade and the attack began. The French gun fire did deadly work but the Hurons again made a mob-like rush, during which they set fire to the stockade, but the defenders quickly put it out. The Huron attack was again repulsed by the Oneida arrows which also wounded Champlain in the knee and thigh. For three hours the assault was kept up, when the Hurons fell back beaten into the woods. Here they waited for five days for the Andastes (Susquehannas) under Brule to come up. These latter, Indian like, had not finished their preliminary war-dances and so delayed coming until after the Hurons had left, which they did on October 16, carrying the wounded Champlain in a litter. Brule and the Andastes came up two days later and, not finding Champlain and learning of his defeat, they marched back to their own towns. The rejoicing and celebration in the Oneida and other Iroquois castles must have been great over this truly wonderful victory; for the hated French had been beaten in spite of their devilish firearms. In contrast to the French muskets, it may be said that the Iroquois arrow fire was rapid and deadly, with its range of nearly 200 yards and its power to penetrate clear through a man's body. This arrow fire was then much more rapid than musket fire and equally deadly when it hit the mark.

The Hurons crossed Lake Ontario and retreated rapidly into their country for fear of Iroquois revenge. They would not escort Champlain back to Quebec and he was forced to stay with them

until 1616. When he reached Quebec he was greeted as one risen from the dead.

While in the Huron country, Champlain explored westward with Father Le Carron. Brule returned with his Andastes and later explored the Susquehanna to the sea. He visited Lake Superior and its copper mines. He was one of the intrepid spirits of France, who made the first explorations in the vast interior of North America.

The foregoing French-Iroquois battles relate to our Valley, because the first, an Iroquois defeat, was with our Mohawks and had historical effects beyond computation. The second, Oneida, conflict was notable because it showed the Iroquois that they could beat even the French with their firearms, and encouraged them to carry on their warfare against Canada. It also gave the Oneidas a high reputation as warriors among the French and their Indian allies of Canada. The defeat of the invaders and their losses were probably greater than we know, inasmuch as we get our only account of this battle from Champlain himself. While Champlain founded a new nation in the New World he also sowed the seeds of its destruction.

These two Iroquois battles have historical value as they vividly show us an Indian battle in the open and the method of attack upon and defense of an Iroquois fortress.

Champlain who had some artistic ability has left us two interesting drawings of both these epochal conflicts with the savages of a great wilderness. They are interesting but they have peculiarities due to inaccuracy of detail and poor draughtsmanship. The Mohawk battle drawing is merely an effort to show, in a small space, two bands of savages of fighting, with Champlain occupying a prominent position. Indians did not go into battle entirely naked and armed only with a bow and one arrow, as depicted in Champlain's illustrations. They wore at least a breechclout and a leather strap or belt which carried a quiver of arrows, a tomahawk and a scalping knife. Champlain's pictures, nevertheless, are interesting as the first known attempt to represent the Iroquois of the Five Nations in pictorial form—and as illustrations of two of the most epochal battles ever fought on the Continent of North America.

CHAPTER 11.

VOYAGE OF HUDSON, 1609, AND SETTLEMENT OF NEW NETHERLAND, 1613.

HENRY HUDSON SAILS UP THE HUDSON RIVER TO ALBANY IN 1609—A BOAT'S CREW OF THE HALF MOON PASSES THE SPROUTS OF THE MOHAWK—DUTCH TRADERS AT NEW YORK, 1610-1613—FOUR HOUSES THERE IN 1613—BLOCK'S CREW AT NEW YORK, WINTER OF 1613-1614—1614, FORMATION OF THE UNITED NEW NETHERLANDS COMPANY—BUILDING OF FORTS AND TRADING POSTS AT MANHATTAN AND FORT NASSAU, AT PRESENT ALBANY, IN 1614—HOLLAND IN THE NEW WORLD.

The Mohawk Valley is a part of the greater Hudson Valley which is the key position of the United States, geographically, commercially and historically. It is made so by our Mohawk Valley, which is the "Gateway to the West" of the Hudson watershed. Our Hudson Valley also takes its place as the most important area of the earth's surface because it is the seat of the world's greatest city, on the island of Manhattan, which has risen to its present position because of this same western gateway of the Mohawk Valley which carries eastward to New York, all the great roads of the vast central regions of the North American continent.

The early annals of New Netherland intimately concern the history of the Mohawk Valley. Fort Orange was located on the site of present Albany so as to have ready access to this Gateway to the West, through which the Indians of the interior came to barter furs with the Dutch traders. The mouth of the Mohawk and the extreme eastern end of our valley lay within the territory of the great colony, Rensselaerwyck, formed in 1630. For over thirty years this important section of our watershed was a part of the provincial possessions of the Dutch Republic, while the Mohawk Valley, from its mouth to Schenectady (a distance of 22 miles) was under the rule of the States General of Holland, from 1661 to 1664, and again for a year, in 1674, during the brief conquest of New York by the Dutch. Some colonists of Rensselaerwyck were early settled at the extreme eastern end of our valley. The Dutch settlers who located at Schenectady in 1661, came from Fort Orange as the parent settlement. Therefore, the following narrative of the settlement of the Hudson Valley by the Hollanders and the early years of Fort Orange and

New Netherland directly concern the Mohawk Valley and its history.

In 1609, Henry Hudson explored the river which bears his name. In 1613, Dutch traders were compelled to remain through the winter at Manhattan, and, therefore, this date marks the beginning of New York, the greatest city in the world. In 1614, the United New Netherland Company established posts on the sites of present Albany and Kingston. There is a tradition that some Dutch settlers remained continuously at Esopus (Kingston) but this is not definitely known. The location of the Hollanders at New York and Albany makes these two cities of New York State the oldest permanent settlements in the thirteen original states, inasmuch as Jamestown, Virginia, settled in 1607, was subsequently abandoned and in consideration of the fact that Plymouth, Massachusetts, was settled seven years later than New York. The location of the Hollanders at Fort Nassau (present Albany) marked the beginning of the Dutch settlement of the upper Hudson and Mohawk Valleys, which had all the characteristics of an individual colony for a number of years, because of its distance from New York and because of the establishment of the great colony of Rensselaerwyck which developed almost feudal characteristics. From the Netherlander's Fort Orange, all the adjacent country was settled including that at Schenectady in 1661. Fort Orange is the parent town from which the Mohawk Valley was settled and is intimately connected with its history.

In 1609 the Dutch East India Company engaged Henry Hudson, an experienced English sea captain, to make one of the innumerable voyages of the period in search of the northeast passage.

In April, 1609, Hudson sailed from Amsterdam in a small yacht called the Half Moon (Dutch, Haelve Moon), on his third voyage for the Indies. At the 72nd parallel, above the capes of Norway, he sailed eastward but met so many icebergs that he was compelled to turn back. Hudson then set his course across the Atlantic. In July, he reached Newfoundland and then sailed southwestward to the coast of Maine, where his crew repaired the Half Moon which had been damaged in a storm. Hudson then sailed southward, touched at Cape Cod, and arrived at Chesapeake Bay in August. He then turned northward and anchored in Delaware Bay, August 28th. From here, the Half Moon sailed northward and anchored in lower New York Bay, September 3, 1609. After friendly trading with the Indians, Hudson weighed anchor

on the 10th of September, 1609, passed through the Narrows and the Upper Bay, and entered the noble river which bears his name.

For eight days the Half Moon sailed up the present Hudson River. "Such magnificent forests, such beautiful hills, such mountains rising in the distance, such fertile valleys planted here and there with ripening corn, the Netherlanders had never seen before."

The shoaling waters made Hudson anchor the Half Moon near present Albany. From that place the Captain sent a boat's crew up the river. They rowed northward, through the sprouts of the Mohawk, to a point above Waterford where shoaling waters convinced the boatswain that further exploration up the river was useless. They then turned back and reached the Half Moon, with this unwelcome news. On the 4th of October, Hudson weighed anchor and spread sail for Holland. It must have been a picturesque sight, on that far-off pleasant fall day, when the quaint little Dutch vessel, with its English captain, left its moorings, raised its sails and slowly floated down the river, past the low islands with their fields of Indian corn, along the shores whose forest crowned banks were blazing with autumnal colors and lined with a wondering and awe-stricken red people, who gazed entranced at the speeding, winged house of the strange white man, as it passed from sight behind the islands down the river.

On the lower reaches of the stream, Hudson's crew had a sharp skirmish with the Indians in which several of the warriors were killed. He had some difficulty with his crew which was composed of both Dutch and English sailors. After crossing the Atlantic, Hudson put in at Dartmouth, where the English government detained the Half Moon until the next year, claiming the crew as Englishmen. Hudson forwarded to his Dutch employers of the East India Company an account of his successful voyage and of the delightful country which he had visited under the flag of Holland. Henry Hudson met a tragic end at the hands of a mutinous crew in Hudson Bay in 1611 and in 1612 the Half Moon was wrecked on the Island of Mauritius in the Indian Ocean, a remarkable coincidence because this little vessel had ascended the Mauritius River (as the Dutch called the Hudson) and thus began that commerce which has made this the World's greatest river.

In the summer of 1610, the Half Moon was liberated at Dartmouth and returned to Amsterdam. In the same year, Dutch merchants chartered several ships and sent them to the Hudson to trade for furs. The business proved so good that ships also went

out during 1611, 1612 and 1613. So we see that Manhattan has been occupied by white men since 1610 although the date of permanent occupancy is set at 1613. The traders built huts and a palisaded storehouse at the end of Manhattan Island. The Dutch navigators also explored the surrounding waters and probably also ascended the Hudson or Mauritius River.

Although French traders had been at present Albany in 1540 and had penetrated the Mohawk Valley even before that time, the first actual record that we have of white men seeing any portion of the Mohawk River and its Valley, is the journal of Robert Juet, an Englishman who was an officer of the Half Moon under Captain Henry Hudson on his epoch making voyage of 1609. Juet's account is entitled "The Third Voyage of Henry Hudson."

According to Juet's journal the Half Moon ascended to the site of Albany and from there a boat's crew rowed up the river over twenty miles before the shoaling waters told them that they had come to an end of their search for a northwest passage. In this exploration, the Dutch passed the mouth of the Mohawk, and its sprouts, and saw the lower Mohawk Valley.

Juet's journal is of great historical interest as only fragments of Hudson's own log now exist. Juet describes the difficult passage of the narrow channels through the islands immediately below present Albany, the stay at that locality and the voyage of the boat's crew up the river, through and past the Sprouts of the Mohawk. The paragraphs of his diary relating to these subjects are as follows:

"The eighteenth, in the morning was faire weather, and we rode still. In the after-noone our Master's Mate went on land with an old Savage, a Governour of the Countrey; who carried him to his house and made him good cheere. The nineteenth, was faire and hot weather: at the floud, being neere eleven of the clocke, wee weighed, and ran higher up two leagues above the shoalds, and had no lesse water than five fathoms; wee anchored and rode in eight fathomes. The people of the Countrie came flocking aboord, and brought us Grapes and Pompions, which wee bought for trifles. And many brought us Bever's skinnes, and Otter's skinnes, which wee bought for Beades, Knives, and Hatchets. So we rode there all night.

The twentieth, in the morning was faire weather. Our Master's Mate with foure men more went up with our Boat to sound the River, and found two leagues above us but two fathomes water, and the channell very narrow; and above that place, seven or eight fathomes. Toward night they returned: and we rode

still all night. The one and twentieth, was faire weather, and the wind all Southerly: we determined yet once more to goe farther up into the River, to trie what depth and breadth it did beare; but much people resorted aboord, so we went not this day. Our Carpenter went on land, and made a fore-yard. And our Master and his Mate determined to trie some of the chief men of the Countrey, whether they had any treacherie in them. So they tooke them downe into the Cabin, and gave them so much Wine and Aqua vitae, that they were all merrie: and one of them had his wife with him, which sate so modestly, as any of our countrey women would doe in a strange place. In the end one of them was drunke, which had beene aboord of our ship all the time that we had beene there: and that was strange to them; for they could not tell how to take it. The Canoes and folke went all on shore: but some of them came againe, and brought stropes of Beades: some had sixe, seven, eight, nine, ten; and gave him. So he slept all night quietly.

"The two and twentieth, was faire weather: in the morning our Master's Mate and foure more of the companie went up with our Boat to sound the River higher up. The people of the Countrey came not aboord till noone: but when they came, and saw the Savages well, they were glad. So at three of the clocke in the after-noone they came aboord, and brought Tabacco, and more Beades, and gave them to our Master, and made an Oration, and shewed him all the Countrey round about. Then they sent one of their companie on land, who presently returned, and brought a great Platter full of Venison dressed by themselves; and they caused him to eate with them: then they made him reverence and departed all save the old man that ley aboord. This night at ten of the clocke, our Boat returned in a showre of raine from sounding of the River; and found it to bee at an end for shipping to goe in. For they had beene up eight or nine leagues, and found but seven foot water, and unconstant soundings.

The three and twentieth, faire weather. At twelve of the clocke wee weighed, and went downe two leagues to a shoald that had two channels, one on the one side, and another on the other, and had little wind, whereby the tide layed us upon it. So, there wee sate on ground the space on an houre till the floud came. Then we had a little gale of wind at the West. So wee got our ship into deepe water, and rode all night very well."

* * * * *

The Hudson has been known by various names since the first navigators sailed its broad channel, among them being the Shate-

muck, the Mohegan, the Manhattan, Skanektade, Mauritius, Noordt Montaigne (North Mountain River), North River, Grand Riviere (by French explorers), and River of the Mountains. Hudson called this noble river by the latter name. The official name during Dutch rule, was the Mauritius, so called in honor of Prince Maurice, son of William the Silent, the liberator of Holland and one of the greatest figures of history—the Washington of the Dutch Republic. Fisk, the historian, says that Maurice was one of the greatest generals of all time. The Hollanders, who settled along the Hudson, also called the stream the North River, while they called the Delaware the South River. Their actual area of settlement lay principally on or between these two rivers, although New Netherland's claims were for a much greater territory. The name North River survives today, probably largely from the fact that it runs almost due north from New York to Albany and Glen Falls. Skanaktade was a name applied by the Mohawks to the ancient Indian trail, from the site of Schenectady on the Mohawk to the site of Albany on the Hudson. The name meant "beyond the open pines", referring to the trail and both ends of this historic warpath, including the rivers at its terminals. Thus we find the Mohawk at Schenectady referred to as the "Schenectady River" on an early map. When the English took New Netherland they called the river the Hudson, because Hudson was an Englishman and they presumed he was the discoverer. The name Hudson became, and still is, the general usage. The foregoing is pertinent to the Mohawk Valley which forms a part of the greater watershed of the Hudson, of which the Mohawk is the greatest tributary.

Among the early adventurous Dutch skippers were Hendrick Corstiaensen; Adriaen Block and Cornelis Jacobson Mey. Mey explored a considerable part of the Atlantic Coast and Cape May was named for him. Block explored Long Island Sound and the East River and named it Hellgat. (Hellegat). Block Island bears his name. Corstiaensen was, in all probability, the founder of New York City and he certainly was the founder of Albany. His early activities, as the leading captain of the Dutch trading vessels at Manhattan Island, shows his importance in its early history, but nowhere is his name perpetuated in the region in which he early played such an important part.

The first known Dutch merchants, who sent ships to present New York, were Hans Hongers, Paul Pelgrave and Lambrecht Tweenhuysen, of Amsterdam. In 1612 they sent to Manhattan the Fortune and the Tiger, two ships commanded by Captains

Corstiaensen and Block, to trade for furs with the Indians along the Hudson River.

In 1613, Samuel Argall, the Virginia buccaneer, dropped anchor in New York Bay, following his attack on the French settlement at Port Royal (Annapolis, Nova Scotia) and his capture of the French Jesuit priests in their colony at Mount Desert on the Coast of Maine. Captain John Smith wrote that Argall found "on Manhattan Isle, four houses built and a pretended Dutch governor". The latter was Hendrick Corstiaensen, the Dutch sea captain. A number of Hollanders were trading there at the time. Argall roundly scolded them all and compelled Corstiaensen to haul down the Dutch and raise the English flag. This process was probably reversed as soon as Argall sailed for Virginia, which he did soon after. The Dutch traders are said to have had gardens and to have been living comfortably on their tip end of Manhattan, the name "Manhattan" meaning "the people living on the island" in the Algonquin language. The site of New York bore the name Manhattan until the arrival of Director General Petrus Stuyvesant in 1647, when "Old Wooden Leg" changed the title of the town to New Amsterdam. Today this borough of Greater New York again proudly bears its ancient name of Manhattan —"the people living on the island".

In 1613 Corstiaensen, Block, and Mey sailed to Manhattan as captains of vessels sent there by the Dutch merchants to trade for furs with the Indians. At the close of the season, Adriaen Block's ship the Tiger was burned and Block and his men were forced to build log houses and spend a rigorous winter on Manhattan instead of returning to comfortable homes in Holland. They built a small vessel, the Onrust (the first ship built in New York) and sailed for Holland with their bear skins and other furs in 1614. Block's enforced stay here (1613-1614) marked the beginning of the first permanent Dutch settlement of New York City, the Hudson Valley and New York State. "That little collection of huts on the site of the stately warehouses of Beaver Street, and that little vessel, which was launched at the foot of Broadway, composed the fertile little seed of empire planted on Manhattan—the tiny beginning of the great commercial metropolis of the Western Hemisphere" (Lossing).

In 1614 Hendrick Corstiaensen, who had made ten voyages to Manhattan Island, sailed up the Mauritius (Hudson) River, landed at present Albany and there built a trading fort on the site of the French post of 1540 on Castle Island. This was the beginning of the settlement of Albany, a Colonial location which

vies, in historical importance, with those of Jamestown, Quebec, New York, and Plymouth. The settlement of Fort Nassau (Albany) parent of the Mohawk Valley, is described under the next chapter and its history is treated in a condensed form, from its beginnings in 1614 to the settlement of Schenectady in 1661 and the conquest of New Netherland by the English in 1664.

The profitable fur trade with the Indians of Manhattan aroused the Dutch people from their languid attitude toward the land which Hudson had visited in 1609. William Usselincx. a Flemish merchant of Amsterdam, advocated the planting of a Dutch colony in America as early as 1592. United Provinces of the Netherlands, in the spring of 1614, petitioned the States-General, the Congress of Holland, to pass an ordinance, securing the monopoly of the fur trade with the Indians on Mauritius (Hudson) for a limited time, to Dutch adventurers who might undertake the business. Merchants of Amsterdam and Horn formed a company. They were owners of the ships Fortune, Hendrick Corstiaensen, captain; Tiger, Adriaen Block, master; Nightingale (Nochegael), Thuys Volckertsen, master; Fortune, Cornelis Jacobsen Mey, master. All these ships were active in the fur trade, of which their owners now wished to secure a monopoly. In August, 1614, these merchants sent a deputation to the Dutch court at the Hague to obtain a charter of special privileges promised them by the aforementioned ordinance. "Before an oval table in the Binnehoff, the chief representative of the merchants, Captain Corstiaensen, spread before their High Mightinesses, the twelve members of the States-General, a figurative map of the discoveries made by the Dutch sea captains in America. He gave details of the adventures of the navigators and traders, their expenses and losses". The leading representative of the State before whom Corstiaensen pleaded was the famous John Olden Barneveldt, the Advocate of Holland. Barneveldt led the Republicans, while Prince Maurice was the head of the Orange party. As a result of a bitter political feud between these two parties, Barneveldt was convicted of treason and beheaded in 1619. This was one of the many political murders which disgraced Europe where actual civilization (as regards the public and politics) can hardly be said to have begun before the Nineteenth Century.

The merchants obtained their charter, under the name of the United New Netherlands Co., giving them a four year monopoly, on October 14, 1614. Their operations were to be confined to a region "between the fortieth and the forty-fifth degrees of north

latitude"—between the parallels of Cape May and Nova Scotia. In this charter the name of New Netherland was given to the domain "between Virginia and New France." This region was comprised in the grant to the Plymouth Company of England, and the conflicting claims of the English and the Dutch to this territory, proved the eventual ruin of the dominion of Holland in America. However, the Dutch continued in possession of their American lands for fifty years, during which time they settled the Hudson and the Mohawk rivers, which had a Holland population of about 6,000 at the time of the English conquest—Americans of Dutch birth or ancestry, who multiplied so rapidly that they continued to form the majority element of the population of the English colony of New York up to the time of the Revolution.

The first comers to a new land, although they may be few in numbers, are apt to leave a deep impression upon that country's future. In the case of the Hollanders, who founded the great state of New York, they gave a marked character to this most important of American commonwealths, which somewhat survives to this day and doubtless will last, to some extent, until the civilization of this part of the Western World withers and fades, as all civilizations are bound to do eventually.

In the Hudson and Mohawk valleys, the days of the Dutch are perpetuated in certain worthy features and qualities of the lives of thousands of their descendants along these two rivers—the most important in America viewed from a historical and commercial viewpoint. The Hollanders were among the first to advocate the American ideas of liberty, freedom and thoroughly representative government. They had this as a heritage from their Fatherland, then the most civilized, liberal and progressive country of Europe. The history of England may be more dramatic and picturesque than that of Holland but the Netherlands were the birthplace of the civilization of today and its better sides of tolerance, equality, justice and the suppression of cruelty.

Holland's history is one of which the Dutch may well be proud. Modern civilization would have been practically impossible with the sinister figure of mediaeval Spain as the great world power. In a war of horror, blood, fire and torture, little Holland brought giant Spain to its knees and delivered blows which rendered that truly barbarous country helpless to impede the onward march of human progress. We must remember that it was these same Hollanders who founded the world's greatest city, the world's greatest state and who were the first white settlers along the Mohawk.

The history of New Netherland cannot be judged by reference

merely to its Dutch governors. Its record might have been far different had it not had Van Twiller and Kieft as its Directors General for a considerable period. With all toleration, Walter Van Twiller was considerable of a fool and a clown, while Kieft almost destroyed New Netherland with his hideous butchery of the Indians at Pavonia and the consequent destructive Indian wars. Stuyvesant's rule was strong and effective, although it flouted the American principles of self government which the Hollanders and other settlers of New Netherland were already advocating; for New Netherland was a center of liberty, fully as important as Massachusetts and Virginia. In fact the New Netherland of the Seventeenth Century resembled the United States of today much more than did Virginia or Massachusetts.

The Puritans of New England probably did not thoroughly understand the Americans who came from Holland to the Hudson. Here was a people who did not love and worship the disagreeable, either in religion or life—neither did they make a religion or a virtue of the disagreeable, as did the Puritans. How could those long-faced people of bleak New England understand the dwellers along the pleasant shores of the Hudson—folk who enjoyed life, who made money and took things easy—people who were proud of their loves and affections instead of ashamed of them, as the Puritans always seemed to be, thus making unholy the finest things of life.

And so these Hollanders, on the Hudson and the Mohawk, played a great part in American history. They were a misgoverned democratic people, located between the hard-shell, blue-nosed Puritan and the Quakers of New England and the cavalier, slave-owning, aristocracy of Virginia. To journey, from point to point, these differing Colonists had to pass through the land of the Hollanders, on the great highway and the great waterway of the Western World, and in so passing they unconsciously acquired some of the truly American qualities of the New Netherlander, while they patronizingly laughed at him.

The contact of the Hollander of Fort Orange with the ferocious Mohawk is one of the psychologically interesting features of American history. Their compatibility is truly astonishing and reveals their mutual mental attitude as to "taking things easy around the house," no matter how strenuous or combative the outside life must be. This mutual sympathy of the Hollander and Mohawk is one of the great factors which has affected world history.

Comparatively few Americans of today appreciate the part

played by Holland and its province of New Netherland in the history of the United States of America. In order to arrive at a fair appraisal of our first Mohawk Valley white pioneers we quote from John Romeyn Brodhead, one of New York's greatest historians, who wrote (in 1871) as follows concerning the Dutch settlers of whom he was a descendant:

"The pioneers of New York left their impress deeply upon the State. Far reaching commerce, which made old Amsterdam the Tyre of the Seventeenth century, early provoked the envy of the Colonial neighbors of New Amsterdam, and in the end made her the emporium of the Western World * * * Cherished birthdays yet recall the memories of the genial anniversaries of the Fatherland, and year by year, the people are invited to render thanks to their God, as their fathers were invited, long before Manhattan was known, and while New England was yet a desert. These forefathers humbly worshiped the King of Kings, while they fearlessly rejected the kings of men.

"The emigrants who first explored the coast and reclaimed the soil of New Netherland and bore the flag of Holland to the wigwam of the Iroquois, were generally bluff, plain-spoken, earnest, yet unpresumptuous men, who spontaneously left their native land to better their condition and bind another province to the United Netherlands. They brought over with them the liberal ideas and honest maxims and homely virtues of their country. They introduced their church and their schools, their dominies and their schoolmasters. They carried along with them their huge clasped Bibles and they left them heirlooms in their families.

"The Dutch province always had both popular freedom and public spirit enough to attract within its borders voluntary immigrants from the neighboring British colonies. If the Fatherland gave asylum to self-exiled Puritans of England, New Netherland as liberally sheltered refugees from intolerant governments on her eastern frontier.

"Without underrating others it may confidently be claimed that to no other nation in the World is the Republic of the West more indebted."

CHAPTER 12.

HISTORY OF ALBANY, THE MOHAWKS AND THE MOHAWK VALLEY, 1614-1664.

1614, ESTABLISHMENT OF FORT NASSAU BY CAPTAIN HENDRICK CORSTIAENSEN OF THE UNITED NEW NETHERLAND CO.—NEW YORK AND ALBANY, THE OLDEST CITIES IN THE THIRTEEN ORIGINAL STATES—ALBANY SETTLED IN 1614—SIX YEARS BEFORE THE LANDING OF PILGRIMS—1614, THREE DUTCHMEN EXPLORE THE MOHAWK RIVER TO CANAJOHARIE—1618, COUNCIL OF ELKINS WITH MOHAWKS, MOHICANS AND DELAWARES AT TAWASENTHA—THE FIRST CHAIN OF FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN THE DUTCH AND THE MOHAWKS—1621, THE DUTCH WEST INDIA CO.—1623, BUILDING OF FORT ORANGE—1625, MOHAWK-MOHICAN WAR—SETTLERS FLEE TO MANHATTAN—1630, THE GREAT MANOR OF RENSSELAERWYCK OF 700,000 ACRES, EMBRACING A SMALL PART OF THE LOWER MOHAWK VALLEY—1634, VAN DEN BOGAERT'S MISSION TO THE MOHAWKS AND ONEIDAS—1637, COMING OF VAN CURLER—1642, DOMINIE MEGAPOLENSIS ARRIVES—FIRST CHURCH—FATHER JOGUES CAPTURED BY THE MOHAWKS—TREATY WITH THE MOHAWKS—FORT CRALO BUILT—FRICTION BETWEEN THE DIRECTOR GENERAL AND THE RENSSELAERWYCK AUTHORITIES—1644, FATHER JOGUES ESCAPES FROM MOHAWKS—1646, JOGUES RETURNS—SLAIN AT OSSERUENON (AURIESVILLE)—1648, FIRST SCHOOL AT BEVERWYCK—VISIT OF STUYVESANT—1649, FIRST COUNCIL HELD BY THE DUTCH WITH THE MOHAWKS AT ONE OF THEIR CASTLES, OSSERUENON—1658, GLEN SETTLES AT SCOTIA ON THE MOHAWK, FIRST PERMANENT WHITE SETTLEMENT IN THE MOHAWK VALLEY—1659-1660, SCOURGE OF SMALLPOX AMONG THE MOHAWKS—1661, SCHENECTADY SETTLED—1664, ENGLISH CONQUER NEW NETHERLAND—COLONEL CARTWRIGHT VISITS ESOPUS, FORT ORANGE AND SCHENECTADY ESTABLISHING ENGLISH RULE—FORT ORANGE BECOMES ALBANY AND NEW NETHERLAND BECOMES NEW YORK.

The settlement of present Albany, by Hollanders in 1614, marks an epoch in the history of the United States. The location there, of Fort Nassau in 1614 and of Fort Orange in 1623, formed the beginnings of a center which was destined to become the historical keystone of the Colonies. Albany was the fourth important American city in order of settlement, being preceded by Jamestown in 1607, Quebec in 1609 and New York in 1613. Albany is also the second oldest city in the thirteen original states, being next only to New York, which was first permanently occupied in 1613, while Albany dates its birth from the year 1614. Jamestown, Virginia, the first settlement in the area mentioned, was burned in 1676 during Bacon's rebellion. All of the foregoing cities antedate those of New England, and, small as were the first

settlements in Virginia and New Netherlands, yet the making of America was well under way before the Pilgrims made their landing at Plymouth in 1620.

It is as the parent city of the Mohawk Valley, that Fort Orange and its name successor, the city of Albany, deserve consideration in these pages. This chapter covers the first settlement of the extreme eastern end of the Mohawk Valley and it also (from 1614 to 1664, deals with the Mohawks, whose history is regarded as much a part of this book as is that of our Mohawk Valley white pioneers.

In the year 1614, Captain Hendrick Corstiaensen, with a few traders and trappers, sailed up the Hudson River and landed on Castle Island, or, in Dutch, Kasteeul Eylandt, now called Van Rensselaer Island. It was here that French traders had located in 1540. On the ruins of the old French works, Corstiaensen built a stone house and a palisade. He called this post Fort Nassau and here the Dutch traders carried on a brisk traffic in furs and peltries with the Indians. Corstiaensen was murdered shortly after this and his lieutenant, Jacob Jacobsen Elkins succeeded him, as agent for the United New Netherlands Co. And so passed Corstiaensen, who bore so large a part in the early founding of the Capitol City of the Empire State, which later resulted in the settlement of Schenectady and the Mohawk Valley. His name is only briefly mentioned in our histories, where it is generally spelled Christiansen and even Hendricksen.

The original location at Fort Nassau was primarily to further trade in furs for the benefit of the United New Netherlands Co. As traders and trappers are human beings, and as the settlement was a permanent one, it was historically a settlement and a Colonial occupation in every sense of the word—fully as much so as if the hardy Dutch traders had brought with them a floating Leviathan filled with all the paraphernalia and worries of civilization. One of the most ludicrous historical assertions is that this occupation by burly, brawny Hollanders was not a true settlement because they did not bring with them Dutch families, live poultry, agricultural tools, pigs, sheep, cattle, et cetera.

The Directors General of New Netherland during Dutch rule, from 1623 to 1664, were Captain Cornelise Jacobsen Mey, 1624; William Verhulst, 1625; Peter Minuit, 1626-1633; Wouter Van Twiller, 1633-1638; William Kieft, 1638-1647; Petrus Stuyvesant, 1647-1664.

The Mohicans were then the overlords of the Albany neighborhood. They received the Dutch kindly and gave them the

land on which Captain Corstiaensen built Fort Nassau. The Hollander Captain repaired and rebuilt the dilapidated French post. This was a palisaded square, 58 feet on each side, surrounded by a moat, eighteen feet wide, with a strong stone storehouse, 26 by 36 feet in the center. This post was furnished with cannon and garrisoned by a dozen Dutch soldiers. It was a force which could easily have been wiped out by the Indians, but the fort with its cannon, probably seemed very formidable to the Algonquins and the Mohawks who visited it. The trading posts of Manhattan and Fort Nassau were governed by the local agents of the United New Netherland Co. and Elkins, who succeeded Captain Corstiaensen, is noted because he won the good will of the Mohawks—one of the influences that brought about the all important Iroquois-Dutch alliance.

The Netherlanders of Fort Nassau began operations as traders immediately upon their location there and also sent out an exploring party, probably with the idea of locating the Indian tribes so that they could be induced to bring their peltries to Fort Nassau instead of trading them with the French. This party of commercial agents consisted of three Dutch traders from Fort Nassau who passed up the Mohawk Valley, probably to Canajoharie, crossed over to Otsego Lake and went down the Susquehanna as far as Wyoming, in the year 1614. Here they crossed the mountains to the Delaware where they were made prisoners by the Indians. They were ransomed in 1616 and returned to New Netherland. This was probably the earliest exploration of the Mohawk, the Susquehanna and Delaware by white men. In making this journey, these Hollanders must have visited several of the Mohawk castles which lay on the way.

We, fortunately, have a record of this early exploration of the interior of New York State in a map drawn from descriptions furnished by these adventures of 1614, from which we learn that one of them was named Kleynties. The map maker made this note regarding it:

"Of what Kleynties and his Comrade have Communicated to me respecting the locality of the Rivers and the position of the Tribes which they found in their Expedition from the Maquaas into the interior and along the New River downward to the Ogehage (that is the Enemies of the aforesaid northern tribes), I can not at present find anything at hand, except two rough drafts of Maps relating thereto, partly drawn with accuracy. And, in deliberately considering how I can best reconcile this one with the rough drafts Communicated, I find that the places of the Senne-

cas, Gachoos, Capitanisses, and Jottecas ought to be marked down considerably further west into the Country."

Another map was made in 1616 from further explorations by the Dutch traders and it is probable that, from 1614 onward, there were constantly in our Valley, Dutch bosloopers and French couriers du bois—both terms meaning "wood runners", a name applied to the rough adventurous woodsmen of these two nations who visited the Indian tribes for trade and the excitement of adventure, which ran strong in those days of "do and dare." Many sons of the Dutch settlers of Fort Orange were soon engaged in this daring commerce, particularly after trade was made free in 1642. From this wilderness life among the Indians, many of the early pioneers of Fort Nassau and Fort Orange are said to have become more like Indians than Hollanders. In this way they acquired Indian traits, Indian habits of thought and deed and skill in woodcraft, qualities which left an impress upon their descendants and which transmitted certain Indian traits into the early American character.

Floods and freshets made the situation of Fort Nassau as untenable for the Netherlanders as it had been for the French, and so, Elkins, in 1617, moved four miles down the river and built a new Fort Nassau on the Tawasentha, now known as the Normanskill which enters the Hudson on the southern limits of the present city of Albany.

In 1618, on the Tawasentha, Elkins held a council with the Algonquin Indians of the surrounding country and the Delawares and the Mohawks who claimed suzerainty over all the others. This was the famous council where "the chain of friendship" was first made between the Mohawks and the commandants of the Albany forts. It was an alliance of the Mohawks with the Dutch and English which remained virtually unbroken until the Revolution, a compact which forms one of the great influences in World history which has affected the destinies of practically every nation in the world. Some historians of today are inclined to discredit this conference of 1618, because there is no record that a treaty was actually made. Regardless of this, there seems to be no question but that the Tawasentha council was the beginning of the famous alliance of the Mohawks with the Dutch and English governors of New Netherland and New York. The Mohawks never broke this alliance and only once did the white parties to it infringe upon it—when in 1623 the dullard, Commandant Kriekebeeck, joined the Mohicans against the Mohawks and was defeated and killed in the subsequent battle. The Fort Nassau-

Fort Orange district, because of this friendship with the Mohawks, was forever free from Indian troubles and the present Albany section grew strong and rich, while Manhattan was several times involved in bloody and disastrous Indian wars. The Manhattan section's development was thus greatly retarded while Fort Orange continued to progress and to send out Dutch settlers who peopled the Hudson from Kingston on the south to the Hudson River section above Half Moon on the north; eastward to Hoosic and westward to Schenectady on the Mohawk, before the year 1700. The settlers of this Albany district were mainly Dutch, while those of Manhattan district were more cosmopolitan.

The charter of the United New Netherland Co. expired on January 1, 1618, and the merchants of the company were unable to renew their monopoly and trade in New Netherland became open to all Hollanders for the next three or four years. Between 1618 and 1623, at Fort Nassau, Elkins remained, so tradition says, and carried on a lucrative trade with the aid of the Holland ships. It is very probable that some of the early traders stayed here and joined themselves with the settlers who came to Fort Orange under the West India Company in 1623.

The Plymouth pilgrims, then resident in Holland, wished, in 1620, to settle in New Netherland but were refused because of the plans of the West India Company, then in process of formation.

June 3, 1621, the congress of Holland known as the States General, incorporated the Dutch West India Company, one of the greatest combination monopolies and governments of its time. It was invested with almost regal powers for carrying on trade and planting settlements, from Cape Horn to Newfoundland, for a period of twenty-four years and it had exclusive control and governing power over New Netherland. It was managed by a board of nineteen directors in Holland and it was not fully organized until 1623 when colonization plans were vigorously pushed.

In April, 1623, the good ship New Netherland, under the command of Cornelisen Jacobsen Mey, sailed from Holland for America with thirty families of colonists, chiefly Huguenot Walloons—Protestant French-speaking people of southern Belgium who had been driven out by religious persecution. Some of these passengers on the New Netherland went ashore at Manhattan, some settled in present Brooklyn and a few at Esopus (Kingston). Eighteen families sailed up the Hudson and settled on the site of Albany, under command of Adrien Jorise, lieutenant of Mey.

Jorise built Fort Orange on the site of present Steamboat Square, Albany, the exact location being that of the Fort Orange hotel which was burned in 1847. Adrien Jorise is said to have been the Company's governor of the province, in 1623. He remained at Albany all winter. Cornelise Jacobsen Mey was governor in 1624 and William Verhulst in 1625.

The Company's commissaries at Fort Orange were Vice-Directors of the West India Company and Commandants of the fort. Among those recorded as serving at Fort Orange during Dutch occupation (1614-1664) were Daniel Kriekebeeck, Peter Barentsen, Bastian Jansen Kroll, Jorissen Houten, Harman Mynderts Van den Bogaert, Arent Van Curler, Carl Van Brugge, Jan Labadie, John Dyckman, John De Decker, John La Montagne.

In 1625 two shiploads of cattle, horses, sheep and swine arrived in New Netherland from Holland and the growth and development of the infant colony seemed assured. One of the fools who make history as well as the wise men, now stumbled across the path of progress. This was Commandant Daniel Krieckebeeck who was induced, by the neighboring Mohicans, to join one of their war parties against the Mohawks, with whom the Dutch had sat around the council fire at Tawasentha in 1618.

Krieckebeeck set out with six of his Dutch musketeers and the party of Mohicans. A few miles from Fort Orange they were met by a war party of Mohawks, armed with bows and arrows, who defeated their enemies in a sharp battle. Krieckebeeck, three of his men, and a number of Mohican warriors were killed, while the rest fled for their lives. The Mohawks then ate their first and only known meal of roast Dutchman. The Mohawks did not bear the Hollanders any great ill will because of this conflict. They valued the Dutch friendship because of the goods and weapons which they obtained in trade at Fort Orange and soon again were on good terms with their Netherlander neighbors. This war was general between the Mohawks and Mohicans and raged in the Mohawk Valley. The Mohicans had some success but eventually were defeated.

Peter Minuit was an excellent Director General of New Netherland, from 1626 to 1633. He sailed up to Fort Orange and brought back to Manhattan all the colonists who were frightened by this savage warfare. Sixteen soldiers were left to garrison Fort Orange. And so the Huguenot Walloons departed to have their places taken by subsequent Dutch pioneers who came in soon after, as there are about a dozen farmsteads indicated about Fort Orange on both shores of the Hudson, in a map of 1630.

In 1629 a charter of privileges and exemptions was passed for the encouragement of patroons to settle colonies and, in the following year, several wealthy and influential directors of the Dutch West India Company hastened to avail themselves of its advantages. One of these was Killian Van Rensselaer, pearl merchant and jeweler of Amsterdam, who bought from the Indians the great manor of Rensselaerwyck, (in 1630 and 1637), extending for twenty-four miles along the Hudson River, above and below Fort Orange, and forty-eight miles in width—extending inland twenty-four miles from the east and west shores of the river. Bastiaen Jansen Kroll, commissary, and Dierck Cornelissen Duyster, under commissary, made the first purchases of this greatest of Colonial landed estates, which embraced 700,000 acres and included the present counties of Albany and Rensselaer and part of Columbia County. Rensselaerwyck also took in the sprouts of the Mohawk and the south shore of the lower Mohawk River from its outlet westward to present Niskayuna, a distance of about ten miles. Thus, although the Valley area is small we have here the beginnings of the white man's occupation of the Mohawk Valley. Its settlement cannot be traced through deeds as all occupants were tenants of the patroon. Cornelisse Antonisen Van Slyck was living in this lower Valley section near Cohoes Falls in 1641, and he may have been its first pioneer. Van Slyck was a trader who had an Indian wife in the Mohawk castle near present Canajoharie and, by her, had several children, four of whom are intimately connected with the first settlement of Schenectady, as will be noted later. Van Slyck is one of the most interesting and important figures in early Mohawk Valley history and the ancestor of the Van Slyck family in our Valley.

The Rensselaerwyck purchases of 1630, about Fort Orange (Albany), were from the Algonquin tribe of Mohican Indians, who had, on Havers Island in the Sprouts of the Mohawk, a stronghold called the castle of Menominee. These sales by the Mohicans were probably made largely because of their defeat by the Mohawks in 1626. The Mohicans moved into Rensselaer County, where their main towns were located, and later moved into Connecticut, and seated themselves on the Thames River. A part of the tribe later returned to the Hudson.

Early in the spring of 1630, a number of colonists, with their families, sailed from the Texel in Holland in the Company's ship. They were provided with farming implements, stock and all other necessities. Those who settled at Rensselaerwyck were followed by others and the growth of the patroon's "colonie" was slow but

sure from that time onward. In 1630, the population of New Netherland probably did not exceed 600 people, with a possible hundred or more about Fort Orange.

The laws of Holland and the ordinances of the West India Company were in force in New Netherland and Rensselaerwyck but the great power, with which the patroon was invested and the remote location of the colony of Rensselaerwyck fostered the development of a small state around Fort Orange, which was almost self ruling and which had almost virtual independence. Naturally clashes soon arose with the authorities of Manhattan, and with the representatives of the West India Co. in Fort Orange.

The early government of Rensselaerwyck is interesting to us, even though it controlled only a small part of our Valley. The colony of Rensselaerwyck had a General Court, which exercised executive, legislative, municipal and judicial functions. It was composed of two commissaries and two councilors, who answered to modern justices of the peace. Adjoined to this court were a colonial secretary, a sheriff or schout-fiscaal, and the court messenger or constable. There was a public prosecutor who tried delinquents before a court of five persons. The most important official was the schout or sheriff, the first of whom was Jacob Albertsen Planck.

Jacob Elkins, who had been the second in command at Fort Nassau, became captain of an English trading vessel in 1633. In that year he sailed into New York harbor and up the Hudson to Albany, despite the comic-opera threats of the foolish Dutch Director, Van Twiller. Goaded to action by De Vries, Van Twiller at last sent a boatload of Dutch soldiers to Fort Orange who broke up Elkins' trade and who then escorted him back and showed him his way out to sea at the Narrows.

In 1634, Marten Gerritsen was commissary and commandant at Fort Orange. Harmen Myndertse Van den Bogaert was the surgeon there. Trade in furs was dull and the French were drawing the traffic of the Indians to themselves, to the injury of the Dutch factor at Fort Orange. This was made possible by a truce then existing between the Mohawks and the French. Van den Bogaert was a burly, courageous, fighting Hollander, who readily undertook a midwinter trip into the Iroquois country, with the object of offering those Indians inducements to continue their trade at Fort Orange. With two companions, Van den Bogaert went through the Mohawk country, visiting all the castles, and ended his trip at Oneida castle on upper Oneida Creek, near the

site of present Munnsville. He left a very interesting and historically important journal, which is the earliest description of our Valley. It is published in a later chapter.

Arent Van Curler came to Rensselaerwyck in 1637, at the age of seventeen, as assistant commissary. He was a cousin of Van Rensselaer and soon secured advancement to the position of Commissary-General or Superintendent of the Colony of Rensselaerwyck and acted as Colonial Secretary until 1642, when he was succeeded by Anthony de Hooges. Van Curler was one of the greatest figures connected with the early history of the State of New York. He was the leading spirit in the settlement of Schenectady in 1661-1662 and had a prominent part in Fort Orange, Albany and Mohawk Valley affairs until his death in 1667. Adrian Vander Donck succeeded Planck as schout and sheriff. He started a conspiracy against Van Curler which fortunately failed and Vander Donck was forced to quit the colony.

With the growth of Rensselaerwyck, a little town began to grow up around Fort Orange, which became known as Beverwyck —"beaver place or town", because of its trade with the Indians in beaver skins.

New Netherland lost one of its best governors in 1633, when Peter Minuit was replaced by Wouter Van Twiller, who ruled from 1633 until 1638, only to be replaced by a villain in office in the person of William Kieft, a man with a soul as brutal as that of the most barbarous savage, and an official who was naturally despotic and most unpopular.

Wind, water, and horse mills were probably built as early as 1631 at Fort Orange. There was a mill on Governor's island in 1639 and a horse mill on Rutten Kill in 1646. Saw mills and flour mills were also erected. A brewery was built in 1637, and by that year, Fort Orange or Beverwyck probably had all the small industries necessary to a frontier town and a population center. Water commerce with Holland and the West Indies by sloops and yachts (small ships) must have necessitated some sort of a ship yard which was doubtless here located at an early day.

In 1638 the Dutch West India Company adopted a more liberal policy in New Netherland. Trade and manufacturing and the right to hold and own land were made free to all. This policy did much to boom the colony. Its effect, however, was less on Rensselaerwyck than elsewhere, because this vast estate was held by the patroon Van Rensselaer and his copartners in a feudal rule which controlled its tenants according to its own laws.

Although the regulations of the province made it a capital crime to sell firearms to the Indians, the Dutch of Beverwyck began to sell them to the Mohawks about 1640. Thus armed, our Valley Indians were more able to cope with their enemies and their conquests then went on more rapidly. The Indians allied with the French were armed with guns before the Mohawks received them.

Popular government had its beginnings in New Netherland when Director Kieft convened the heads of families in Manhattan to consider hostilities against the Indians. The head men selected twelve men to confer with the Director and this representative body was called the Twelve Men. Kieft reduced it so that it was called the Eight Men in 1643, and, under Stuyvesant, the people's representatives became the Nine Men. This small assembly was in many conflicts with these two Directors, both of whom desired a personal despotism, while the people's representatives desired a popular government like that of New England.

The year 1642 was marked in Beverwyck, by two events of much religious importance. The first was the capture of Father Isaac Jogues, the French Jesuit priest, and his torture and imprisonment in the lower Mohawk castle of Osseruenon at present Auriesville. Van Curler made a trip to this Indian town and endeavored to secure the release of Jogues but failed. On his return trip, he examined the site of Schenectady with much interest.

Van Curler found the Mohawks living on sites different from those visited by Van den Bogaert in 1634. In 1642 the chief Mohawk castles were Osseruenon, at present Auriesville; Andagoron, west of present Fultonville; Tionnontogen, at present Sprakers. All these chief towns have had various spellings.

In 1642, Johannes Megapolensis, the first dominie of Rensselaerwyck arrived, having been engaged by the patroon. A church was built for him in 1642, the first Reformed Dutch church of Albany, the predecessor of many later ones in the Capitol City district, and in the Mohawk Valley. Megapolensis became one of the great men of New Netherland. He settled at New Amsterdam in 1648. In 1643 Megapolensis began to preach to the neighboring Indians and even converted some of the Mohawks. He is the first Indian missionary who is known to have given religious instruction to the Indians, as John Eliot did not begin his Indian missionary work in Massachusetts until three years later. In 1644 at Greenbush, Dominie Megapolensis wrote his famous description of the Mohawk Indians which is given in a later chapter.

That he had the friendship and the confidence of the Mohawks is clearly shown in this historic paper, in which he also gives the first known account of our lower Mohawk Valley great falls of Cohoes.

In 1642, Fort Cralo was built in Greenbush (now Rensselaer) as the east shore manor house of Rensselaerwyck. It has had a most important history and today probably is the oldest house in New York State and one of the oldest in the United States. Here Dr. Shuckburgh, an English army surgeon, originated the first "Yankee Doodle" lines—words to an old jingle which later were changed to fit the times and became our first American national air during the Revolutionary war.

The "Colonie of Rensselaerwyck" and the Dutch authorities at Manhattan now began to have frequent clashes, the directors of the colony claiming practical independence of the Director-General. These squabbles continued almost up to 1650. The Colony ship "Arms of Rensselaerwyck," was held up at Manhattan in 1643 and its cargo requisitioned by Kieft. Fort Orange was under the rule of the West India Company and its commandant and his soldiers had frequent clashes with the officials of the Colony who generally had the support of the people and even of the Mohawks. The quarrel took on the aspect of the constant trouble in the Colonies which eventually caused the Revolution —the objection of the settlers to their rule by outsiders.

Friction was caused by the great feudal estate of Rensselaerwyck, created by the West India Company, which the latter monopoly now found to be a serious rival of its authority on the Upper Hudson. From a historical point of view, here is a queer anomaly—a great feudal, almost mediaeval estate, set up in the wilderness of the New World, contesting for the right to govern itself and, in its claims, supported by its tenantry, who evinced early signs of a characteristic American love of liberty.

In 1644 Nicolaus Coorn as commander of Rensselaerwyck, completed a fort on Beeren (Bear) Island. It mounted several cannon and commanded the river. The Colony then practically assumed the function of an independent state by claiming a "staple right" or duty of five guilders ($2.00) on every trading craft passing up or down the river, which was also obliged to lower its colors in honor of Rensselaerwyck, which thus asserted a sovereign jurisdiction over a navigable highway, against all persons save and except the servants of the West India Company. Coorn fired on one skipper who refused to salute. Then the wordy war of Manhattan versus Rensselaerwyck raged fast and furious

and continued, with varying strength, until 1650, when the States General decided against Rensselaerwyck, which formerly claimed the very ground on which Fort Orange was built. This decision confirmed the title of the land of the West India Company, and assured it the ownership of the territory within a cannon shot of the fort and the trail across the patroon's estate, leading to the Mohawk, at present Schenectady.

In 1643-5 a fierce Indian war raged about Manhattan caused by Kieft's diabolical midnight massacre of the defenceless Indians at Pavonia and Manhattan in 1643. The pioneers of Rensselaerwyck were spared these horrors because of their remote position and their friendship with the Mohawks, with whom Arent Van Curler made a treaty for the Colony in 1645.

Van Curler was director of the Colony in 1644, when a party of Mohawks brought the captive Jesuit priest, Father Isaac Jogues, with them to Albany. Van Curler and Dominie Megapolensis aided Father Jogues to escape to France on a Dutch ship. He subsequently, in 1646, wrote an account of New Netherland from his observations at this time, which is most interesting. His figures are, of course, guess work, as he was hidden in a house while in Beverwyck. He wrote that "on the island of Manhattan and its environs, there may be four or five hundred men of different sects and nations. The Director-General told me there are men of eighteen different languages".

Regarding Fort Orange (Albany), Jogues wrote: "A miserable little fort called Fort Orange, built of logs." Regarding Rensselaerwyck he wrote:

"The colony is composed of about a hundred persons who reside in some twenty-five or thirty houses built along the river as each found most convenient. In the principal houses lives the patron's agent; the minister has his apart in which service is performed. * * * All their houses are of boards and thatched, with no mason work except the chimneys. The forest furnishing many large pines, they make boards by means of their mills, which they have here for the purpose. They found some pieces of ground all ready, which the savages have already cleared and in which they sow wheat and oats for beer, and for their horses, of which they have great numbers. There is little land fit for tillage, being hemmed in by hills which are poor soil. This obliges them to separate and they already occupy two or three leagues of country. Trade is free to all; this gives the Indians all things cheap, each of the Hollanders outbidding his neighbor, and being satisfied provided he can gain some little profit.

"This settlement is not more than twenty leagues from the Agniehronons [Mohawks] who can be reached by land or water, as the [Mohawk] river, on which the Iroquois lie, falls into that which passes by the Dutch, but there are many low rapids and a fall of a short half league, where the canoe must be carried."

Jogues' figures probably would be more correct if the population of Beverwyck were put at over 100 and that of the Colony of Rensselaerwyck more than twice that number in 1644. We have the names of the settlers in Rensselaerwyck from 1630 to 1646. The adult male settlers alone who came to this place in those years totaled 175, up to 1646. A number brought their wives and children, as in the case of Dominie Megapolensis. This would indicate a population, in 1644, of about 200 or more in the entire colony of Rensselaerwyck, some of whom probably then lived about the mouth of the Mohawk.

Jogues was also in error as to all the houses being of wood inasmuch as Fort Cralo had been built of brick in Greenbush, opposite Fort Orange, in 1642. This was the east shore manor house of Rensselaerwyck and was a fine mansion for its day.

In 1646, Jogues returned to the Mohawks on two different occasions. The Mohawks secretly passed sentence of death upon him and he was murdered shortly after his arrival at Osseruenon, on his second journey.

Kilian Van Rensselaer, the first patroon, died in 1646. His son, Johannes Van Rensselaer, a minor, succeeded him, while Johannes Van Wely and the ex-Director Wouter Van Twiller were the executors. They appointed Barent Arent Van Slechtenhorst, of Niewkerke in Gelderland, as director of the Colonie, who came to Rensselaerwyck in 1647. Andries Jansz became the first schoolmaster of Fort Orange in 1648.

Petrus Stuyvesant, the Director-General who was chosen to succeed Kieft arrived in 1647. He changed the name of Manhattan to New Amsterdam and almost immediately became involved in a quarrel with Van Slechtenhorst over the status of feudalism and of semi-independence claimed by Rensselaerwyck. This squabble continued violently for four years and intermittently until the English conquest in 1664. It did great harm to Dutch interests and particularly to the little town of Beverwyck, (Beaver Town) which had grown up around Fort Orange.

The beginnings of this bloodless civil war was signalized by the appearance of two whales which came up the Hudson River during the spring freshet of 1647, one of which grounded on the largest island of the Sprouts of the Mohawk, which was after

known as Waalvisch (Whale) Island. Six whales entered the Hudson that year. The one which stranded on the Mohawk island was boiled out for oil by the Beverwyck settlers, but its remains polluted the air for months in the vicinity of Whale Island.

In 1648, Director-General Stuyvesant came to Beverwyck with an armed guard. He bitterly berated Van Slechtenhorst for defying his orders and authority. The patroon's commissary stood his ground and nothing resulted but a bitter war of words between the two officials.

Jean Baptiste Van Rensselaer was the first of the patroon family to come to America. He settled in Beverwyck in 1651, and was elected one of the magistrates and became director of the Colonie in 1652. His brother Jeremias Van Rensselaer succeeded to the directorship in 1658 and continued until 1674, receiving a new patent for his domain from the Duke of York, after considerable trouble. Jeremias proved himself to be a fine, intelligent executive, whose influence with the Mohawks was exceeded only by that of Van Curler.

The Mohawks became disgruntled in 1651 and an attack from them was feared. A committee was appointed to visit them in their castles on the Mohawk River. At a council, the Dutch made a liberal distribution of presents which restored good feeling.

In 1652 (in the year in which New Amsterdam became a city), Dutch pioneers from Fort Orange settled at Esopus (Kingston). Alexander Lindsay Glen, in 1655, bought land of the Mohawks at Scotia, opposite present Schenectady, where he settled in 1658. In 1660, Claverack was settled by Dutch from Albany. In 1661 Hollanders from Albany, led by Arent Van Curler, settled Schenectady. In 1664, Captain Goosen Van Schaick bought the Half Moon patent, included in which was the present site of Waterford on the north shore of the Mohawk at its outlet into the Hudson. Settlers on this patent soon followed, among them being Guert Hendrickse Van Schoonhoven. About this time, the Boght on the Mohawk northwest of Cohoes was settled by the Fonda and Fort families. In 1667, Illetje (Alice), daughter of Cornelis Antonisen Van Slyck and his Mohawk wife Otstoch, was granted the Great Island in the Mohawk at Niskayuna. She also received the Boght at Watervliet on the Hudson and the Willigen Vlachte (Willow Flat) on the Mohawk below Amsterdam. Her husband was Pieter Danielse Van Olinda.

Thus we see how the early Hollander pioneers from Fort Orange settled the present Capitol City district, including the

Mohawk from its mouth to Schenectady. They created a populous, strong district, which, at the time of the Revolution, was a tower of strength to the patriot cause. The settlements in the Mohawk Valley, which spread from Schenectady are mentioned in the chapter on the founding of that city.

In 1652 New York became a city. It then had a population of 800 while that of New Netherland was estimated at 2,000. The figures are probably low, at least for the province. There probably were 500 or 600 people or more in the Colony of Rensselaerwyck in 1652. In 1656, a new Reformed Dutch church was built at Albany as the old one of 1643 was dilapidated and had grown too small for the people of Beverwyck.

While Stuyvesant, in 1655, was absent subduing the Swedes on the Delaware, war with the Indians again broke out around New Amsterdam. In 1658, Esopus suffered from a war with the neighboring Algonquins which raged again in 1660. Rensselaerwyck escaped both of these horrors. It was threatened with war between the Mohawks and Mohicans in 1664, when rumors reached Governor Stuyvesant of the threatened invasion by the English.

In 1658, Alexander Lindsay Glen made the first permanent white settlement in the Mohawk Valley. He located on the Mohawk's north bank at Scotia, opposite later Schenectady, on lands which he had bought of the Mohawks in 1655.

In 1659, a terrible scourge of smallpox visited the lower Mohawk castle at Osseruenon (at present Auriesville) and hundreds of its people died from this dread disease, which was particularly fatal to the Indians who were practically free from contagious diseases before the coming of the white man. The surviving Mohawks of the lower castle removed about a mile westward (from the east to the west side of present Aurieskill) and there built a new castle called Gan-da-wa-gue, the lower castle being the town of the Turtle clan. Here the Dutch of Beverwyck held a council with the Mohawks in 1659. The Turtle clan desired the Dutch to drive their horses up the Mohawk and help the Indians move the palisades of the old castle to the new site. The Dutch refused but, on several later occasions, aided their Mohawk neighbors in this way. One thousand Mohawks are said to have died in this smallpox epidemic in 1659-1660.

In 1661, Arent Van Curler bought the Groot Vlachte, or Great Flat, at Schenectady, from the Mohawks. In 1661 this great American of Holland birth led eleven families from Rensselaerwyck over the trail and on the banks of our Mohawk River made

the first Valley settlement and laid the foundations of the present great City of Schenectady. Then Albany ceased to be the western frontier city and Old Dorp on the Mohawk took its place. Schenectady became the eastern terminus of Mohawk River traffic and speedily took on a position of importance. The town was palisaded and a small garrison was kept there. The extent of fertile, treeless river flats made the farms very valuable. Stuyvesant issued patents in 1664 for lands at Schenectady. The settlement of Schenectady in 1661-1662 is covered in a later chapter.

In 1664, New Netherland was rapidly growing into an important Dutch possession. The population was yearly increasing from New Amsterdam at the mouth of the Hudson to Schenectady on the Mohawk. New Amsterdam was the best built town along the Atlantic coast, with a thriving commerce and a population of 1,500 in the city. The province numbered 10,000 people or thereabouts. Beverwyck was a town of five or six hundred people while Rensselaerwyck and the present Capitol district probably held several thousand Dutch inhabitants. The lower Mohawk Valley probably had several hundred pioneers, with most of them in Schenectady. After bloody wars and many disappointments and setbacks, the Dutch county of New Netherland seemed about to become a rich and powerful colony of Holland.

By a secret expedition, an unjustifiable act of spoliation, England wrested the Hudson Valley from Holland, while the two nations were at peace. A squadron, under command of Colonel Robert Nicholls, sailed into the Lower Bay and, after prolonged conferences and in spite of the opposition of "Old Wooden Leg", (Stuyvesant), New Amsterdam was finally surrendered, on August 29th, 1664, to the representatives of King Charles the Second, and the Duke of York, and the Atlantic seaboard became a country under one rule. Unjustifiable as was this act, it had great importance, in that it gave the thirteen English colonies a common government and a common cause in their fight for independence. Twelve colonies, split in twain by a Dutch province, would have been handicapped in their later struggle for liberty. This wanton capture of New Netherland caused war between England and Holland, but it proved a godsend to the cause of American liberty.

Nicholls commissioned Colonel Cartwright to go up the Hudson and secure the submission of Esopus, Fort Orange and Schenectady. "In order to secure the transfer to the English of the friendship which the Iroquois had manifested toward the Dutch, Nicholls requested some persons who had experience in

dealing with the savages to accompany the military officers of the expedition." One of these was Willett of Plymouth, great-grandfather of Colonel Marinus Willett, the famous American officer of Mohawk Valley Revolutionary days. The others were Captains Breedon, Manning, and Brodhead, ancestor of the historian of that name.

When Cartwright reached Fort Orange, he found De Decker, an unwise Dutchman, trying to rouse the people of Rensselaerwyck to oppose the English occupation. La Montagne, the Company's commissary and commandant of Fort Orange, and the magistrates, had no desire to resist and the change of government was peacefully made. Beverwyck became Albany, after the Scotch title of the Duke of York. All the civil officers and magistrates were continued in their offices. An English garrison occupied Fort Orange, which was then renamed Fort Albany and placed under command of Capt. John Manning.

"Soon afterward, several Mohawk and Seneca sachems appeared at the fort and signed, with Cartwright, the first treaty between the Iroquois and the English. It was covenanted that the Indians should have all the commodities from the English which they formerly had from the Dutch; that offenses should be reciprocally punished; and that the [Hudson] River Indians and those below Manhattan should be included in the treaty. The next day it was further agreed that the English should not assist the hostile Eastern tribes; that they should make peace for the Iroquois with the nations down the river, that the Iroquois should have free trade and be 'lodged in houses' as formerly and that if they should be beaten by the Eastern tribes, they should 'receive accommodation' from the English. The friendship thus established continued to be maintained, with remarkable fidelity on both sides, for more than a century until the American Revolutionary war."

Esopus and the other settlements on the Hudson accepted the change of rulers without a murmur, as well as Schenectady with the few hundred pioneers resident there and elsewhere in the lower Mohawk Valley.

And so, after a sway of fifty years, Dutch dominion passed from America and the lower Mohawk Valley.

CHAPTER 13.

VAN DEN BOGAERT'S JOURNAL—1634-5.

VAN DEN BOGAERT'S JOURNAL OF 1634-5 OF HIS JOURNEY INTO THE MOHAWK AND ONEIDA COUNTRY—THE FIRST WRITTEN DESCRIPTION OF THE MOHAWK VALLEY BY THE SURGEON OF FORT ORANGE—SITES OF THE MOHAWK CASTLES AND THE ONEIDA CASTLE VISITED BY THREE DUTCHMEN ON THEIR 200 MILE MIDWINTER TRIP.

One of the most interesting and important documents relative to early Mohawk Valley history is the following Journal of Van den Bogaert's journey through the Mohawk country in the Winter of 1634-5. It is the most informing and illuminative record of our early Valley and its Mohawk inhabitants, which we possess. As a picture of the Mohawk savage of that day, his home and his habits, it is unsurpassed. Moreover, one who is familiar with the Valley's topography, can locate many of the points mentioned from the writer's very careful observation of the ground over which he traveled. Van den Bogaert's is the only record we have of the second series of castles which the Mohawks built along our river and, as such, it is important historically, as it completes our record of all the chief castles of these Indians from their coming to our Valley about 1590 to their migration to Canada in 1775.

General James Grant Wilson found the manuscript of this Journal in Amsterdam in 1895. He says "It consists of 32 pages of well preserved foolscap, which had been buried in a Dutch garret of Amsterdam for two hundred and sixty years."

The writing was at first attributed to Arent Van Curler, but as the Journal was written in 1634, and Van Curler did not come to Fort Orange until 1637, as a youth of eighteen, such authorship is impossible. The Journal is now believed to have been written by Harmen Meyndertsz Van den Bogaert, the surgeon of the fort. This is substantiated by the fact that the explorer says he treated several savages for illness on this winter journey. Van den Bogaert was a man of education and importance in the little colony of Resselaerwyck, as a surgeon would naturally be. That he was a brave, hardy, resourceful pioneer as well, is vouched for by the words of this simply told narrative. Its value is increased by the author's direct, natural and ungarbled writing of what an intelligent man saw with his own keen eyes.

Martin Gerritsen, the factor (chief of the West India Company's affairs) at Fort Orange, who is several times mentioned, had previously been one of Director Van Twiller's council at Manhattan (later New Netherland and still later New York). He settled at Resselaerwyck at an earlier date.

Van den Bogaert's companions on his journey to the Mohawk country were Jeronimus de Lacroix and Willem Tomassen. Jeronimus de Lacroix's position is unknown but, judging from Van den Bogaert's Journal, he must have been something of a bumpkin and so, probably, was a "handy man" in the company's service. There are no records in existence concerning Willem Tomassen, the third member of the party. None of these men was employed by Van Resselaer. They were all attached to the service of the Dutch West India Company at Fort Orange.

Van den Bogaert's "leagues" are misleading to any one who interprets this word as meaning the English league of three miles. What is intended is the Dutch "mylen" (mile), equalling two and a quarter English miles.

By carefully noting the number of these "mylen" and where they would bring the explorer, on his journey westward from Fort Orange, we are enabled to locate, with considerable accuracy, the sites of the Mohawk castles and villages mentioned in the Journal. This is borne out by several marked landscape features, which Van den Bogaert carefully noted. Some writers in commenting on this Journal have placed the Mohawk castles at places totally at variance with these landmarks, possibly because of lack of information on Mohawk River topography. Others have said that Van den Bogaert's distances are not to be relied upon, which is not in conformity with the character of an explorer who evidently knew the forest, its trails and distances, and who slept out in the snow on a January night of 1635. We must remember that, in 1634, the Hollanders of Fort Orange had been busily trading with the Mohawks for twenty years and that these Dutch traders then knew the Mohawks intimately as well as their castles, and their country. They had also probably recorded the distances in the Mohawk country, with considerable accuracy, as early as 1634.

Mr. John Fea, the well known historian of Amsterdam, has studied Van den Bogaert's route and the sites of the Mohawk castles he described. By carefully comparing the distances mentioned and the landmarks noted, he has been enabled to accurately locate these Mohawk castles and villages, and he has verified all of his locations by finding, on these sites, marked evidence

of the remains of large castles or small villages, as the case may be.

Regardless of the "mylen" figures, the landmarks described are in themselves enough to approximately locate the Mohawk towns of 1634. All the castles were on the south side of the river, and the first one was "on a high hill". After Van den Bogaert passed Touareuna and Yantapooshaberg (near Hoffmans), the first high hill he would note on the south shore would be Wasontha Hill or the spur of the Little Nose, which overlooks the Wasontha Creek near Randall. Here remains of the first castle of O-ne-ka-gon-ka were found by Mr. Fea.

Van den Bogaert says that he traveled the equivalent of 49½ English miles to this point over the trail, which was, like all main trails, probably fairly straight.

The site of Onekagonka is about 49 miles by the New York Central Railroad from present Albany. And so the sites are verified. Nearly all the castles and villages, from this point westward, are mentioned one after another as being on "high hills." The south shore section, from the Little Nose to opposite Garoga Creek, answers to this description, while the river shore farther east is comparatively low. There are other geographical features described by Van den Bogaert which have been overlooked by writers who are not extremely familiar with the topography of the river's shores along the Middle Mohawk Valley. The Canajoharie and Otsquage creeks are undoubtedly described while the upper or most western castle of Te-no-to-ge stood on a "very high hill," where Van den Bogaert said "The kill we spoke about before runs past here, and the course is mostly north by west and south by east." This site could only be at the one section in Middle Mohawk Valley, where the river runs nearly north and south, and that is between a point west of present Canajoharie past Fort Plain to a point west of Palatine church. On "a very high hill" (Oak Hill) overlooking this north-south river course Mr. Fea found all the evidences of the great Wolf Castle of Tenotoge.

One writer identifies this castle with that of Thenondiogo, the Wolf Clan castle mentioned by Megapolensis in his description of the Mohawk Indians, written in 1644. The Mohawks, however, had changed their locations about 1642 so that the two castles were not and could not have been the same. When the Mohawks moved they frequently took the previous castle's name, and applied it to their new one.

In 1642 the Wolf Clan castle of Tenontogere was located at

present Sprakers Basin, but in 1634 Tenotoge was on the summit of Oak Hill over two miles west of Fort Plain. These explanations are given here, inasmuch as the latter site has been located elsewhere by other writers.

This Journal is most important as a historical document and the castles mentioned therein complete our list of Mohawk town sites of this period. For this reason the editor of this history gives these Indian village sites, as located by Mr. Fea. They are also included in the full list of Mohawk Indian towns in Chapter 6. Mr. Fea's Mohawk Indian town sites (south shore) of 1634 are as follows:

Onekagonka.—The Lower Castle (probably of the Turtle Clan) on the hill on (1912) the Vrooman farm on the west bank of Wasontha Creek, west of the village of Randall.

Canorawode.—A small village on the site of the present Montgomery County farm buildings at Schenck's Hollow. This was the only Mohawk town site on the north shore of the river at that time.

Senatsycrosy.—Village at present Sprakers Basin.

Canagere.—Village on (1912) the Horatio Nellis farm, just east of present Canajoharie.

Sochanidisse.—Middle Castle (probably of the Bear Clan) on the high ridge which runs from Canajoharie to Fort Plain. The castle was on the Brown farm in Happy Hollow section, a mile or so west of Canajoharie.

Osquage.—Village on Prospect Hill, Fort Plain.

Cawoge.—Village on (1912) the Lipe farm on the western edge of Fort Plain.

Tenotoge.—Upper Castle (probably of the Wolf Clan). On (1912) the Sponable and Moyer farms, two and one-half miles northwest of Fort Plain. This castle of the Mohawks at this time was the largest town in New Netherland and in the Hudson and Mohawk valleys, far outstripping the Dutch village of Manhattan, now New York city—Tenotoge stood on Oak Hill.

The Dutch of Fort Orange called the Mohawks "Maquas". The rest of the Iroquois Five Nations were known to them simply as "Sinnekens," meaning Senecas. Van den Bogaert refers to the Oneidas as Sinnekens in his Journal. After leaving the Upper Mohawk castle of Tenotoge the party left for the Oneida castle of Onneyuttehage, which stood on the banks of the Upper Oneida Creek near the present site of Munnsville, Madison County. The trail from Tenotoge to Onneyuttehage did not follow the Mo-

hawk but left that river and ran over the uplands along the edge of the Susquehanna-Mohawk divide into the Oneida country.

After leaving Tenotoge (about two miles northwest of Fort Plain) Van den Bogaert and his party marched westward over the hills on an upland route which took them over the Mohawk-Susquehanna divide perhaps to the trail now followed by the Van Hornesville-Jordanville road. They crossed the Unadilla River (which Van den Bogaert thought was a headwater of the Delaware instead of the Susquehanna) possibly at West Winfield. This is borne out by the fact that Van den Bogaert says under date of December 29, "the course northwest," which it would have to be in order for them to reach present Munnsville from the Great Western Turnpike. The three Hollanders crossed Oriskany Creek, which he says is "the branch of the river that passes by Fort Orange and past the land of the Maquas." As they approached the Oneida castle they "saw to the northwest of us a large river and on the other side thereof tremendously high land that seemed to lie in the clouds." This could have been none other than the strip of Oneida Lake seen from the hills and the high land must have been clouds or mist. At last, footsore and weary, they reached the Oneida castle of Onneyuttehage on Oneida Creek at present Munnsville. This was about 120 miles or more from the start of their wintry journey from Fort Orange.

Van den Bogaert compiled an interesting Mohawk vocabulary, during his journey. It is given at the end of Chapter 6, covering the Mohawk Indian castles, where due credit is given to its author.

The following is a translation by Mr. S. G. Nissensen from the original manuscript owned by Mr. W. A. White. So far as the editor knows, this is the first publication of this Journal in any historical study of the Mohawk Valley.

NARRATIVE OF A JOURNEY INTO THE MOHAWK AND ONEIDA COUNTRY, 1634-1635.

Praise the Lord above all—Fort Orange, 1634.

December 11. Journal kept of the principal events that happened during the journey to the Maquas and Sinnekens Indians. First, the reasons why we went on this journey were these, that the Maquas and Sinnekens very often came to our factor (commis) Marten Gerritsen and me stating that there were French Indians in their land, and that they had made a truce with them so that they, namely, the Maquas, wished to trade for their skins, because the Maquas Indians wanted to receive just as much for

their skins as the French Indians did. So I proposed to Mr. Marten Gerritsen to go and see if it was true, so soon to run counter to their High Mightinesses; and, besides, trade was doing very badly, therefore I went as above with Jero(ni)mus (de) la Croex and Willem Tomassen. May the Lord bless my voyage! We went between nine and ten o'clock with five Maquas Indians, mostly northwest above eight leagues, and arrived at half-past twelve in the evening at a hunter's cabin, where we slept for the night, near the stream that runs into their land and is named Oyoge. The Indians here gave us venison to eat. The land is mostly full of fir trees, and the flat land is abundant. The stream runs through their land near their (Maquas) castles, but we could not ascend it on account of the heavy freshet.

December 12. At three hours before daylight, we proceeded again, and the savages that went with us would have left us there if I had not noticed it; and when we thought of taking our meal we perceived that their dogs had eaten our meat and cheese. So we had then only dry bread and had to travel on that; and, after going for an hour, we came to the branch that runs into our river and past the Maquas villages, where the ice drifted very fast. Jeronimus crossed first, with one savage in a canoe made of the bark of trees, because there was only room for two; after that Willem and I went over; and it was so dark that we could not see each other if we did not come close together. It was not without danger. When all of us had crossed, we went another league and a half and came to a hunter's cabin, which we entered to eat some venison, and hastened farther, and after another half league we saw some Indians approaching; and as soon as they saw us they ran off and threw their sacks and bags away, and fled down a valley behind the underwood, so that we could not see them. We looked at their goods and bags, and took therefrom a small (loaf of) bread. It was baked with beans, and we ate it. We went farther, and mostly along the aforesaid kill that ran very swiftly because of the freshet. In this kill there are a good many islands, and on the sides upward of 500 or 600 morgen of flat land; yes, I think even more. And after we had been marching about eleven leagues, we arrived at one o'clock in the evening half a league from the first castle at a little house. We found only Indian women inside. We should have gone farther, but I could hardly move my feet because of the rough road, so we slept there. It was very cold, with northerly wind.

December 13. In the morning we went together to the castle over the ice that during the night had frozen on the kill, and after going half a league, we arrived in their first castle, which is built

on a high hill. There stood but 36 houses, in rows like streets, so that we could pass nicely. The houses are made and covered with bark of trees, and mostly are flat at the top. Some are 100, 90, or 80 paces long and 22 and 23 feet wide. There were some inside doors of hewn boards, furnished with iron hinges. In some houses we saw different kinds of iron work, iron chains, harrow irons, iron hoops, nails—which they steal when they go forth from here. Most of the people were out hunting deer and bear. The houses were full of corn that they call onersti, and we saw maize; yes, in some of the houses more than 300 bushels. They make canoes and barrels of the bark of trees, and sew with bark as well. We had a good many pumpkins cooked and baked that they called anansira. None of the chiefs was at home, but the principal chief is named Adriochten, who lived a quarter of a mile from the fort in a small house, because a good many savages here in the castle died of smallpox. I sent him a message to come and see us, which he did; he came and bade me welcome, and said that he wanted us very much to come with him. We should have done so, but when already on the way another chief called us, and so we went to the castle again. This one had a big fire lighted, and a fat haunch of venison cooked, of which we ate. He gave us two bearskins to sleep upon, and presented me with three beaver skins. In the evening Willem Tomassen, whose legs were swollen from the march, had a few cuts made with a knife therein, and after that had them rubbed with bear grease. We slept in this house, ate heartily of pumpkins, beans and venison, so that we were not hungry, but were treated as well as is possible in their land. We hope that all will succeed.

December 14. Jeronimus wrote a letter to our commis (factor), Marten Gerritsen, and asked for paper, salt, and atsochwat —that means tobacco for the savages. We went out to shoot turkeys with the chief, but could not get any. In the evening I bought a very fat one for two hands of seawan. The chief cooked it for us, and the grease he mixed with our beans and maize. This chief showed me his idol; it was a male cat's head, with the teeth sticking out; it was dressed in duffel cloth. Others have a snake, a turtle, a swan, a crane, a pigeon, or the like for their idols, to tell the fortune; they think they will always have good luck in doing so. From here two savages went with their skins to Fort Orange.

December 15. I went again with the chief to hunt turkeys but could not get any; and in the evening the chief again showed us his idol, and we resolved to stay here for another two or three

days till there should be an opportunity to proceed, because all the footpaths had disappeared under the heavy snowfalls.

December 16. After midday a famous hunter came here named Sickarus, who wanted very much that we should go with him to his castle. He offered to carry our goods and to let us sleep and remain in his house as long as we liked; and because he was offering us so much I gave him a knife and two awls as a present, and to the chief in whose house we had been I presented a knife and a pair of scissors; and then we took our departure from this castle, named Onekagoncka, and after going for half a league over the ice we saw a village with only six houses, of the name Canowarode; but we did not enter it, because he said it was not worth while, and after another half league we passed again a village where twelve houses stood. It was named Senatsycrosy. These were like the others, he saying they likewise were not worth while entering; and after passing by great stretches of flat land, for another league or league and a half, we came into this castle, at two good hours after dark. I did not see much besides a good many graves. This castle is named Canagere. It is built on a hill, without any palisades or any defense. We found only seven men at home, besides a party of old women and children. The chiefs of this castle, named Tonnosatton and Tonewerot, were hunting; so we slept in the house of Sickarus, as he had promised us; and we counted in his house 120 pieces of salable beaver skins that he captured with his own dogs. Every day we ate beaver meat here. In this castle are sixteen houses, 50, 60, 70, or 80 paces long, and one of sixteen paces, and one of five paces, containing a bear to be fattened. It had been in there upward of three years, and was so tame that it took everything that was given to it to eat.

December 17. Sunday we looked over our goods, and found a paper filled with sulphur, and Jeronimus took some of it and threw it in the fire. They saw the blue flame and smelled the smoke, and told us they had the same stuff; and when Sickarus came they asked us to let them take a look at it, and it was the same; and we asked him where he obtained it. He told us they obtained it from the stranger savages, and that they believed it to be good against many maladies, but principally for their legs when they were sore from long marching and were very tired.

December 18. Three women of the Sinnekens came here with dried and fresh salmon; the latter smelled very bad. They sold each salmon for one florin or two hands of seawan. They brought, also, a good quantity of green tobacco to sell; and had been six

days on the march. They could not sell all their salmon here, but went farther on to the first castle; and when they returned we were to go with them, and in the evening Jeronimus told me that a savage tried to kill him with a knife.

December 19. We received a letter from Marten Gerritsen dated December 18, and with it we received paper, salt, tobacco for the savages, and a bottle of brandy, and secured an Indian that was willing to be our guide to the Sinnekens. We gave him half a yard of cloth, two axes, two knives, and two awls. If it had been summer, many Indians would have gone with us, but as it was winter they would not leave their land, because it snowed very often up to the height of a man. Today we had a great rainfall, and I gave the guide a pair of shoes. His name was Sqorhea.

December 20. We took our departure from the second castle, and, after marching a league, our savage, Sqorhea, came to a stream that we had to pass. This stream ran very fast; besides, big cakes of ice came drifting along, for the heavy rainfall during yesterday had set the ice drifting. We were in great danger, for if one of us had lost his footing it had cost us our lives; but God the Lord preserved us, and we came through safely. We were wet up to above the waist, and after going for another half league we came thus wet, with our clothes, shoes and stockings frozen to us, to a very high hill on which stood 32 houses, like the other ones. Some were 100, 90, or 80 paces long; in every house we saw four, five, or six fireplaces where cooking went on. A good many savages were at home, so we were much looked at by both the old and the young; indeed, we could hardly pass through. They pushed each other in the fire to see us, and it was more than midnight before they took their departure. We could not absent ourselves to go to stool; even then they crawled around us without any feeling of shame. This is the third castle and is named Sochanidisse. The chief's name is Tewowary. They lent me this evening a lion skin to cover myself; but in the morning I had more than a hundred lice. We ate much venison here. Near this castle there is plenty of flat land, and the wood is full of oaks and nut trees. We exchanged here one beaver skin for one awl.

December 21. We started very early in the morning, and thought of going to the fourth castle, but after a half league's marching we came to a village with only nine houses, of the name of Osquage, the chief's name was Oquoho—that is, wolf. And here we saw a big stream that our guide did not dare to cross, as

the water was over one's head because of the heavy rainfall; so we were obliged to postpone it till the next day. The chief treated us very kindly; he did us much good and gave us plenty to eat, for everything to be found in his house was at our service. He said often to me that I was his brother and good friend; yes, he told me even how he had been traveling overland for thirty days, and how he met there an Englishman, to learn the language of the Minquase and to buy the skins. I asked him whether there were any French savages there with the Sinnekens. He said yes; and I felt gratified and had a good hope to reach my aim. They called me here to cure a man that was very sick.

December 22. When the sun rose, we waded together through the stream; the water was over the knee, and so cold that our shoes and stockings in a very short time were frozen as hard as armor. The savages dared not go through, but went two by two, with a stick and hand in hand; and after going half a league we came to a village named Cawaoge. There stood fourteen houses, and a bear to fatten. We went in and smoked a pipe of tobacco, because the old man who was our guide was very tired. Another old man approached us, who shouted, "Welcome, welcome! You must stop here for the night"; but we wanted to be on the march and went forward. I tried to buy the bear, but they would not let it go. Along these roads we saw many trees much like the savin, with a very thick bark. This village likewise stood on a very high hill, and after going for another league we came into the fourth castle by land whereon we saw only a few trees. The name is Tenotoge. There are 55 houses, some one hundred, others more or fewer paces long. The kill we spoke about before runs past here, and the course is mostly north by west and south by east. On the other bank of the kill there are also houses; but we did not go in, because they were most of them filled with corn and the houses in this castle are filled with corn and beans. The savages here looked much surprised to see us, and they crowded so much around us that we could hardly pass through, for nearly all of them were at home. After awhile one of the savages came to us and invited us to go with him to his house, and we entered. This castle had been surrounded by three rows of palisades, but now there were none save six or seven pieces so thick that it was quite a wonder that savages should be able to do that. They crowded each other in the fire to see us.

December 23. A man came calling and shouting through some of the houses, but we did not know what it meant, and after awhile Jeronimus de la Croix came and told us what this was—

that the savages are preparing and arming. I asked them what all this was about, and they said to me: "Nothing, we shall play with one another," and there were four men with clubs and a party with axes and sticks. There were twenty people armed, nine on one side and eleven on the other; and they went off against each other, and they fought and threw each other. Some of them wore armor and helmets that they themselves make of thin reeds and strings braided upon each other so that no arrow or axe can pass through to wound them severely; and after they had been playing thus a good while the parties closed and dragged each other by the hair, just as they would have done to their enemies after defeating them and before cutting off their scalps. They wanted us to fire our pistols, but we went off and left them alone. This day we were invited to buy bear meat, and we also got half a bushel of beans and a quantity of dried strawberries, and we bought some bread, that we wanted to take on our march. Some of the loaves were baked with nuts and cherries and dry blueberries and the grains of the sunflower.

December 24. It was Sunday. I saw in one of the houses a sick man. He had invited two of their doctors that could cure him—they call them simachkoes; and as soon as they came they began to sing and to light a big fire. They closed the house most carefully everywhere, so that the breeze could not come in, and after that each of them wrapped a snake-skin around his head. They washed their hands and faces, lifted the sick man from his place, and laid him alongside the big fire. Then they took a bucket of water, put some medicine in it, and washed in this water a stick about half a yard long, and kept sticking it in their throats so that no end of it was to be seen; and then they spat on the patient's head, and over all his body; and after that they made all sorts of farces, as shouting and raving, slapping of the hands; so are their manners; with many demonstrations upon one thing and another till they perspired so freely that their perspiration ran down on all sides.

December 25—being Christmas. We rose early in the morning and wanted to go to the Sinnekens; but, as it was snowing steadily, we could not go, because nobody wanted to go with us to carry our goods. I asked them how many chiefs there were in all, and they told me thirty.

December 26. In the morning I was offered two pieces of bear's bacon to take with us on the march; and we took our departure, escorted by many of them that walked before and after us. They kept up shouting: "Allesa rondade!"—that is, to fire

our pistols; but we did not want to do so, and at last they went back. This day we passed over many a stretch of flat land, and crossed a kill where the water was knee-deep; and I think we kept this day mostly the direction west and northwest. The woods that we traversed consisted in the beginning mostly of oaks, but after three or four hours' marching it was mostly birch trees. It snowed the whole day, so it was very heavy marching over the hills; and after seven leagues, by guess, we arrived at a little house made of bark in the forest, where we lighted a fire and stopped for the night to sleep. It went on snowing with a sharp, northerly wind. It was very cold.

December 27. Early in the morning again on our difficult march, while the snow lay two and one-half feet in some places. We went over hills and through underwood. We saw traces of two bears, and elks, but no savages. There are beech trees; and after marching another seven or eight leagues, at sunset we found another little cabin in the forest, with hardly any bark, but covered with the branches of trees. We made a big fire and cooked our dinner. It was so very cold during this night that I did not sleep more than two hours in all.

December 28. We went as before, and after marching one or two leagues we arrived at a kill that, as the savages told me, ran into the land of the Minquaass, and after another mile we met another kill that runs into the South River, as the savages told me, and here a good many otter and beaver are caught. This day we went over many high hills. The wood was full of great trees, mostly birches; and after seven or eight leagues' marching we did the same as mentioned above. It was very cold.

December 29. We went again, proceeding on our voyage; and after marching awhile we came on a very high hill, and as we nearly had mounted it I fell down so hard that I thought I had broken my ribs, but it was only the handle of my cutlass that was broken. We went through a good deal of flat land, with many oaks and handles for axes, and after another seven leagues we found another hut, where we rested ourselves. We made a fire and ate all the food we had, because the savages told us that we were still about four leagues distant from the castle. The sun was near setting as still another of the savages went on to the castle to tell them we were coming. We would have gone with him, but because we felt so very hungry the savages would not take us along with them. The course northwest.

December 30. Without anything to eat we went to the Sinnekens' castle, and after marching awhile the savages showed me

the branch of the river that passes by Fort Orange and past the land of the Maquas. A woman came to meet us, bringing us baked pumpkins to eat. This road was mostly full of birches and beautiful flat land for sowing. Before we reached the castle we saw three graves, just like our graves in length and height; usually their graves are round. These graves were surrounded with palisades that they had split from trees, and they were closed up so nicely that it was a wonder to see. They were painted with red and white and black paint; but the chief's grave had an entrance, and at the top of that was a big wooden bird, and all around were painted dogs, and deer, and snakes, and other beasts. After four or five leagues' marching the savages still prayed us to fire our guns, and so we did, but loaded them again directly and went on to the castle. And we saw to the northwest of us, a large river, and on the other side thereof tremendously high land that seemed to lie in the clouds. Upon inquiring closely into this, the savages told me that in this river the Frenchmen came to trade. And then we marched confidently to the castle, where the savages divided into two rows, and so let us pass through them by the gate, which was—the one we went through—three and one-half feet wide, and at the top were standing three big wooden images, carved like men, and with them I saw three scalps fluttering in the wind, that they had taken from their foes as a token of the truth of their victory. This castle has two gates, one on the east and one on the west side. On the east side a scalp was also hanging; but this gate was one and one-half feet smaller than the other one. When at last we arrived in the chief's house, I saw there a good many people that I knew; and we were requested to sit down in the chief's place where he was accustomed to sit, because at the time he was not at home, and we felt cold and were wet and tired. They at once gave us to eat, and they made a good fire. This castle likewise is situated on a very high hill, and was surrounded with two rows of palisades. It was 767 paces in circumference. There are 66 houses, but much better, higher, and more finished than all the others we saw. A good many houses had wooden fronts that are painted with all sorts of beasts. There they sleep mostly on elevated boards, more than any other savages. In the afternoon one of the council came to me, asking the reason of our coming into his land, and what we brought for him as a present. I told him that we did not bring any present, but that we only paid him a visit. He told us that we were not worth anything, because we did not bring him a present. Then he told us how the Frenchmen had come thither to trade with six men,

and had given them good gifts, because they had been trading in this river with six men in the month of August of this year. We saw very good axes to cut the underwood, and French shirts and coats and razors; and this member of the council said we were scoundrels, and were not worth anything because we paid not enough for their beaver skins. They told us that the Frenchmen gave six hands of seawan for one beaver, and all sorts of things more. The savages were pressing closely upon us, so that there was hardly room for us to sit. If they had desired to molest us, we could hardly have been able to defend ourselves; but there was no danger. In this river here spoken of, often six, seven, or eight hundred salmon are caught in a single day. I saw houses where 60, 70, and more dried salmon were hanging.

December 31. On Sunday the chief of this castle came back (his name is Arenias), and one more man. They told us that they returned from the French savages, and some of the savages shouted "Jawe Arenias!" which meant that they thanked him for having come back. And I told him that in the night we should fire three shots; and he said it was all right; and they seemed very well contented. We questioned them concerning the situation (of the places) in their castle and their names, and how far they were away from each other. They showed us with stones and maize grains, and Jeronimus then made a chart of it. And we counted all in leagues how far each place was away from the next. The savages told us that on the high land which we had seen by that lake there lived men with horns on their heads; and they told us that a good many beavers were caught there, too, but they dared not go so far because of the French Savages; therefore they thought best to make peace. We fired three shots in the night in honor of the year of our Lord and Redeemer, Jesus Christ.

Praise the Lord above all! In the castle Onneyuttehage, or Sinnekens, January 1, 1635.

January 1, 1635. Another savage scolded at us. We were scoundrels, as told before; and he looked angry. Willem Tomassen got so excited that the tears were running along his cheeks, and the savages, seeing that we were not at all contented, asked us what was the matter, and why we looked so disgusted at him. There were in all 46 persons seated near us; if they had intended to do mischief, they could easily have caught us with their hands and killed us without much trouble; when I had listened long enough to the Indian's chatter I told him that he was a scoundrel himself and he began to laugh, said he was not angry and said:

"You must not grow so furious, for we are very glad that you came here." And after that Jeronimus gave the chief two knives, two pairs of scissors, and a few awls and needles that we had with us. And in the evening the savages suspended a band of seawan, and some other stringed seawan that the chief had brought with him from the French savages as a sign of peace and the French savages were to come in confidence to them, and he sang: "Ho schene jo ho ho schene I atsiehoewe, atsiehoewe," after which all the savages shouted three times: "Netho, netho, netho!" and after that another band of seawan was suspended and he sang then: "Katon, katon, katon, katon!" and all the savages shouted as hard as they could: "Hy, hy, hy!" After long deliberation they made peace for four years, and soon after everyone returned to his home.

January 2. The savages came to us and told us that we had better stop another four or five days. They would provide for all our needs and have us treated nicely; but I told them we could not wait so long as that. They replied that they had sent a message to the Onondagas—that is, the castle next to theirs—but I told them they nearly starved us. Then they said that in the future they would look better after us, and twice during this day we were invited to be their guests, and treated to salmon and bear's bacon.

January 3. Some old men came to us and told us they wanted to be our friends, and they said we need not be afraid. And I replied we were not afraid, and in the afternoon the council sat here—in all, 24 men—and after consulting for a long while an old man approached me and laid his hand upon my heart to feel it beat; and then he shouted we really were not afraid at all. After that six more members of the council came, and after that they presented me a coat made of beaver skin, and told me they gave it to me because I came here and ought to be very tired, and he pointed to his and my legs; and besides, it is because you have been marching through the snow. And when I took the coat they shouted three times: "Netho, netho, netho!" which means, "This is very well." And directly after that they laid five pieces of beaver skins on my feet, at the same time requesting me that in the future they should receive four hands of seawan and four handbreadths of cloth for every big beaver skin, because we have to go so far with our skins; and very often when we come to your places we do not find any cloth or seawan or axes or kettles, or not enough for all of us, and then we have had much trouble for nothing, and have to go back over a great distance, carrying our

goods back again. After we sat for a considerable time, an old man came to us, and translated it to us in the other language, and told us that we did not answer yet whether they were to have four hands of seawan or not for their skins. I told him that we had not the power to promise that, but that we should report about it to the chief at the Manhattans, who was our commander, and that I would give him a definite answer in the spring, and come myself to their land. Then they said to me, "Welsmachkoo," you must not lie and surely come to us in the spring, and report to us about all. And if you will give us four hands of seawan we will not sell our skins to any one but you; and after that they gave me the five beaver skins, and shouted as hard as they could: "Netho, netho, netho!" And then, that everything should be firmly binding, they called or sang: "Ha assironi atsimach koo kent oya kayuig wee Onneyatte Onaondaga Koyocke hoo hanoto wany agweganne hoo schene ha caton scahten franosoni yndicho." That means that I could go in all these places—they said the names of all the castles—freely and everywhere. I should be provided with a house and a fire and wood and everything I needed; and if I wanted to go to the Frenchman they would guide me there and back; and after that they shouted again: "Netho, netho, netho!" and they made a present of another beaver skin to me, and we ate today bear meat that we were invited to. In this house, belonging to the chief, there were three or four meals a day, and they did not cook in it, as everything was brought in from the other houses in large kettles; for it was the council that took their meals here every day. And whoever then happens to be in the house receives a bowlful of food; for it is the rule here that every one that comes here has his bowl filled; and if they are short of bowls they bring them and their spoons with them. They go thus and seat themselves side by side; the bowls are then fetched and brought back filled, for a guest that is invited does not rise before he has eaten. Sometimes they sing, and sometimes they do not, thanking the host before they return home.

January 4. Two savages came, inviting us to come and see how they used to drive away the devil. I told them that I had seen it before; but they did not move off, and I had to go; and because I did not choose to go alone I took Jeronimus along. I saw a dozen men together who were going to drive him off. After we arrived the floor of the house was thickly covered with the bark of trees for the hunters of the devil to walk upon. They were mostly old men, and they had their faces all painted with red paint—which they always do when they are going to do anything

unusual. Three men among them had a wreath on their heads, on which stuck five white crosses. These wreaths are made of deer hair that they had braided with the roots of a sort of green herb. In the middle of the house they then put a man who was very sick and who was treated without success during a considerable time. Close by sat an old woman with a turtle shell in her hands. In the turtle shell were a good many beads. She kept clinking all the while, and all of them sang to the measure; then they would proceed to catch the devil and trample him to death; they trampled the bark to atoms so that none of it remained whole, and wherever they saw but a little cloud of dust upon the maize, they beat at it in great amazement and then they blew that dust at one another and were so afraid that they ran as if they really saw the devil; and after long stamping and running one of them went to the sick man and took away an otter that he had in his hands; and he sucked the sick man for awhile in his neck and on the back, and after that he spat in the otter's mouth and threw it down; at the same time he ran off like mad through fear. Other men then went to the otter, and then there took place such foolery that it was quite a wonder to see. Yes; they commenced to throw fire and eat fire, and kept scattering hot ashes and red-hot coal in such a way that I ran out of the house. Today another beaver skin was presented to me.

January 5. I bought four dried salmon and two pieces of bear bacon that was about nine inches thick; and we saw thicker, even. They gave us beans cooked with bear bacon to eat today, and further nothing particular happened.

January 6. Nothing particular than that I was shown a parcel of flint stones wherewith they make fire when they are in the forest. Those stones would do very well for firelock guns.

January 7. We received a letter from Marten Gerritsen, dated from the last of December; it was brought by a Sinneken that arrived from our fort. He told us that our people grew very uneasy about our not coming home, and that they thought we had been killed. We ate fresh salmon only two days caught, and we were robbed today of six and a half hands of seawan that we never saw again.

January 8. Arenias came to me to say that he wanted to go with me to the fort and take all his skins to trade. Jeronimus tried to sell his coat here, but he could not get rid of it.

January 9. During the evening the Onondagas came. There were six old men and four women. They were very tired from the march, and brought with them some bear skins. I came to

meet them, and thanked them that they came to visit us; and they welcomed me, and because it was very late I went home.

January 10. Jeronimus burned the greater part of his pantaloons, that dropped in the fire during the night, and the chief's mother gave him cloth to repair it, and Willem Tomassen repaired it.

January 11. At ten o'clock in the morning the savages came to me and invited me to come to the house where the Onondagas sat in council. "They will give you presents"; and I went there with Jeronimus; took our pistols with us and sat alongside of them, near an old man of the name of Canastogeera, about 55 years of age; and he said: "Friends, I have come here to see you and to talk to you;" wherefore we thanked him, and after they had sat in council for a long time an interpreter came to me and gave me five pieces of beaver skin because we had come into their council. I took the beaver skins and thanked them, and they shouted three times "Netho!" And after that another five beaver skins that they laid upon my feet, and they gave them to me because I had come into their council-house. We should have been given a good many skins as presents if we had come into his land; and they earnestly requested me to visit their land in the summer, and after that gave me another four beaver skins and asked at the same time to be better paid for their skins. They would bring us a great quantity if we did; and if I came back in the summer to their land we should have three or four savages along with us to look all around that lake and show us where the Frenchmen came trading with their shallops. And when we gathered our fourteen beavers they again shouted as hard as they could "Zinae netho!" and we fired away with our pistols and gave the chief two pairs of knives, some awls, and needles; and then we were informed we might take our departure. We had at the time five pieces of salmon and two pieces of bear bacon that we were to take on the march, and here they gave a good many loaves and even flour to take with us.

January 12. We took our departure; and when we thought everything was ready the savages did not want to carry our goods—twenty-eight beaver skins, five salmon, and some loaves of bread—because they all had already quite enough to carry; but after a good deal of grumbling and nice words they at last consented and carried our goods. Many savages walked along with us and they shouted, "Alle sarondade!" that is, to fire the pistols; and when we came near the chief's grave we fired three shots, and they went back. It was about nine o'clock when we left this

place and walked only about five leagues through two and a half feet of snow. It was a very difficult road, so that some of the savages had to stop in the forest and sleep in the snow. We went on, however, and reached a little cabin, where we slept.

January 13. Early in the morning we were on our journey again, and after going seven or eight leagues we arrived at another hut, where we rested awhile, cooked our dinner, and slept. Arenias pointed out to me a place on a high mountain, and said that after ten days' marching we could reach a big river there where plenty of people are living, and where plenty of cows and horses are; but we had to cross the river for a whole day and then to proceed for six days more in order to reach it. This was the place which we passed on the 29th of December. He did us a great deal of good.

January 14. On Sunday we made ready to proceed, but the chief wished to go bear hunting and wanted to stop here but, because it was fine weather, I went alone with two or three savages. Here two Maquas Indians joined us, as they wanted to go and trade elk skins and satteeu.

January 15. In the morning, two hours before daylight, after taking breakfast with the savages, I proceeded on the voyage, and when it was nearly dark again the savages made a fire in the wood, as they did not want to go farther, and I came about three hours after dark to a hut where I had slept on the 26th of December. It was very cold. I could not make a fire, and was obliged to walk the whole night to keep warm.

January 16. In the morning, three hours before dawn, as the moon rose, I searched for the path, which I found at last; and because I marched so quickly I arrived about nine o'clock on very extensive flat land. After having passed over a high hill I came to a very even footpath that had been made through the snow by the savages who had passed this way with much venison, because they had come home to their castle after hunting; and about ten o'clock I saw the castle and arrived there about twelve o'clock. Upward of one hundred people came out to welcome me, and showed me a house where I could go. They gave me a white hare to eat that they caught two days ago. They cooked it with walnuts, and they gave me a piece of wheaten bread a savage that had arrived here from Fort Orange on the fifteenth of this month had brought with him. In the evening more than forty fathoms of seawan were divided among them as the last will of the savages that died of the smallpox. It was divided in the presence of the chief and the nearest friends. And in the evening the savages

gave me two bear skins to cover me, and they brought rushes to lay under my head, and they told us that our kinsmen wanted us very much to come back.

January 17. Jeronimus and Tomassen, with some savages, joined us in this castle, Tenotogehage, and they still were all right; and in the evening I saw another hundred fathoms of seawan divided among the chief and the friends of the nearest blood.

January 18. We went again to this castle, I should say from this castle on our route, in order to hasten home. In some of the houses we saw more than forty or fifty deer cut in quarters and dried; but they gave us very little of it to eat. After marching half a league we passed through the village of Kawaoge, and after another half league we came to the village of Osquage. The chief, Ohquahoo, received us well, and we waited here for the chief, Arenias, whom we had left in the castle Tenotoge.

January 19. We went as fast as we could in the morning, proceeding on the march; and after going half a league we arrived at the third castle, named Sochanadisse, and I looked around in some of the houses to see whether there were any skins. I met nine Onondagas there with skins, that I told to go with me to the second castle, where the chief, Taturot, I should say Tonewerot, was at home, who welcomed us at once, and gave us a very fat piece of venison which we cooked; and when we were sitting at dinner we received a letter from Marten Gerritsen, brought us by a savage that came in search of us, and was dated January 18. We resolved to proceed at once to the first castle, and to depart on the morrow for Fort Orange, and a good three hours before sunset we arrived at the first castle. We had bread baked for us again, and packed the three beavers we had received from the chief when we had first come here. We slept here this night and ate here.

January 20. In the morning, before daylight, Jeronimus sold his coat for four beaver skins to an old man. We set forth at one hour before daylight, and after marching by guess two leagues the savages pointed to a high mountain where their castle stood nine years before. They had been driven out by the Mohicans, and after that time they did not want to live there. After marching seven or eight leagues we found that the hunters' cabins had been burned, so we were obliged to sleep under the blue sky.

January 21. We proceeded early in the morning, and after a long march we took a wrong path that was the most walked upon; but as the savages knew the paths better than we did they returned with us, and after eleven leagues' marching we arrived, the Lord be praised and thanked, at Fort Orange, January 21, anno 1635.

CHAPTER 14.

THE MOHAWKS AND THEIR COUNTRY.

A DESCRIPTION OF THE MOHAWK INDIANS, THEIR COUNTRY AND THAT ABOUT FORT ORANGE, WRITTEN IN 1644 BY DOMINIE JOHANNES MEGAPOLENSIS, REFORMED DUTCH PASTOR OF THE COLONY OF RENSSELAERWYCK—ENTIRE STRANGERS TO ALL RELIGION.

It was Kiliaen Van Rensselaer, the patron, Amsterdam jeweler and a director of the West Indies Co., who sent Dominie Johannes Megapolensis to his colony of Rensselaerwyck (about Fort Orange) in 1642. As mentioned elsewhere the colony embraced present Albany and Rensselaer counties with a total area of 700,000 acres.

The Dominie arrived at Fort Orange, August 13, 1642. His contract called for six years' service at Rensselaerwyck at a salary of 1,000 florins the first three years and 1,200 the last three years. The Dominie took up his residence at Greenbush (now Rensselaer) opposite Fort Orange (present Albany). It was planned to have a church built for him there, but it never materialized.

In 1643, Megapolensis began to preach to the Indians, a year after Jogues entered the Mohawk country and three years before John Elliot began his missionary work among the Massachusetts Indians. Megapolensis aided Father Jogues in his escape from his terrible bondage among the Mohawks of the Lower Castle. Jogues seems to have felt most kindly toward the Dominie and the Dutch of Fort Orange. A memorial tablet to Megapolensis has been placed on the base of the statue of Father Jogues at the Auriesville Shrine, commemorating his services in aiding Father Jogues' escape.

Johannes Megapolensis was born in 1603. He says of his youth, "I renounced Popery and was thrust out from my inherited estate." He preached thirteen years in North Holland, came to Fort Orange in 1642, and started back to Holland at the end of his six years' pastorate. He left Rensselaerwyck and went to New Amsterdam on his way home. Here the Director and Council persuaded him to remain, and he spent the rest of his life as a pastor in the New Amsterdam of 1649-1664 and the New York of 1664-1669, when he died. Megapolensis was a man of fine character and of great influence for good in New Netherland.

His account of the Mohawks is written in a clear, natural style (characteristic of the Dutch chroniclers) which gives us a wonderful savage picture.

The description of the Mohawks by Megapolensis was published as a pamphlet in Alkmaar in 1644 with the following Dutch title (which is translated under the heading of the Journal).

"Een kort Ontwerp vande Mahakvase Indiaenen, haer Landt, Tale, Statuere, Dracht, Godes-Dienst ende Magistrature, aldus beschreven ende nu kortelijck den 26 Augusti 1644 opgesonden uyt Nieuwe Nederlant, door Johannem Megapolensem juniorem, Predikant aldaer."

A SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE MOHAWK INDIANS, BY REVEREND JOHANNES MEGAPOLENSIS, JR., 1644.

A Short Account of the Mohawk Indians, their Country, Language, Stature, Dress, Religion and Government, thus described and recently (August 26, 1644) sent out of New Netherland, by Johannes Megapolensis the younger, Preacher there.

The country here is in general like that in Germany. The land is good, and fruitful in everything which supplies human needs, except clothes, linen, woolen, stockings, shoes, etc., which are all dear here. The country is very mountainous, partly soil, partly rocks, and with elevations so exceeding high that they appear to almost touch the clouds. Thereon grow the finest fir trees the eye ever saw. There are also in this country oaks, alders, beeches, elms, willows, etc. In the forests, and here and there along the water side, and on the islands, there grows an abundance of chestnuts, plums, hazel nuts, large walnuts of several sorts, and of as good a taste as in the Netherlands, but they have a somewhat harder shell. The ground on the hills is covered with bushes of bilberries or blueberries; the ground in the flat land near the rivers is covered with strawberries, which grow here so plentifully in the fields, that one can lie down and eat them. Grapevines also grow here naturally in great abundance along the roads, paths, and creeks, and wherever you may turn you find them. I have seen whole pieces of land where vine stood by vine and grew very luxuriantly, climbing to the top of the largest and loftiest trees, and although they are not cultivated, some of the grapes are found to be as good and sweet as in Holland. Here is also a sort of grapes which grow very large, each grape as big as the end of one's finger, or an ordinary plum, and because they

are somewhat fleshy and have a thick skin we call them Speck Druyven. If people would cultivate the vines they might have as good wine here as they have in Germany or France. I had myself last harvest a boat-load of grapes and pressed them. As long as the wine was new it tasted better than any French or Rhenish Must, and the color of the grape juice here is so high and red that with one wine-glass full you can color a whole pot of white wine. In the forests is great plenty of deer, which in autumn and early winter are as fat as any Holland cow can be. I have had them with fat more than two fingers thick on the ribs, so that they were nothing else than almost clear fat, and could hardly be eaten. There are also many turkeys, as large as in Holland, but in some years less than in others. The year before I came here, there were so many turkeys and deer that they came to feed by the houses and hog pens, and were taken by the Indians in such numbers that a deer was sold to the Dutch for a loaf of bread, or a knife, or even for a tobacco pipe; but now one commonly has to give for a good deer six or seven guilders. In the forests here there are also many partridges, heath-hens and pigeons that fly together in thousands, and sometimes, ten, twenty, thirty, and even forty and fifty are killed at one shot. We have here, too, a great number of all kinds of fowl, swans, geese, ducks, widgeons, teal, brant, which sport upon the river in thousands in the spring of the year, and again in the autumn fly away in flocks, so that in the morning and evening any one may stand ready with his gun before his house and shoot them as they fly past. I have also eaten here several times of elks, which were very fat and tasted much like venison; and besides these profitable beasts we have also in this country lions, bears, wolves, foxes, and particularly very many snakes, which are large and as long as eight, ten and twelve feet. Among others, there is a sort of snake, which we call rattlesnake, from a certain object which it has back upon its tail, two or three fingers' breadth long, and has ten or twleve joints, and with this it makes a noise like the crickets. Its color is variegated much like our large brindled bulls. These snakes have very sharp teeth in their mouth, and dare to bite at dogs; they make way for neither man nor beast, but fall on and bite them, and their bite is very poisonous, and commonly even deadly, too.

As to the soil of this country, that on the mountains is a reddish sand or rock, but in the low flat lands, and along the rivers, and even in the jutting sides of the mountains for an hundred or two hundred paces up, there is often clay. I have been on hills

here, as high as a church, to examine the soil, and have found it to be clay. In this ground there appears to be a singular strength and capacity for bearing crops, for a farmer here told me that he had raised fine wheat on one and the same piece of land eleven years successively without ever breaking it up or letting it lie fallow. The butter here is clean and yellow as in Holland. Through this land runs an excellent river, [the Mohawk] about 500 or 600 paces wide. This river comes out of the Mahakas country, about four leagues north of us. There it flows between two high rocky banks, and falls from a height equal to that of a church, with such a noise that we can sometimes hear it here with us. In the beginning of June twelve of us took a ride to see it [Cohoes Falls]. When we came there we saw not only the river falling with such a noise that we could hardly hear one another, but the water boiling and dashing with such force in still weather, that it seemed all the time as if it were raining; and the trees on the hills near by (which are as high as Schoorler Duyn) had their leaves all the time wet exactly as if it rained. The water is as clear as crystal, and as fresh as milk. I and another with me saw there, in clear sunshine, when there was not a cloud in the sky, especially when we stood above upon the rocks, directly opposite where the river falls, in the great abyss, the half of a rainbow, or a quarter of a circle, of the same color with the rainbow in the sky. And when we had gone about ten or twelve rods farther downwards from the fall, along the river, we saw a complete rainbow, like a half circle, appearing clearly in the water just as if it had been in the clouds, and this is always so according to the report of all who have ever been there. In this river is a great plenty of all kinds of fish—pike, shad, bass, etc. In the spring, in May, the perch are so plenty, that one man with a hook and line will catch in one hour as many as ten or twelve can eat. My boys have caught in an hour fifty, each a foot long. They have three hooks on the instrument with which they fish, and draw up frequently two or three perch at once. There is also in the [Hudson] river a great plenty of sturgeon, which we Christians do not like, but the Indians eat them greedily. In this river, too, are very beautiful islands, containing ten, twenty, thirty, fifty and seventy morgens of land. The soil is very good, but the worst of it is, that by the melting of the snow, or heavy rains, the river readily overflows and covers that low land. This river ebbs and flows at ordinary low water as far as this place, although it is thirty-six leagues inland from the sea.

As for the temperature in this country, and the season of the

year, the summers are pretty hot, so that for the most of the time we are obliged to go in just our shirts, and the winters are very cold. The summer continues long, even until All Saints' Day; but when the winter does begin, just as it commonly does in December, it freezes so hard in one night that the ice will bear a man. Even the rivers, in still weather when there is no strong current running, are frozen over in one night, so that on the second day people walk over it. And this freezing continues commonly three months; for although we are situated here in 42 degrees of latitude, it always freezes so. And although there come warm and pleasant days, the thaw does not continue, but it freezes again until March. Then, commonly, the rivers first begin to open, and seldom in February. We have the greatest cold from the northwest, as in Holland from the northeast. The wind here is very seldom east, but almost always south, southwest, northwest, and north; so also the rain.

Our shortest winter days have nine hours sun; in the summer, our longest days are about fifteen hours. We lie so far west of Holland that I judge you are about four hours in advance of us, so that when it is six o'clock in the morning with us, it is ten in the forenoon with you, and when it is noon with us, it is four o'clock in the afternoon with you.

The inhabitants of this country are of two kinds: first, Christians—at least so called; second, Indians. Of the Christians I shall say nothing; my design is to speak of the Indians only. These among us are again of two kinds: first, the Mahakinbas, [Mohawks] or, as they call themselves, Kajingahaga [Canienga]; second, the Mahakans [Mahicans], otherwise called Agotzagena. These two nations have different languages, which have no affinity with each other, like Dutch and Latin. These people formerly carried on a great war against each other, but since the Mahakanders [Mahicans] were subdued by the Mahakobaas [Mohawks], peace has subsisted between, and the conquered are obliged to bring yearly contribution to the others. We live among both these kinds of Indians; and when they come to us from their country, or we go to them, they do us every act of friendship. The principal nation of all the savages and Indians hereabouts with which we have the most intercourse, is the Mahakuaas, who have laid all the other Indians near us under contribution. This nation has a very difficult language, and it costs me great pains to learn it, so as to be able to speak and preach fluently. There is no Christian here who understands the language thoroughly; those who have lived here long can use a kind of jargon just

sufficient to carry on trade with it, but they do not understand the fundamentals of the language. I am making a vocabulary of the Mahakuaas' language, and when I am among them I ask them how things are called; but as they are very stupid, I sometimes cannot make them understand what I want. Moreover when they tell me, one tells me the word in the infinitive mood, another in the indicative; one in the first, another in the second person; one in the present, another in the preterit. So I stand oftentimes and look, but do not know how to put it down. And as they have declensions and conjugations also, and have their augments like the Greeks, I am like one distracted, and frequently cannot tell what to do, and there is no one to set me right. I shall have to speculate in this alone, in order to become in time an Indian grammarian. When I first observed that they pronounced their words so differently, I asked the commissary of the company what it meant. He answered me that he did not know, but imagined they changed their language every two or three years; I argued against this that it could never be that a whole nation should change its language with one consent;—and, although he has been connected with them here these twenty years, he can afford me no assistance.

The people and Indians here in this country are like us Dutchmen in body and stature; some of them have well formed features, bodies and limbs; they all have black hair and eyes, but their skin is yellow. In summer they go naked, having only their private parts covered with a patch. The children and young folks to ten, twelve and fourteen years of age go stark naked. In winter, they hang about them simply an undressed deer or bear or panther skin; or they take some beaver and otter skins, wildcat, raccoon, martin, otter, mink, squirrel or such like skins, which are plenty in this country, and sew some of them to others, until it is a square piece, and that is then a garment for them; or they buy of us Dutchmen two and a half ells of duffel, and that they hang simply about them, just as it was torn off, without sewing it, and walk away with it. They look at themselves constantly, and think they are very fine. They make themselves stockings and also shoes of deer skin, or they take leaves of their corn, and plait them together and use them for shoes. The women, as well as the men, go with their heads bare. The women let their hair grow very long, and tie it together a little, and then let it hang down their backs. The men have a long lock of hair hanging down, some on one side of the head, and some on both sides. On the top of their heads they have a streak of hair from the fore-

head to the neck, about the breadth of three fingers, and this they shorten until it is about two or three fingers long, and it stands right on end like a cock's comb or hog's bristles; on both sides of this cock's comb they cut all the hair short, except the aforesaid locks, and they also leave on the bare places here and there small locks, such as are in sweeping-brushes, and then they are in fine array.

They likewise paint their faces red, blue, etc., and then they look like the Devil himself. They smear their heads with bear's grease, which they all carry with them for this purpose in a small basket; they say they do it to make their hair grow better and to prevent their having lice. When they travel, they take with them some of their maize, a kettle, a wooden bowl, and a spoon; these they pack up and hang on their backs. Whenever they are hungry, they forthwith make a fire and cook; they can get fire by rubbing pieces of wood against one another, and that very quickly.

They generally live without marriage; and if any of them have wives, the marriage continues no longer than seems good to one of the parties, and then they separate, and each takes another partner. I have seen those who had parted, and afterwards lived a long time with others, leave these again, seek their former partners, and again be one pair. [Here Megapolensis tells further of the moral laxity of the Mohawks which was common to both the Iroquois and Algonquins.]

The women, when they have been delivered, go about immediately afterwards, and be it ever so cold, they wash themselves and the young child in the river or the snow. They will not lie down (for they say that if they did they would soon die), but keep going about. They are obliged to cut wood, to travel three or four leagues with the child; in short, they walk, they stand, they work, as if they had not lain in, and we cannot see that they suffer any injury by it; and we sometimes try to persuade our wives to lie-in so, and that the way of lying-in in Holland is a mere fiddle-faddle. The men have great authority over their concubines, so that if they do anything which does not please and raises their passion, they take an axe and knock them in the head, and there is an end of it. The women are obliged to prepare the land, to mow, to plant, and do everything; the men do nothing, but hunt, fish, and make war upon their enemies. They are very cruel towards their enemies in time of war; for they first bite off the nails of the fingers of the captives, and cut off some joints, and sometimes even whole fingers; after that, the captives are forced to sing and dance before them stark naked; and finally,

they roast their prisoners dead before a slow fire for some days, and then the common people eat the arms, buttocks and trunk, but the chiefs eat the head and the heart.

Our Mahakas carry on great wars against the Indians of Canada, on the River Saint Lawrence, and take many captives, and sometimes there are French Christians among them. Last year, our Indians got a great booty from the French on the River Saint Lawrence, and took three Frenchmen, one of whom was a Jesuit [Father Jogues]. They killed one, but the Jesuit (whose left thumb was cut off, and all the nails and parts of his fingers were bitten), we released, and sent him to France by a yacht which was going to our country. They spare all the children from ten to twelve years old, and all the women whom they take in war, unless the women are very old, and then they kill them too. Though they are so very cruel to their enemies, they are very friendly to us, and we have no dread of them. We go with them into the woods, we meet with each other, sometimes at an hour or two's walk from any houses, and think no more about it than as if we met with a Christian. They sleep by us, too, in our chambers before our beds. I have had eight at once lying and sleeping upon the floor near my bed, for it is their custom to sleep simply on the bare ground, and to have only a stone or a bit of wood under their heads. In the evening, they go to bed very soon after they have supped; but early in the morning, before day begins to break, they are up again. They are very slovenly and dirty; they wash neither their face nor hands, but let all remain upon their yellow skin, and look like hogs. Their bread is Indian corn beaten to pieces between two stones, of which they make a cake, and bake it in the ashes: their other victuals are venison, turkeys, hares, bears, wildcats, their own dogs, etc. The fish they cook just as they get them out of the water without cleansing: also the entrails of deer with all their contents, which they cook a little; and if the intestines are then too tough, they take one end in their mouth and the other in their hand, and between hand and mouth they separate and eat them. So they do commonly with the flesh, for they carve a little piece and lay it on the fire, as long as one would need to walk from his house to church, and then it is done; and when they bite into it so that the blood runs along their mouths. They can also take a piece of bear's fat as large as two fists, and eat it clear without bread or anything else. It is natural to them to have no beards; not one in an hundred has any hair about his mouth.

They have also naturally a very high opinion of themselves;

they say Ihy Othkon ("I am the Devil"), by which they mean that they are superior folks. In order to praise themselves and their people, whenever we tell them they are very expert at catching deer, or doing this and that, they say, Tkoschs ko, aguweechon Kajingahaga kouanne Jountuckcha Othkon; that is, "Really all the Mohawks are very cunning devils." They make their houses of the bark of trees, very close and warm, and kindle their fire in the middle of them. They also make of the peeling and bark of trees, canoes, or small boats, which will carry four, five and six persons. In like manner they hollow out trees, and use them for boats, some of which are very large. I have several times sat and sailed with ten, twelve and fourteen persons in one of these hollowed logs. We have in our colony a wooden canoe obtained from the Indians, which will easily carry two hundred schepels of wheat. Their weapons in war were formerly a bow and arrow, with a stone axe and mallet; but now they get from our people guns, swords, iron axes and mallets. Their money [seawan or wampum] consists of certain little bones, made of shells or cockles, which are found on the sea-beach; a hole is drilled through the middle of the little bones, and these they string upon thread, or they make of them belts as broad as a hand, or broader, and hang them on their necks, or around their bodies. They have also several holes in their ears, and there they likewise hang some. They value these little bones as highly as many Christians do gold, silver and pearls; but they do not like our money, and esteem it not better than iron. I once showed one of their chiefs a rix-dollar; he asked how much it was worth among the Christians; and when I told him, he laughed exceedingly at us, saying we were fools to value a piece of iron so highly; and if he had such money, he would throw it into the river. They place their dead upright in holes and do not lay them down, and they then throw some trees and wood on the grave, or enclose it with palisades. They have their set times for going to catch fish, bears, panthers, beavers and eels. In the spring, they catch vast quantities of shad and lampreys, which are exceedingly large here; they lay them on the bark of trees in the sun and dry them thoroughly hard, and then put them in notasten, or bags, which they plait from hemp which grows wild here, and keep the fish till winter. When their corn is ripe, they take it from the ears, open deep pits and preserve it in these the whole winter. They can also make nets and seines in their fashion, and when they want to fish with seines, ten or twelve men will go together and help each other, all of whom own the seine in common.

They are entire strangers to all religion, but they have a Tharonhijouaagon (whom they also otherwise call Athzoockkuatoriaho), that is, a Genius, whom they esteem in the place of God; but they do not serve him or make offerings to him. They worship and present offerings to the Devil, whom they call Otskon, or Aireskuoni. If they have any bad luck in war, they catch a bear, which they cut in pieces, and roast, and that they offer up to their Aireskuoni, saying in substance, the following words: "Oh! great and mighty Aireskuoni, we confess that we have offended against thee, inasmuch as we have not killed and eaten our captive enemies; forgive us this. We promise that we will kill and eat all the captives we shall hereafter take as certainly as we have killed, and now eat this bear." Also when the weather is very hot, and then comes a cooling breeze they cry out directly, Asoronusi, asoronusi, Otskon aworouhsi reinnuha; that is, "I thank thee, I thank thee, devil, I thank thee, little uncle!" If they are sick, or have a pain or soreness anywhere in their limbs, and I ask them what ails them they say that the Devil sits in their body, or in the sore places, and bites them there; so that they attribute to the Devil at once the accidents which befall them; they have otherwise no religion. When we pray they laugh at us. Some of them despise it entirely; and some, when we tell them what we do when we pray, stand astonished. When we deliver a sermon, sometimes ten or twelve of them, more or less, will attend, each having a long tobacco pipe, made by himself, in his mouth, and will stand awhile and look, and afterwards ask me what I am doing and what I want, that I stand there alone and make so many words, while none of the rest may speak. I tell them that I am admonishing the Christians, that they must not steal, nor commit lewdness, nor get drunk, nor commit murder, and that they too ought not to do these things; and that I intend in process of time to preach the same to them and come to them in their own country and castles (about three days' journey from here, further inland), when I am acquainted with their language. Then they say I do well to teach the Christians; but immediately add, Diatennon jowij Assironi, hagiouisk, that is, "Why do so many Christians do these things?" They call us Assirioni, that is, clothmakers, or Charistooni, that is, iron-workers, because our people first brought cloth and iron among them.

They will not come into a house where there is a menstruous woman, nor eat with her. No woman may touch their snares with which they catch deer, for they say the deer can scent it.

The other day an old woman came to our house, and told my

people that her forefathers had told her "that Tharonhij-Jagon, that is, God, once went out walking with his brother, and a dispute arose between them, and God killed his brother." I suppose this fable took its rise from Cain and Abel. They have a droll theory of the Creation, for they think that a pregnant woman fell down from heaven, and that a tortoise (tortoises are plenty and large here, in this country, two, three and four feet long, some with two heads, very mischievous and addicted to biting), took this pregnant woman on its back, because every place was covered with water, and that the woman sat upon the tortoise, groped with her hands in the water, and scraped together some of the earth, whence it finally happened that the earth was raised above the water. They think that there are more worlds than one, and that we came from another world.

The Mohawk Indians are divided into three tribes, which are called Ochkari, Anaware, Oknaho, that is, the Bear, the Tortoise, and the Wolf. Of these, the Tortoise is the greatest and most prominent; and they boast that they are the oldest descendants of the woman before mentioned. These have made a fort of palisades, and they call their castle Asserue [Osseruenon]. Those of the Bear are the next to these, and their castle is called by them Banagiro [or Andagoron]. The last are a progeny of these and their castle is called Thenondiogo. These Indian tribes [clans] each carry the beast after which they are named (as the arms in their banner) when they go to war against their enemies, and this is done as well for the terror of their enemies, as for a sign of their own bravery. Lately one of their chiefs came to me and presented me with a beaver, an otter, and some cloth he had stolen from the French, which I must accept as a token of good fellowship. When he opened his budget he had in it a dried head of a bear, with grinning teeth. I asked him what that meant? He answered me that he fastened it upon the left shoulder by the side of his head, and that then he was the devil, who cared for nothing, and did not fear anything.

The government among them consists of the oldest, the most intelligent, the most eloquent and most warlike men. These commonly resolve, and then the young and warlike men execute. But if the common people do not approve of the resolution, it is left entirely to the judgment of the mob. The chiefs are generally the poorest among them, for instead of their receiving from the common people as among Christians, they are obliged to give to the mob, especially when any one is killed in war, they give great presents to the next of kin of the deceased; and if they take any

prisoners they present them to that family of which one has been killed, and the prisoner is then adopted by the family into the place of the deceased person. There is no punishment here for murder and other villainies, but every one is his own avenger. The friends of the deceased revenge themselves upon the murderer until peace is made by presents to the next of kin. But although they are so cruel, and live without laws or any punishments for evil doers, yet there are not half so many villainies or murders committed amongst them as amongst Christians; so that I oftentimes think with astonishment upon all the murders committed in the Fatherland, notwithstanding their severe laws and heavy penalties. These Indians, though they live without laws, or fear of punishment, do not (at least, they very seldom) kill people, unless it may be in a great passion, or a hand-to-hand fight. Wherefore we go wholly unconcerned along with the Indians and meet each other an hour's walk off in the woods, without doing any harm to one another.

JOHANNES MEGAPOLENSIS.

THE MOHAWK NEAR AURIESVILLE

CHAPTER 15.

ISAAC JOGUES—1642-1646.

CAPTURE OF THE JESUIT MISSIONARY ON THE BANKS OF THE ST. LAWRENCE—BROUGHT TO THE LOWER MOHAWK CASTLE OF OSSERUENON, ON SITE OF PRESENT AURIESVILLE—TORTURES OF FATHER JOGUES AND HIS COMPANIONS—RENEE GOUPIL, COMPANION OF JOGUES, MURDERED—JOGUES ESCAPES TO FRANCE, 1644—RECEIVED BY THE QUEEN—RETURNS TO THE MOHAWK MISSION, 1646—CAPTURED BY WARRIORS OF THE MOHAWK BEAR CLAN—INVITED TO A BANQUET AND SLAIN.

The establishment of the Catholic shrine of Our Lady of Martyrs at Auriesville has not only commemorated the intrepid spirit and saintly character of Father Isaac Jogues but it has served to call attention to the other Jesuit missions in the Mohawk Valley—St. Peters (1666-1693) at Caughnawaga castle at present Fonda, and St. Mary's (1667-1693) at the upper Mohawk castle of Tionnontogen, near present Wagner's Hollow.

Jogues of Osseruenon, Fremin and Pierron, Boniface and De Lambreville at Caughnawaga and Bruyas at Tionnontogen form the chief ones in the list of intrepid priests who labored here among the Mohawks. Father Lemoyne was also a prisoner at Tionnontogen (present Sprakers) in the winter of 1657-1658. These missions, both as activities of the Church, as outposts of New France, and because of their historical value, merit a volume of their own. Only the most condensed description of the twenty years of Jesuit missions on the Mohawk, is given space in this volume.

Of all the heroic fathers of the Church who labored to bring the Indians into their fold, none has more interest than Father Isaac Jogues. The story of his capture, torture, captivity, escape from and return to the Mohawks forms one of the most terrible and dramatic records of early American history. A considerable part of this heroic but horrible story is given here. People of delicate sensibilities are advised not to read it. It is a tale fit for the reading of only strong men and women who wish to know the whole truth about the making of America and the sacrifices and sufferings of its European pioneers. One cannot realize what the tortures practised by the Indians were like by merely mentioning the fact that "so and so was tortured by the Indians." The writer realizes that these horrible details are considered "historical bad form" by some people. History is only really

STATUE OF FATHER ISAAC JOGUES

By Joseph Sibbel. Erected in 1922 by the Order of the Alhambra at Auriesville, where Father Jogues was slain by the Mohawks in 1646. Photo by courtesy of the Albany Knickerbocker Press.

history when it is true and it cannot be true unless it gives the truth. The sufferings of Father Jogues are part of the annals of our Valley, and, horrible as they are, they are considered proper material in order to give a true picture of our Mohawk Valley in its barbaric period.

Jogues' sufferings exemplify those of other Jesuit martyrs and his tortures and death were similar to the fiendish cruelties sometimes practised upon the white pioneers of our Valley—both men and women—when captured by hostile Indians and Tories. They show what frequently happened to unfortunate Revolutionary captive patriots. Some of our Valley farmer soldiers, made prisoners at Oriskany, suffered in a manner similar to the tortures of Jogues, before knife or tomahawk relieved their agonies.

Our pioneer forefathers—both men and women—lived and worked on their frontier farms, fully realizing the possibility of capture by the Indians and of tortures and death similar to those which befell Father Jogues. They carried on with a bravery unsurpassed, with this horror constantly before them and often with the personal knowledge of friends or relations who had suffered horrible fates at the hands of the savages. It seems to the author of this work that, if our forefathers could undauntedly face these actual terrors, we at least should be strong enough to endure the mere reading of these savage horrors of the wilderness which surrounded many of them in their daily lives. And so the splendid heroism of Father Jogues and the dreadful agonies he endured are shown, not to cater to morbid curiosity but with the double purpose of showing the dangers to which our pioneer ancestors were constantly exposed and the horrible fate which frequently befell them, as well as the wonderful religious zeal and the spiritual strength of these marvelous missionaries of the Jesuit order.

To understand the early attitude of the Mohawks toward the Jesuits, it must be remembered that they were French and that the French were our Valley Indians' deadliest enemies. Then too, the teachings of the Jesuits and their attempts to convert the Iroquois threatened to break down the national life of the Five Nations. The Iroquois had a strong nationalistic feeling which has enabled them to survive to this day—and which Americans of today might well copy. The Iroquois at first looked upon the Jesuits as enemies because they threatened their national existence and because of the policy of the Jesuits and the commanders of New France in settling the converted or "praying

Indians" in Canada. Thus did New France hope to eliminate the Iroquois peril by the slow assimilation of its people.

The Mohawks looked upon the "black gowns" (Jesuits) as magicians always capable of harm, because of their sign of the cross, prayers and ceremonies—which were at first beyond the comprehension of the savage. When De Tracy struck the terrible blow of 1666 against the Mohawks, they, like all savages, were intimidated by this display of power and then received the Jesuits (who labored among them for nearly twenty years). The Indians probably considered that they were safe from French attack with the black gowns among them, as indeed they were. The total result of the labors of the Jesuits among the Mohawks was not as great as New France expected. Many were converted, but the Mohawks remained unbroken as a nation, and, at the end of the peace, were nearly as formidable as ever.

The writer realizes that these Indian atrocities are generally glossed over, but he feels that a brief glimpse into this barbaric phase of our Valley Mohawks is essential to our historical picture and to a proper understanding of the Jesuit missions. The description is chiefly from that wonderful compilation, Thwaites' "Jesuit Relations." As aforementioned, people, who shrink from the many terrors of history, are advised to skip this chapter.

That human beings could be possessed of souls which delight in such hellish tortures of other human beings seems incredible, nowadays, and yet in spite of the fact that even some pagan Indians seem to have turned from these horrors, these tortures and public slow murders, they seem to have been the greatest delight and excitement of all the Indian tribes—they took the place in the Indian life that the theater, the movies, radio, baseball and other diversions hold in the white man's existence. However, we must remember that our own European ancestors were nearly as cruel as the Indians and that mediaeval mobs delighted in public tortures and executions.

But, no matter how considerate we may be of the savage traits of these red men as incidental to their barbarism and regardless of the probability that our own remote European ancestors were fully as bad, we cannot look with anything but the utmost revulsion on the horror of these hideous scenes—the wilderness gloom lighted by the glare of the burning victims and made bedlam by the screams of souls in agony and the delighted yellings of the surrounding savage fiends reveling in the perverted passion for human torture.

It must be understood that not only the Mohawks and Iroquois,

but their Algonquin enemies practised these tortures, which were common to the Indians of North America. The Jesuit priests of New France countenanced the burning and torture of Iroquois captives and the Viceroy Frontenac is said to have ordered Iroquois prisoners burned, on several occasions.

The Jesuits were early arrivals in New France. In 1613, Argall, the doughty warrior of Virginia, broke up their first mission at Mt. Desert, off the coast of present Maine, and carried the priests all off to Virginia. Jesuit priests arrived in Quebec in 1625 and soon succeeded the recollect friars. For years New France had more the character of a Jesuit mission than that of a French colony. Their influence was most powerful and they even engaged in the fur trade. Whatever criticism may be directed at the Jesuit society as a whole, we cannot but admire the heroism and religious fervor of these dauntless priests—chief among the explorers of the Seventeenth century.

Among all the Jesuit priests of North America, Father Isaac Jogues holds a commanding position. The scenes of his labors among the Iroquois lie in our own Valley, and the story of his life and martyrdom occupies a prominent place in the history of the Mohawks as well as in that of the Jesuit missions.

Isaac Jogues (pronounced "zhog"), was born in Orleans, France, in 1607. He joined the Company of Jesus in 1624 and, in 1636, was ordained and sent to the Huron mission, one of the most dangerous of all that the Society maintained in the New World. There he labored until 1639, when he was assigned to a still more perilous post, the Jesuit mission in the Tobacco nation. In 1641, he made the long and arduous trip westward to the Sault Ste. Marie. While in that far western outpost of French Empire, Jogues addressed an audience of 2000 Algonquin Indians. On his return Father Jogues set out for Three Rivers to secure supplies for the Huron mission. He secured these necessities and started on his return with a party of Hurons and two French companions, one of whom was Rene Goupil.

While crossing Lake St. Peter the party was attacked by a war-party of Mohawks, who lay in ambush for them. Jogues and the Frenchmen were cruelly beaten and tortured after being captured on the march, and upon their arrival at the Mohawk villages. Later Goupil was killed, but Jogues was kept as a slave. He suffered the utmost in privation and cruel treatment. Arent Van Curler, the commissary of the Colony of Rensselaerwyck, made a journey to Osseruenon, the lower Mohawk castle, and attempted to ransom the heroic priest, but without success.

In 1644, with the help of the Dutch of Fort Orange, Jogues escaped to France. He returned to Canada and, in 1646, was sent as an ambassador of the Canadian government to the Mohawks. His old enemies received him with consideration and respect. Jogues was accompanied by Sieur Bourdon, the official engineer of Canada. Between them, they made a map of the country, which unfortunately, was lost. Father Jogues' political object was to confirm the Mohawks in their adherence to a treaty of peace signed between the governor of New France and the Iroquois in 1645. Having finished this work with seeming success, Jogues returned to Quebec. He was on his way back to resume his missionary work among the Mohawks, when he was captured by a war party of the Bear Clan of Andagoron, the middle castle located west of present Fultonville. Jogues and his companion Dalalanda were taken to the Mohawk country, tortured and murdered shortly after their arrival.

The foregoing is the story, in brief, of the captivity, journeys and mission of Father Isaac Jogues. Most interesting, among all the human documents in the annals of the Mohawk Valley, are the relations concerning them which Father Jogues himself wrote and from which extracts (translated from the French) are here given.

Jogues gives the description of his capture and tortures on the march and on their arrival at the lower Mohawk castle, in his "Account of Rene Goupil (donne)" given in Vol. 28, of Thwaites' "The Jesuit Relations." When Father Jogues came to Three Rivers, in 1642, to secure supplies for the Huron station, he met Rene Goupil. He describes Goupil as a native of Arvon, "who accompanied him on his return, as the young man had had medical training and a surgeon was very much needed in the Huron country." Goupil was a youth of refinement and much intelligence, and although only a donne, he was, like Jogues, imbued with the religious ardor and dauntless spirit characteristic of the Jesuits in the New World. The contact of these two refined personalities with the most savage of savages is an interesting though terrible chapter of our Valley history. How such physically delicate men as Jogues and Goupil could endure such terrible physical trials and agonies, without dying under them is a mystery to the modern reader. The hard outdoor life which Jogues lived at the Mohawk town, eventually gave him great strength and vigor and he tells how he easily outran the best Mohawk runners of the village and so could thus have easily escaped many times.

Mention has been made of Champlain's fateful encounter with the Mohawks in 1609. His attack on the Oneida town in 1615 described in the same chapter, showed the manner of attack and defence of an Iroquois fort. The following description by Jerome Lalement of the capture of Jogues and his companions, is from the Father's own narrative. It vividly portrays an Indian ambuscade, which was their favorite mode of warfare. All these forms of Indian fighting entered into the history of the Mohawk Valley, and it is well for the reader to be conversant with them. Jogues' description of his capture, by the Mohawk war party, follows:

"The first day of August in the same year, (1642) we left Three Rivers, in order to go up again to the [Huron] country whence we came. The first day was favorable to us; the second caused us to fall into the hands of the Hiroquois. We were forty persons, distributed in several canoes; the one which kept the vanguard, having discovered on the banks of the great river some tracks of men, recently imprinted on the sand and clay, gave us warning. A landing was made; some say that these are footprints of the enemy, others are sure that they are those of Algonquins, our allies. In this dispute, Eustache Ahatsistari, to whom all the others deferred on account of his exploits in arms and his virtue, exclaimed: 'Be they friends or enemies, it matters not; I notice by their tracks that they are not in greater number than we; let us advance, and fear nothing.' We had not yet made a half-league, when the enemy, concealed among the grass and brushwood, rises with a great outcry, discharging at our canoes a volley of balls. The noise of their arquebuses so greatly frightened a part of our Hurons that they abandoned their canoes and weapons and all their supplies in order to escape by flight into the depth of the woods. This discharge did us no great hurt, and none lost his life; one Huron alone had his hand pierced through, and our canoes were broken in several places. We were four French,—one of whom, being in the rear, escaped with the Hurons, who abandoned him before approaching the enemy. Eight or ten, both Christians and Catechumens, joined us; having been made to say a brief prayer, they oppose a courageous front to the enemy; and although the latter were thirty men against twelve or fourteen, our people valiantly sustained their effort. But having perceived that another band—of forty Hiroquois, who were in ambush on the other shore of the river —was coming to attack them, they lost courage; insomuch that those who were least entangled fled, abandoning their comrades

in the fight. A Frenchman named Rene Goupil, whose death is precious before God, being no longer sustained by those who followed him, was surrounded and captured, along with some of the most courageous Hurons. I was watching this disaster," says the Father, "from a place very favorable for concealing me from the sight of the enemy, being able to hide myself in thickets and among very tall and dense reeds; but this thought could never enter my mind. 'Could I, indeed,' I said to myself, 'abandon our French and leave those good Neophytes and those poor Catechumens, without giving them the help which the Church of my God has entrusted to me?' Flight seemed horrible to me; 'It must be,' I said in my heart, 'that my body suffer the fire of earth, in order to deliver these poor souls from the flames of Hell; it must die a transient death, in order to procure for them an eternal life.' My conclusion being reached without great opposition from my feelings, I call the one of the Hiroquois who had remained to guard the prisoners. This man, having perceived me, dared not approach me, fearing some ambush. 'Come on,' I say to him; 'be not afraid; lead me to the presence of the Frenchman and the Hurons whom you hold captive.' He advances and, having seized me, puts me in the number of those whom the world calls miserable. I tenderly embraced the Frenchman, and said to him: 'My dear brother, God treats us in a strange manner, but He is the master, and He has done what has seemed best in His sight; He has followed His good pleasure. May His holy Name be blessed forever.' This good young man at once made his confession; having given him absolution, I approach the Hurons, and instruct and baptize them; and, as at every moment those who were pursuing the fugitives brought back some of them, I heard these in confession, making Christians those who were not so. Finally, they brought that worthy Christian Captain named Eustache, who, having perceived me, exclaimed: 'Ah! my Father, I had sworn and protested to you that I would live or die with you.' The sight of him piercing my heart, I do not remember the words that I said to him. Another Frenchman, named Guilliaume Cousture, seeing that the Hurons were giving way, escaped like them into those great forests; and, as he was agile, he was soon out of the enemy's grasp. But, remorse having seized him because he had forsaken his Father and his comrade, he stops quite short, deliberating aside with himself whether he should go on or retrace his steps. The dread of being regarded as perfidious makes him face about; he encounters five stout Hiroquois. One of these aims at him, but, his

arquebus having missed fire, the Frenchman did not miss him,—he laid him stone-dead on the spot; his shot being fired, the four other Hiroquois fell upon him with a rage of Lions, or rather of Demons. Having stripped him bare as the hand, they bruised him with heavy blows of clubs and tore out his finger-nails with their teeth,—crushing the bleeding ends, in order to cause him more pain. In short, they pierced one of his hands with a javelin and led him, tied and bound in this sad plight, to the place where we were. Having recognized him, I escape from my guards, and fall upon his neck. 'Courage,' I say to him, 'my dear brother and friend; offer your pains and anguish to God, in behalf of those very persons who torment you. Let us not draw back; let us suffer courageously for His holy name; we have intended only His glory in this journey.' The Hiroquois, seeing us in these endearments at first remained quite bewildered, looking at us without saying a word; then, all at once—imagining, perhaps, that I was applauding that young man because he had killed one of their Captains,—they fell upon me with a mad fury, they belabored me with thrusts, and with blows from sticks and war-clubs, flinging me to the ground, half dead. When I began to breathe again, those who had not struck me, approaching, violently tore out my finger-nails; and then biting, one after another, the ends of my two forefingers, destitute of their nails, caused me the sharpest pain,—grinding and crushing them as if between two stones, even to the extent of causing splinters or little bones to protrude. They treated the good Rene Goupil in the same way, without doing, at that time, any harm to the Hurons: they were thus enraged against the French because the latter had not been willing to accept the peace the preceding year, on the conditions which they wished to give them."

The captive prisoners were taken southward by the Mohawks who paddled over Lake Champlain. On this journey they met a large Mohawk war party. All the captives were stripped naked and made to run the gauntlet. Father Jogues was so cruelly beaten that he fell insensible. In the tortures which followed, a savage with a knife approached and took hold of Jogues' nose with the evident intention of cutting it off, but desisted from some unknown reason. If he had done so, Jogues would probably have been killed shortly after, as, he says that the savages did not long spare one whom they had cruelly mutilated.

Jogues says that "the tenth day after capture we arrived at the place where it was necessary to cease navigation and proceed by land" which probably was the foot of Lake George where the

trail began which led to the Mohawk near present Amsterdam, or westward to a point on the Mohawk near Tribes Hill. On this journey the suffering prisoners were so loaded with the burdens and so weakened from wounds and lack of food that they fell far behind and could easily have escaped. They were deterred from this by the religious fervor which kept them from abandoning the other captive Christians. On the day of the Assumption, they reached the Mohawk near Auriesville.

Jogues tells of the horrors and tortures inflicted upon the three Frenchmen—Jogues, Goupil and Cousture—upon their arrival at the Mohawk River, their entrance into the lower Mohawk castle of Osseruenon, at present Auriesville, and their subsequent parading through the middle castle of Andagoron, west of present Fultonville, and the upper Mohawk castle of Tionnontogen, at present Sprakers:

"We arrived on the eve of that sacred day at a little river, [the Schoharie] distant from the first village of the Hiroquois [Mohawks] about a quarter of a league; we found on its banks, on both sides, many men and youths, armed with sticks which they let loose upon us with their accustomed rage. There remained to me now only two nails,—those Barbarians tore them from me with their teeth, rending the flesh from beneath, and cutting it clean to the bone with their nails, which they allow to grow very long. A Huron, to whom they had given his liberty in that country, having perceived us, exclaimed: 'You are dead, Frenchmen, you are dead; there is no liberty for you. Think no more of life; you will be burned; prepare yourselves for death.' This fine reception did not afflict us to the degree that our enemies believed it would; my guard, nevertheless, seeing me all covered with blood, touched with some compassion, told me that I was in a pitiable state; and, in order to render me more distinguishable to the sight of his people, he wiped my face.

"After they had glutted their cruelty, they led us in triumph into that first village [Osseruenon]; all the youth were outside the gates, arranged in line,—armed with sticks, and some with iron rods, which they easily secure on account of their vicinity to the Dutch. Casting our eyes upon these weapons of passion, we remembered what Saint Augustin says, that those who turn aside from the scourges of God turn aside from the number of his children; on that account, we offered ourselves with great courage to his fatherly goodness, in order to be victims sacrificed to his good pleasure and to his anger, lovingly zealous for the salvation of these peoples." Here follows the order which was

observed at that funereal and pompous entry. "They made one Frenchman march at the head, and another in the middle of the Hurons, and me the very last. We were following one another at an equal distance; and, that our executioners might have more leisure to beat us at their ease, some Hiroquois thrust themselves into our ranks in order to prevent us from running and from avoiding any blows. The procession beginning to enter this narrow way of Paradise, a scuffling was heard on all sides; it was indeed then that I could say with my Lord and master, Supra dorsum meum fabric averunt pecatores,—'Sinners have built and left monuments and marks of their rage upon my back.' I was naked to my shirt, like a poor criminal; the others were wholly naked, except poor Rene Goupil, to whom they did the same favor as to me. The more slowly the procession marched in a very long road, the more blows we received. One was dealt above my loins with the pommel of a javelin, or with an iron knob the size of one's fist, which shook my whole body and took away my breath. Such was our entrance into that Babylon. Hardly could we arrive as far as the scaffold which was prepared for us in the midst of that village, so exhausted were we; our bodies were all livid, and our faces all stained with blood. But more disfigured than all was Rene Goupil, so that nothing white appeared in his face except his eyes. I found him all the more beautiful as he had more in common with Him who, bearing a face most worthy of the regards and delight of the Angels, appeared to us, in the midst of his anguish, like a leper. Having ascended that scaffold, I exclaimed in my heart: Spectaculum facti sumus mundo et Angelis et hominibus propter Christum,—'We have been made a gazing-stock in the sight of the world, of Angels, and of men, for Jesus Christ.' We found some rest in that place of triumph and of glory. The Hiroquois no longer persecuted us except with their tongues,—filling the air and our ears with their insults, which did us no great hurt; but this calm did not last long. A Captain exclaims that the Frenchman ought to be caressed. Sooner done than it is said,—one wretch, jumping on the stage, dealt three heavy blows with sticks, on each Frenchman, without touching the Hurons. Others, meanwhile drawing their knives and approaching us, treated me as a Captain,—that is to say, with more fury than the rest. The deference of the French, and the respect which the Hurons showed me, caused me this advantage. An old man takes my left hand and commands a captive Algonquin woman to cut off one of my fingers; she turns away three or four times, unable to resolve upon this

cruelty; finally, she has to obey, and cuts the thumb from my left hand; the same caresses are extended to the other prisoners. This poor woman having thrown my thumb on the stage, I picked it up and offered it to you, O my God! Remembering the sacrifices that I had presented to you for seven years past, upon the Altars of your Church, I accepted this torture as a loving vengeance for the want of love and respect that I had shown, concerning your Holy Body; you heard the cries of my soul. One of my two French companions, having perceived me, told me that, if those Barbarians saw me keep my thumb, they would make me eat it and swallow it all raw; and that, therefore I should throw it away somewhere. I obey him instantly. They use a scallop or an oyster-shell for cutting off the right thumb of the other Frenchmen, so as to cause him more pain. The blood flowing from our wounds in so great abundance that we were likely to fall in a swoon, a Hiroquois—tearing off a little end of my shirt, which alone had been left to me—bound them up for us; and that was all the dressing and all the medical treatment applied to them.

"Evening having come, they made us descend, in order to be taken into the cabins as the sport of the children. They gave us for food a very little Indian corn, simply boiled in water; then they made us lie down on pieces of bark, binding us by the arms and the feet to four stakes fastened in the ground in the shape of Saint Andrew's cross. The children, in order to learn the cruelty of their parents, threw coals and burning cinders on our stomachs,—taking pleasure in seeing us broil and roast. Oh, my God, what nights! To remain always in an extremely constrained position; to be unable to stir or to turn, under the attack of countless vermin which assailed us on all sides; to be burdened with wounds, some recent and others all putrid; not to have sustenance for the half of one's life: in truth, these torments are great, but God is infinite. At sunrise, they led us back upon our scaffold, where we spent three days and three nights in the sufferings that I have just described.

"The three days having expired, they parade us into two other villages [Andagoron and Tionnontogen], where we make our entrance as into the first; they give us the same salutes of beatings, and, in order to enhance the cruelty of the earlier ones, they deal us severe blows on the bones,—either at random or on the shin of the legs, a place very sensitive to pain. As we were leaving the first village, a wretch took away my shirt and gave me an old rag to cover what ought to be concealed; this nakedness was very painful to me. I could not abstain from reproach-

ing one of those who had had the bulk of our spoils, saying: 'Art thou not ashamed to see me in this nakedness,—thou who hast had so great a share of my baggage?' These words somewhat abashed him; he took a piece of coarse cloth, with which a bundle was enveloped, and threw it to me. I put it on my back to defend myself from the heat of the sun, which heated and corrupted my wounds; but—this cloth having glued itself fast, and, as it were, incorporated itself with my sores—I was constrained to tear it off with pain, and to abandon myself to the mercy of the air. My skin was detaching itself from my body in several places; and,—that I might say that I had passed per ignem et aquam, through cold and heat, for love of my God,—while on the scaffold during three days, as in the first village, there fell a cold rain, which greatly renewed the pains of my sores. One of those Barbarians having perceived that Guillaume Cousture, although he had his hands all torn, had not yet lost any of his fingers, seized his hand, striving to cut off his forefinger with a poor knife. But, as he could not succeed therein, he twisted it, and in tearing it he pulled a sinew out of the arm, the length of a span. At the same time his poor arm swelled, and the pain was reflected from it even to the depth of my heart.

"On departing from that second village, they drag us into the third [Tionnontogen]; these villages are several leagues distant from one another. Besides the salute and the caresses, and the reception which was given us at the two preceding ones, note what was added to our torture. The young men thrust thorns or pointed sticks into our sores, scratching the ends of our fingers, deprived of their nails, and tearing them even to the quick flesh; and in order to honor me above the others, they bound me to pieces of wood fastened crosswise. Consequently, my feet not being supported, the weight of my body inflicted upon me a gehenna, and a torture so keen that, after having suffered this torment about a quarter of an hour, I plainly felt that I was about to fall in a swoon from it, which made me beseech those Barbarians to lengthen my bonds a little. They ran up at my call; and, instead of lengthening them, they strain them more tightly, in order to cause me more pain. A savage from a more distant country, touched with compassion, broke through the press and, drawing a knife, boldly cut all the cords with which I was bound. This charity was afterward rewarded a hundredfold, as we shall see in its place.

"That act was not without providence; for at the same time when I was unbound, word was brought that some warriors, or

hunters of men, were conducting thither some Hurons, recently taken. I betook me to the place as best I could; I consoled those poor captives, and having sufficiently instructed them I conferred upon them holy Baptism; in recompense I am told that I must die with them. The sentence decreed in the Council is intimated to me; the following night is to be (as they say) the end of my torments and of my life. My soul is well pleased with these words, but not yet was my God,—He willed to prolong my martyrdom. Those Barbarians reconsidered the matter, exclaiming that life ought to be spared to the Frenchmen, or rather, their death postponed. They thought to find more moderation at our forts, on account of us. They accordingly sent Guillaume Cousture into the largest village [Tionnontogen], and Rene Goupil and I were lodged together in another [Osseruenon]. Life being granted us, they did us no more harm. But alas! it was then that we felt at leisure the torments which had been inflicted on us. They gave us for beds the bark of trees, flat on the ground; and for refreshment they gave us a little Indian meal, and sometimes a bit of squash, half raw. Our hands and fingers being all in pieces, they had to feed us like children. Patience was our physician. Some women, more merciful, regarded us with much charity and were unable to look at our sores without compassion."

In his account concerning Goupil and himself following their tortures at the Mohawk towns, Father Jogues writes as follows of the murder of his young French companion at Osseruenon, on the site of present Auriesville. This description appears under title "Notice sur Rene Goupil (donne) par le P. Isaac Jogues" in Thwaites' (1898) "Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents," Vol. XXVIII, pp. 116 to 135.

"After they had given us life,— at the very time when, a little before, they had warned us to prepare for being burned,—he [Goupil] fell sick, suffering great inconveniences in every respect, and especially in regard to the food, to which he was not accustomed. In that one might say most truly, Non cibus utilis egro. I could not relieve him,—for I was also very sick, and had none of my fingers sound or entire.

"But this urges me to come to his death, at which nothing was wanting to make him a martyr.

"After we had been in the country six weeks,—as confusion arose in the councils of the Iroquois, some of whom were quite willing that we should be taken back,—we lost the hope, which I did not consider very great, of again seeing Three Rivers that

year. We accordingly consoled each other in the divine arrangement of things; and we were preparing for everything that it might ordain for us. He did not quite realize the danger in which we were,—I saw it better than he; and this often led me to tell him that we should hold ourselves in readiness. One day, then, as in the grief of our souls, we had gone forth from the village, in order to pray more suitably and with less disturbance, two young men came after us to tell us that we must return home. I had some presentiment of what was to happen, and said to him: 'My dearest brother, let us commend ourselves to Our Lord and to our good mother the blessed Virgin; these people have some evil design, as I think.' We had offered ourselves to Our Lord, shortly before, with much devotion,—beseeching Him to receive our lives and our blood, and unite them with his life and his blood for the salvation of these poor peoples. We accordingly returned toward the village, reciting our rosary, of which we had already said four decades. Having stopped near the gate of the village, to see what they might say to us, one of those two Iroquois draws a hatchet, which he held concealed under his blanket, and deals a blow with it on the head of Rene, who was before him. He falls motionless, his face to the ground, pronouncing the holy name of Jesus (often we admonished each other that this holy name should end both our voices and our lives). At the blow, I turn round and see a hatchet all bloody; I kneel down, to receive the blow which was to unite me with my dear companion; but, as they hesitate, I rise again, and run to the dying man, who was quite near. They dealt him two other blows with the hatchet, on the head, and despatched him,—but not until I had first given him absolution, which I had been wont to give him every two days, since our captivity; and this was a day on which he had already confessed.

"It was the 29th of September, the feast of St. Michael, when this Angel in innocence, and this Martyr of Jesus Christ, gave his life for Him who had given him his. They ordered me to return to my cabin where I awaited the rest of the day and the next day, the same treatment, and it was indeed the purpose of all that I should not long delay, since that one had begun. Indeed, I passed several days on which they came to kill me; but our Lord did not permit this, in ways which it would be tedious to explain. The next morning, I nevertheless went out to inquire where they had thrown that blessed body, for I wished to bury it, at whatever cost. Certain Iroquois, who had some desire to preserve me, said to me: 'Thou hast no sense! Thou seest that they seek thee

everywhere to kill thee, and thou still goest out. Thou wishest to go and seek a body already half destroyed which they have dragged far from here. Dost thou not see those young men going out, who will kill thee when thou shalt be outside the stockade?' That did not stop me, and Our Lord gave me courage enough to wish to die in this act of charity."

Jogues found the body of Goupil in the Aurieskill where the Indian children had dragged it. He weighted it down with stones, hoping to come again and bury it. In the meantime some Mohawk youths took the corpse and dragged it into a nearby wood where wolves, foxes and crows consumed it during the winter. The next spring, Jogues found a few of Goupil's bones there and reverently buried them.

In his "Notice sur Goupil," Father Jogues writes as follows of this burial and the causes of Goupil's slaying.

"I went thither several times without finding anything. At last, the fourth time, I found the head and some half-gnawed bones, which I buried with the design of carrying them away, if I should be taken back to Three Rivers, as they spoke of doing. I kissed them very devoutly, several times, as the bones of a martyr of Jesus Christ.

"I give him this title not only because he was killed by the enemies of God and of His church, and in the exercise of an ardent charity toward his neighbor,—placing himself in evident peril for the love of God,—but especially because he was killed on account of prayer, and notably for the sake of the Holy Cross.

"He was in a cabin where he nearly always said the prayers, which pleased a superstitious old man who was there. One day, seeing a child of three or four years in the cabin,—with an excess of devotion and love for the Cross, and with a simplicity which we who are more prudent than he, according to the flesh, would not have shown,—he took off his cap, put it on this child's head, and made a great sign of the cross upon its body. The old man, seeing that, commanded a young man of his cabin, who was about to leave for the war, to kill him,—which order he executed, as we have said.

"Even the child's mother, on a journey in which I happened to be with her, told me that it was because of this sign of the cross that he had been killed; and the old man who had given the command that he should be slain,—one day when they called me to his cabin to eat, when I previously made the sign of the cross,—said to me: 'That is what we hate; that is why they have killed thy companion, and why they will kill thee. Our neighbors, the

Europeans [Hollanders of Fort Orange] do not do so.' Sometimes, also, when I was praying on my knees during the hunt, they told me that they hated this way of doing, and on account of that they had killed the other Frenchman; and that, for this reason, they would kill me when I came back to the village."

In 1644, after two years of captivity in the squalid, filthy, barbaric surroundings of the lower Mohawk castle, serving the savages as an abused menial, this gentle and refined missionary finally effected his escape from the horrors which encompassed him. Van Curler and Dominie Megapolensis of Beverwyck, aided Father Jogues to escape to France, whence he returned to his martyrdom among the Mohawks two years later. Van Curler had previously tried to ransom the captive priest.

As has been previously mentioned, Father Jogues many times could have escaped from his captivity among the Mohawks but his passionate desire to save their souls had restrained him. It seems to have been a fruitless task, but it did not so appear to the Father, who was possessed of unbounded religious zeal and a dauntless spirit. Jogues' adopted old Mohawk "aunt" had frequently given him opportunities to flee, sending him alone to distant cornfields to work, but he had always returned. The Mohawks, like all Indians, believed implicitly in dreams, which contributed still more to the bedlam and terror of the castles. Both the sincere and the lying "dreamer" could turn the whole village into turmoil by reciting some childish or villainous demand "revealed" in a dream. The most ridiculous, brutal and murderous results often followed. On one occasion, a sick man "dreamed" that he would recover if the "black-gown" (as the Iroquois called the Jesuits) were brought to his sick bed, there to perform some incantations with his Bible. Some young men were sent to bring Jogues who naturally refused to go to minister to such savage superstitions. The young warriors tried to take him by force but he slipped away and ran. Although pursued by the swiftest runners of the castle, he easily outdistanced them. But after doing so—actually making his escape—the zealous "black-gown" returned to his village and its miseries.

When the opportunity offered Jogues decided to escape, only after a long mental struggle, described in the Relations. He had been with a Mohawk fishing party to their fishing village at the mouth of the Normanskill below Albany. Here his adopted Mohawk "aunt" told him that he would be burned on his return tc Osseruenon, to avenge some recent French success. The Indians he was with slept one night in a Dutch farmer's barn near Fort

Orange and there they all got blind drunk. Jogues crept out in the night and made his way to the Hudson River, being badly bitten by the farmer's dog on the way. He got aboard a Dutch boat in the river, where the kindly Hollanders hid him. From there he was taken and secreted in the house of a miserly Dutchman at Fort Orange, who starved him for a month—himself using the provisions provided for Jogues. There seem to have been many mean, miserly, vicious sharpers among the early Hollanders who traded at Fort Orange and the Indian trade further tended toward these characteristics. Van Curler finally put Jogues on a Dutch boat sailing to Manhattan. Here he was kindly received by Director Kieft and finally sent to France.

His return to his former Jesuit seminary at Rennes, so haggard and changed that he was at first unrecognized, is a dramatic moment in the "Jesuit Relations." They say: "From Rennes he comes to Paris, the Queen (Anne of Austria) having heard mention of his sufferings, says aloud: 'Romances are feigned but here is a genuine combination of great adventures.' She wished to see him; her eyes were tortured with compassion at the sight of the cruelty of the Hiroquois." Says Parkman: "She kissed his mutilated hands while the ladies of the court do him homage. We are told, and no doubt with truth, that these honors were unwelcome to the modest and single-hearted missionary, who thought only of returning to his work of converting the Indians. A priest, with any deformity of body is debarred from saying mass. The teeth and knives of the Iroquois had inflicted an injury worse than the tortures imagined, for they had robbed Jogues of the privilege which was the chief consolation of his life, but the Pope, by a special dispensation, restored it to him, and with the opening of spring, he sailed again to Canada."

When Father Jogues returned, he wrote a description of New Netherland, Fort Orange and Manhattan, entitled "Novum Belgium," which is one of the most interesting and enlightening documents we have relative to the early Dutch days in our Hudson Valley. From this paper, some quotations have been made in a previous chapter of this book.

Father Jogues' two journeys to the Mohawk country, in 1646, and his slaying there is concisely told in Parkman's interesting but terrible volume "The Jesuits in North America." Jogues' visit to the Mohawks, as ambassador of New France, his return as a Jesuit missionary and his tragic end are here related.

In 1645 peace had been declared between the French of Canada and the Mohawks, and a French representative—Guilluame

Couture, returned with the Mohawks and spent the winter of 1645-6 in their castles. Knowing the capricious and unstable character of the Iroquois, the Canadian government wished to hold them to the treaty terms by the constant presence of a French ambassador among them. Following Couture's residence there, Father Jogues was sent on his political-religious mission. Parkman writes of this errand and of the tragic end of Father Isaac Jogues as follows:

"For two years past, Jogues had been at Montreal; and it was here that he received the order of his Superior to proceed to the Mohawk towns. At first, nature asserted itself, and he recoiled involuntarily at the thought of the horrors of which his scarred body and his mutilated hands were a living memento. It was a transient weakness; and he prepared to depart with more than willingness, giving Thanks to Heaven that he had been found worthy to suffer and to die for the saving of souls and the greater glory of God.

"He felt a presentiment that his death was near, and wrote to a friend, 'I shall go, and shall not return.' An Algonquin convert gave him sage advice. 'Say nothing about the Faith at first, for there is nothing so repulsive, in the beginning, as our doctrine, which seems to destroy everything that men hold dear; and as your long cassock preaches, as well as your lips, you had better put on a short coat.' Joques, therefore, exchanged the uniform of Loyola for a civilian's doublet and hose; 'for' observes his Superior, 'one should be all things to all men, that he may gain them all to Jesus Christ.' It would be well, if the application of the maxim had always been as harmless.

"Jogues left Three Rivers about the middle of May, with the Sieur Bourdon, engineer to the Governor, two Algonquins with gifts to confirm the peace, and four Mohawks as guides and escort. He passed the Richelieu and Lake Champlain, well-remembered scenes of former miseries, and reached the foot of Lake George on the eve of Corpus Christi. Hence he called the lake Lac St. Sacrament; and this name it preserved, until, a century after, an ambitious Irishman [Sir William Johnson], in compliment to the sovereign from whom he sought advancement, gave it the name it bears [Lake George].

"From Lake George they crossed on foot to the Hudson, where, being greatly fatigued by their heavy loads of gifts, they borrowed canoes at an Iroquois fishing station, and descended to Fort Orange. Here Jogues met the Dutch friends to whom he owed his life, and who now kindly welcomed and entertained

him. After a few days he left them, and ascended the River Mohawk to the first Mohawk town. Crowds gathered from the neighboring towns to gaze on the man whom they had known as a scorned and abused slave, and who now appeared among them as the ambassador of a power which hitherto, indeed, they had despised, but which in their present mood they were willing to propitiate.

"There was a council in one of the lodges; and while his crowded auditory smoked their pipes, Jogues stood in the midst, and harangued them. He offered in due form the gifts of the Governor, with the wampum belts and their messages of peace, while at every pause his words were echoed by a unanimous grunt of applause from the attentive concourse. Peace speeches were made in return; and all was harmony. When, however, the Algonquin deputies stood before the council, they and their gifts were coldly received. The old hate, maintained by traditions of mutual atrocity, burned fiercely under a thin semblance of peace; and, though no outbreak took place, the prospect of the future was very ominous.

"The business of the embassy was scarcely finished, when the Mohawks counselled Jogues and his companions to go home with all despatch, saying, that if they waited longer, they might meet, on the way, warriors of the four upper nations, who would inevitably kill the two Algonquin deputies, if not the French also. Jogues, therefore set out on his return; but not until, despite the advice of the Indian convert, he had made the round of the houses, confessed and instructed a few Christian prisoners still remaining here, and baptized several dying Mohawks. Then he and his party crossed through the forest to the southern extremity of Lake George, made bark canoes, and descended to Fort Richelieu, where they arrived on the twenty-seventh of June.

"His political errand was accomplished. Now, should he return to the Mohawks, or should the Mission of the Martyrs be for a time abandoned? Lalemant, who had succeeded Vimont as Superior of the missions, held a council at Quebec with three other Jesuits, of whom Jogues was one, and it was determined, that, unless some new contingency should arise, he should remain for the winter at Montreal. This was in July. Soon after, the plan was changed, for reasons which do not appear, and Jogues received orders to repair to his dangerous post. He set out on the twenty-fourth of August, accompanied by a young Frenchman named Lalande, and three or four Hurons. On the way they met

Indians who warned them of a change of feeling in the Mohawk towns, and the Hurons, alarmed, refused to go farther. Jogues, naturally perhaps the most timid man of the party, had no thought of drawing back, and pursued his journey with his young companion, who, like other donnes of the missions, was scarcely behind the Jesuits themselves in devoted enthusiasm.

"The reported change of feeling had indeed taken place; and the occasion of it was characteristic. On his previous visit to the Mohawks, Jogues, meaning to return, had left in their charge a small chest or box. From the first they were distrustful, suspecting that it contained some secret mischief. He therefore opened it, and showed them the contents, which were a few personal necessaries; and having thus, as he thought, reassured them, locked the box, and left it in their keeping. The Huron prisoners in the town attempted to make favor with their Iroquois enemies by abusing their French friends—declaring them to be sorcerers, who had bewitched, by their charms and mummeries, the whole Huron nation, and caused drought, famine, pestilence and a host of insupportable miseries. Thereupon, the suspicions of the Mohawks against the box revived with double force, and they were convinced that famine, the pest, or some malignant spirit was shut up in it, waiting the moment to issue forth and destroy them. There was sickness in the town, and caterpillars were eating their corn; this was ascribed to the sorceries of the Jesuit. Still they were divided in opinion. Some stood firm for the French; others were furious against them. Among the Mohawks, three clans or families were predominant, if indeed they did not compose the entire nation,—the clans of the Bear, the Tortoise and the Wolf. Though, by the nature of their constitution it was scarcely possible that these clans should come to blows, so intimately were they bound together by ties of blood, yet they were often divided on points of interest or policy and on this occasion the Bear raged against the French, and howled for war, while the Tortoise and the Wolf still clung to the treaty. Among savages, with no government except the intermittent one of councils, the party of action and violence must always prevail. The Bear chiefs sang their war-songs, and, followed by the young men of their own clan and by such others as they had infected with their frenzy, set forth, in two bands, on the warpath.

"The warriors of one of these bands were making their way through the forests between the Mohawk and Lake George, when they met Jogues and Lalande. They seized them, stripped them, and led them in triumph to their town. Here a savage crowd surrounded them, beating them with sticks and with their fists.

One of them cut thin strips of flesh from the back and arms of Jogues, saying, as he did so, 'Let us see if this white flesh is the flesh of an oki.'—'I am a man like yourselves,' replied Jogues; "but I do not fear death or torture. I do not know why you would kill me. I come here to confirm the peace and show you the way to heaven, and you treat me like a dog'—'You shall die tomorrow,' cried the rabble. 'Take courage, we shall not burn you. We shall strike you both with a hatchet, and place your heads on the palisade, that your brothers may see you when we take them prisoners.' The clans of the Wolf and the Tortoise still raised their voices in behalf of the captive Frenchmen; but the fury of the minority swept all before it.

"In the evening—it was the eighteenth of October—Jogues, smarting with his wounds and bruises, was sitting in one of the lodges, when an Indian entered, and asked him to a feast. To refuse would have been an offense. He arose and followed the savage, who led him to the lodge of the Bear chief. Jogues bent his head to enter, when another Indian, standing concealed within, at the side of the doorway, struck at him with a hatchet. An Iroquois, called by the French Le Berger, who seems to have followed in order to defend him, bravely held out his arm to ward off the blow; but the hatchet cut through it, and sank into the missionary's brain. He fell at the feet of his murderer, who at once finished the work by hacking off his head. Lalande was left in suspense all night, and in the morning was killed in a similar manner. The bodies of the two Frenchmen were then thrown into the Mohawk, and their heads displayed on the points of the palisade which inclosed the town.

"Thus died Isaac Jogues, one of the purest examples of Roman Catholic virtue which this Western continent has seen."

In 1922, a statue of Father Isaac Jogues was erected at Auriesville by the Order of Alhambra, after the design of Joseph Sibbel. The base of this striking monument bears a tablet in recognition of the services of Dominie Megapolensis, the Dutch clergyman of Fort Orange, who aided Father Jogues to escape in 1644. A statue of Tegakwitha "The Lily of the Mohawks" stands nearby. Tegakwitha, whose name is variously spelled, was one of the most noted of the "praying Indians" or converted Iroquois.

The site of the sufferings and martyrdom of Father Isaac Jogues is today one of the world's great Catholic shrines. It is the scene of the pilgrimage of thousands of the devout who gather upon this Mohawk River hillside in tribute of devotion to one of the many martyrs of the church.

CHAPTER 16.

HISTORY OF THE MOHAWKS—1646-1666.

THE FIVE NATIONS CONQUER THE INDIANS OF NORTHEASTERN NORTH AMERICA—1655, GLEN BUYS LANDS OF THE MOHAWKS—1658, GLEN SETTLES AT SCOTIA—1659-1660, SMALLPOX SCOURGE AMONG THE MOHAWK CASTLES—1660, TURTLE CLAN MOVES TO GANDAWAGUE—1661, SCHENECTADY SETTLED BY HOLLANDERS—1661, HERTEL A CAPTIVE AMONG THE MOHAWKS—1666, DE COURCELLE'S EXPEDITION AGAINST THE MOHAWKS FAILS.

The history of the Mohawk country, from 1614 to 1662, and that of the Mohawks in brief is contained in that of the settlement of the Holland Dutch at present Albany.

In this period, while there were no permanent settlements of white men among the Mohawks, until that of Schenectady in 1661-2 and that of Glen at Scotia in 1658, there was a constant passing of French and Dutch traders and bos loopers to and from the Indian castles of the valley. Among the most famous of these woodsmen-traders was Hartell, the French trader, whose Mohawk wife was the "queen" of Hog Island at Schenectady, and who was the father of Ots-toch, the French-Mohawk wife of Cornelis Antonise Van Slyck, the father of Jacques Cornelise Van Slyck, one of the original proprietors of Schenectady.

The Mohawks also were frequent visitors to Fort Orange where, after 1640, they obtained the guns with which they conquered their enemies, especially the Hurons, the Algonquins and the Andastes (known also as the Susquehannas and Conestogas). It was during this period that the warfare of the Mohawks was most terrible, against both these Indians and the French of Canada. War activities were constant among the Mohawks, and war parties were constantly going out from the castles of Osseruenon, later Gandawague, Andagoron and Tionnontogen. The Mohawk country was a bedlam with the wild dances of the painted warriors and the screams of their tortured victims.

In 1659 the Dutch authorities of Fort Orange held a council with the Mohawks at Osseruenon, the first ever held in the Mohawk country.

One of the most interesting of the Frenchmen who were so unfortunate as to fall into the hands of the Iroquois during this

hellish period was Francois Hertel, a youth of eighteen, who was captured at Three Rivers and taken to the Mohawk in the summer of 1661. Hertel wrote two letters at this time which are appealing in their showing of the brave despair of this boyish prisoner, surrounded by the ferocity and endless horrors of the Mohawk town in which he was held captive—without hope and without the solace of his religion. His letter to his mother is touching in its brief effort to spare her pain and anxiety. The first letter is to the Jesuit Father Le Moyne, who was then in Onondaga where he had gone to attempt the release of French prisoners in accordance with the terms of a truce. Both of Hertel's letters were written on the inner side of birch bark. They follow:

"My Reverend Father: The very day when you left Three Rivers, I was captured at about three in the afternoon by four Iroquois of the Mohawk tribe. I would not have been taken alive if, to my sorrow, I had not feared that I was not in a fit state to die. If you came here, my Father, I could have the happiness of confessing to you and I do not think they would do you any harm and I think I could return home with you. I pray you to pity my poor mother, who is in great trouble. You know, my Father, how fond she is of me. I have heard from a Frenchman who was taken at Three Rivers on the 1st of August that she is well and comforts herself with the hope that I shall see you. There are three of us Frenchmen alive here. I commend myself to your prayers, and particularly to the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass. I pray you, my Father, to say a mass for me. I pray you to give my dutiful love to my poor mother and console her, if it pleases you.

"My Father, I beg your blessing on the hand that writes you, which has one of the fingers burned in the bowl of an Iroquois pipe, to satisfy the Majesty of God, which I have offended. The thumb of the other hand is cut off, but do not tell my mother of it.

"My Father, I pray you to honor me with a word from your hand in reply, and tell me if you shall come here before winter.

"Your most humble and most obedient servant,

Francois Hertel."

Following is the letter Hertel wrote his mother, probably at the same time as the one he sent Father Le Moyne.

"My dear and honored mother: I know very well that my capture must have distressed you very much. I ask you to forgive my disobedience. It is my sins that have placed me where I am. I owe my life to your prayers and those of M. de Saint-

Quentin and of my sisters. I hope to see you again before winter. I pray you to tell the good brethren of Notre Dame to pray to God and the Holy Virgin for me, my dear mother, and for you and all my sisters.

"Your poor
"Fanchon."

This boyish captive survived, to the great cost of New England in blood and suffering. In 1690, Frontenac sent out three war parties from Canada, which descended on Schenectady, Salmon Falls (now Berwick) in New Hampshire, and Casco Bay (now Portland) Maine. Francois Hertel was the commander of the war party from Three Rivers, which massacred the people of Salmon Falls and burned the settlement. On the retreat he defended the rear with great valor and was ennobled for his savage deeds.

The young French boy, who at one time sat lonely and disconsolate in a Mohawk cabin while writing to his mother on a scrap of birch bark, became the founder of one of the most distinguished families of Canada and died at the ripe old age of eighty years.

When Schenectady was settled in 1661-2, the Iroquois had conquered the territory adjacent to that of the Five Nations for hundreds of miles in every direction. The many campaigns of this savage warfare are detailed in Beauchamp's "History of the New York Iroquois" as well as in Parkman's works.

As previously described in detail, Father Jogues was a prisoner at Osseruenon from 1642 to 1644, being cruelly tortured there at first. His return and murder have been related in a previous chapter.

In the winter of 1659-1660, a dreadful scourge of smallpox visited Osseruenon, as though in retribution for the sufferings of Father Jogues and the hundreds of other victims who there had been tortured to amuse the Mohawks.

A thousand Mohawks are said to have perished in this epidemic. Following it the Turtle Village moved, in 1660, to a new site a short distance westward from the former village, where the palisades were re-erected and the place called Gandawague, which probably means "Village-Turtle-At", or "At the Turtle Village", although the general translation is given as "At the Rapids". After this removal the three principal Mohawk towns were located as follows: The Turtle Clan castle of Gan-da-wague, just west of present Auriesville; the Bear Clan castle of Andagoron, a mile or more west of present Fultonville; and the Wolf Clan castle of Ti-on-non-to-gen (or Te-non-to-ge-re) on the

hill south of present Sprakers Village and on the east side of the Onagerea or Plattekill.

At the same castle of Osseruenon, where Jogues was kept captive by the Mohawks for two years, Kateri Tegakwitha, the "Lily of the Mohawks" was born in 1656. The piety and goodness of this Christian Mohawk maiden, in the face of abuse and cruelty, set a religious example to her race, which made many of them converts who followed the Lily to Canada in 1677, after her escape to the Christian village of Caughnawaga, on the St. Lawrence opposite Montreal.

At Auriesville stands a statue to Tegakwitha, whose name, like those of other Indians, has had many and various spellings. The lifelike figure of this Mohawk maiden is by the sculptor, Joseph Sibbel, and it is a replica of the one which stands in the hall of Dunwoodie seminary. "It is not intended as a religious but a civic monument, because Kateri rendered a very memorable civic service to her people. Her ardent religious fervor was not merely of mystical benefit to herself; it inspired her fellow tribesmen with an exalted idea of morality and incited them to imitate what they saw possible in one of their own blood."

The inscription placed on the mound tells the whole story in brief:

Kateri Tekawitha,
Iroquois Maiden,
Lily of the Mohawks.
Born at Osseruenon Castle,
Situated Here, A. D. 1656.
Dwelling at Caughnawaga Castle.
Fonda, A. D. 1667-1676.
At Caughnawaga, Canada, A. D. 1677-1680.
Dying There April 17, 1680,
In the Fragrance of Holiness.
Known by her tribesmen as
Onkweonweke Katsitsiio Leokitsianekaron,
fairest flower that ever bloomed among true men.

The reader will find in "The Life and Times of Kateri Tekakwitha, the Lily of the Mohawks," by Ellen H. Walworth, Albany, N. Y., a very interesting story of this Christian Mohawk maiden as well as a perfect picture and record of Mohawk Indian life from 1656 to 1680.

Kateri's father was a Mohawk chief and warrior and her mother a Christian Algonquin captive, who had been brought up and baptized amongst the French settlers at Three Rivers in

Canada. Captured in Canada, this Indian maiden was brought down Lake Champlain and Lake George and thence to Osseruenon. "She was saved from the torture and the fire by a fierce, pagan Mohawk warrior, who took the young Algonquin for his wife. The gentle girl had captured the heart of her conqueror."

Jogues had been dead ten years when Kateri was born and, in that interval, the Mohawks and the five other nations had not only conquered or annihilated all the chief tribes which surrounded them, but they had killed, burned or tortured to death many of the dauntless souls who had braved the world's greatest horror—Iroquois torture—to save the souls of these savages. Chief among them were Jogues, Daniel, Brebouef, Lalement, Garner and Garren, all slain by Mohawk warriors.

Ondessonk, or Lemoyne, the namesake of Jogues, visited the Mohawk villages for the third time in 1657. He was held a prisoner until May, 1658, when he was allowed to depart for Canada. The Onondaga French colony was broken up that year and Frenchmen and Jesuits escaped, by strategy, with their lives. Not a blackgown was left among the Iroquois. Hurons and Eries had been defeated and now, with their armies once more free, the Iroquois wanted no more peace with their ancient French and Indian enemies in Canada.

The smallpox which swept the Mohawk lodges in the winter of 1659-60, was a terrible scourge in Osseruenon. Tegakwitha's father, mother and little brother all died within a few days from this dread disease, following which, the little Indian girl went to live with her uncle, also a Mohawk chieftain. Then the Turtle village, on the east side of the Aurieskill, was broken up and moved to a new location, called Gandawague, on a hill to the westward of that stream. As the names Gandawague and Caughnawaga have been applied to both of these villages, as well as to the later one near Fonda from 1667 to 1693, there naturally has been considerable confusion as to these sites. In 1664 the Mohawks made new treaties with the English conquerors of New Netherland, at Albany.

In 1665, Marquis De Tracy and Courcelle, the French governor, arrived at Quebec with instructions to conquer the Iroquois and the regiment of Carignan-Saliers was sent over to operate in this campaign. Its soldiers were veterans of the Turkish wars and they filled both the Canadian settlers and the assembled Indians with admiration, as they marched up the rugged way which led to the fort on the heights of Quebec. De Tracy was the French King's viceroy for all his American dominions. The

same year the Senecas, Cayugas and Onondagas made peace with the French at Quebec, but the Mohawks and Oneidas remained a thorn in the flesh.

In January, 1666, Governor Courcelle with 500 men on snow shoes started on an expedition against the Mohawks. 200 of these soldiers were Canadian "blue coats", the rest, French regulars. Courcelle's regulars, not used to the hardships of a Canadian winter, suffered severely on the march down Lake Champlain and Lake George. The French fell into an ambuscade and a sharp battle followed in which they lost a number of killed and wounded, while they took a few Mohawk prisoners. By missing the right trail, they came to the Mohawk at Schenectady, or Corlaer, as the French called the little Dutch town. Here the chief men in authority told them that most of the Mohawks and Oneidas had gone to war with a neighboring tribe. Worn and famished, they camped in the woods near Schenectady, where three envoys appeared from Albany to demand why they had invaded the territories of his Royal Highness, the Duke of York. It was now that they learned for the first time that the New Netherlands had passed into English hands, a change which boded no good to Canada. The envoys seemed to take their explanations in good part, made them a present of wine and provisions and allowed them to buy further supplies from the Dutch of Schenectady. They even invited them to enter the village, but Courcelle declined, partly because he feared that his men, "once seated in a chimney corner, could never be induced to leave it." The French repaid the kindness of the Dutch burghers by the later terrible Schenectady massacre of 1690.

Sufficient Mohawks had gathered to man their castles and make a fight of it, but Courcelle retreated to Canada. Sixty men died from the hardships of the winter retreat of 300 miles and the Mohawks, who followed, took some prisoners.

CHAPTER 17.

DETRACY'S RAID OF 1666.

DE TRAY'S FRENCH, CANADIAN AND INDIAN FORCE BURNS THE SOUTH SIDE MOHAWK CASTLES OF GANDAWAGUE, ANDAGORON, AND TIONNONTOGEN—FRENCH PROCLAIM SOVEREIGNTY OVER THE MOHAWK RIVER COUNTRY—THE MOHAWKS ARE HUMBLED.

The most terrible Indian savages were intimidated by force. After fifty years of warfare against the French, the Mohawks realized that their remote castles were not free from invasion. After De Courcelle came to the Mohawk River on his futile raid, the Iroquois, including the Mohawks, sent peace envoys to New France. De Tracy had sent a Jesuit Father to learn the real situation when news came that the Mohawks had captured or killed seven of a party of French officers hunting at the outlet of Lake Champlain. One of these was Chasy, a nephew of De Tracy, who was killed; and Leroles, a cousin of De Tracy, who was captured. When news of these savage murders reached Quebec, the Jesuit envoy was recalled and the Iroquois peace deputies were imprisoned. A small expedition of 300 men was sent against the Mohawks but, luckily for the French, it marched but two days when it met the famous Flemish Bastard, a Mohawk-Dutch chief, bringing back the officers who had been captured.

The Mohawks and Iroquois pretended to be for peace and De Tracy held a great council in the garden of the Jesuits at Quebec, August 31st, 1666. A few days later, Tracy invited the Flemish Bastard and another Mohawk chief named Agariata to dinner, when allusion was made to the killing of Chasy, the nephew of Tracy. Agariata stretched out his hand and braggingly said, "This is the hand that split the head of that young man." Tracy called soldiers, and the insolent Mohawk was taken out and immediately hanged and all talk of peace was ended.

Tracy organized a force of 1,300 men, to march against the Mohawks, which he led in person. It consisted of 600 Canadians, including 110 "blue coats" (woodsmen) of Montreal, 600 regulars, and 100 Indian scouts. The long march to the Mohawk River tired the troops and exhausted their provisions. The French army came over Lake Champlain and Lake George to the head of the

latter lake where trails led southward in several directions—one along the Hudson, one southwestward to the Sacandaga and present Johnstown and Fonda, one past Long Lake, or Ballston Lake to Schenectady, with branches to the Mohawk near Kinquariones and Amsterdam. This latter route was the one taken by De Tracy. "After disembarking at the head of the lake [George], De Tracy led his army, by way of an Indian trail, southeasterly about nine miles to Glen Falls, where he crossed the Hudson, thence passing south of Moreau Pond and east of Mt. McGregor, through Doe's Corners, near Stiles Hill, following substantially the present highway along the base of the ridge of hills south of Mt. McGregor. From Saratoga, the expedition passed near Ballston, and thence, slightly curving, seems to have proceeded in a very direct course to the Mohawk castles which lay off to the westward."

The foregoing quotation is from Ellen H. Walworth's "Life and Times of Kateri Tekakwitha", and the route was deciphered by Gen. John S. Clarke from a map relating to the De Tracy expedition, now in Paris archives.

Parkman tells the story of this remarkable expedition in the inimitable, graphic manner, which makes him one of the greatest historians of all time. Quotations from his descriptions follow:

"A storm of wind set in, but, anxious to surprise the enemy, they pushed on all night amid the moan and roar of the forest, over slippery logs, tangled roots and oozy mosses, under dripping boughs and through saturated bushes. This time there was no want of good guides, and, when in the morning they issued from the forest, they saw, amid the cornfields, the palisades of the Indian stronghold."

The Mohawk scouts had learned of the advancing foe and the women and children of all the castles had been sent into the woods and the warriors had concentrated at the upper castle of Tionnontogen there to make a stand against the invaders. The French charged the lower castle of Osseruenon only to find it deserted. They then marched on to the next castle of Andagoron, only to discover that similarly empty of all life.

"Tracy lost no time but hastened in pursuit. A few Mohawks were seen on the hills, yelling and firing too far for effect. Repentigny, at the risk of his scalp, climbed a neighboring height and looked down on the little army, which seemed so numerous as it passed beneath 'that' writes the superior of the Ursulines, 'he told me that he thought the good angels must have joined with it, whereat he stood amazed'."

After taking two Mohawk castles and several smaller towns, Tracy thought he had completely conquered the Mohawk country, but, says Parkman, "an Algonquin squaw, who had followed her husband to war and who had once been a prisoner among the Mohawks, told them that there was still another above. The sun was near its setting and the men were tired with their pitiless marching, but again the order was given to advance. The eager squaw showed the way, holding a pistol in one hand and leading Courcelle with the other.

"The Caniengas (Flint People), as the Mohawks called themselves, were ready for the invaders. The women and children of the lower castles and towns had been sent to refuges in the woods previously selected. The Canienga warriors were armed for the fight and the attack was hourly expected. At this time, several captives held by the Mohawks were brought out to be tortured and burned in the public square of Tionnontogen. By these cruelties, the Caniengas hoped to propitiate their war-god, Aireskoi, and gain his favor for the approaching battle. This horrible performance ended, the women, children, old men, and male noncombatants were ordered into the woods on the heights above."

Hardly had this procession of Mohawk women, children, old men and a few incapable younger ones toiled up the hill and disappeared into the forest, when the French army rounded the base of the rock cliff of the Little Nose and was seen approaching along the south shore of the river. File after file, with drums beating, banners flying, arms and armor glittering in the sunlight, the advancing hosts, of the greatest army yet seen in the Mohawk Valley, approached the formidable stronghold of the Caniengas.

The Mohawk warriors, crouched behind their wooden ramparts on the hill, took a long look at the French hosts as they deployed for the attack and then, led by their chief, they opened their hill gate and fled up the steeps into the woods.

The French troops moved into attacking formation, the drums furiously beat the charge, and, with a cheer, the army rushed forward to assault the great Mohawk stronghold—only to find the Canienga castle deserted by its warriors. It was a bloodless victory but one with mighty results. The hill gate, through which the Mohawks had fled, was open and De Tracy and part of his tired warriors entered the wooden fortress.

The French were astonished as they looked about them. These Iroquois forts were very different from those that Jogues had seen here twenty years before, or from that from which, in earlier times, the Mohawks set Champlain and his Hurons at defiance.

The captured upper castle of Tionnontogen "was a quadrangle formed of a triple palisade, twenty feet high, and flanked with four bastions. Large vessels of bark filled with water were placed on the platforms of the palisade for defense against fire. The dwellings which these fortifications enclosed were, in many cases, built of wood, though the form and arrangement of the primitive bark lodge of the Iroquois seems to have been preserved. Some of the wooden houses were one hundred and twenty feet long with fires for eight or nine families. Here, and in subterranean caches, was stored a prodigious quantity of Indian corn and other provisions, and all the dwellings were supplied with carpenter's tools and many other appliances of comfort."

When the French entered the fort, they found, besides the blackened remains of the burned victims, only a small boy, two old squaws and a feeble old man, "who, being frightened by the noise of the drums, had hidden himself under a canoe." From them the victors learned that the Mohawks, retreating from the other castles, had gathered here resolved to fight to the last, but, at the sight of the French troops, their courage failed, and the chief was first to run, crying out, "Let us save ourselves, brothers, the whole world is coming against us." Parkman says:

"A cross was planted and, at its side, the royal arms. The troops were drawn up in battle array, when Jean Baptiste du Bois, an officer deputed by Tracy, advancing sword in hand to the front, proclaimed in a loud voice that he took possession in the name of the king, of all the country of the Mohawks and the troops shouted three times, 'Vive le Roi.'

"That night a mighty bonfire illuminated the Mohawk forests, and the scared savages, from their hiding places among the rocks, saw their palisades, their stores of food and all their possessions turned to cinders and ashes. The two old squaws, captured in the town, threw themselves in despair into the flames of their blazing homes."

Tionnontogen became a blackened heap of "smouldering embers rolling their pale smoke against the painted background of the October woods."

De Tracy, at the head of the destroying army, took up his backward march and, as he moved down the valley, he took supplies from the Mohawk castles and towns and then burned them. Governor Nicolls tried to arouse the New England colonies to join New York in striking Tracy's army but, like nearly all Colonial efforts along this line, it failed through the lack of unity, char-

acteristic of the English colonies. De Tracy's army returned to Canada unmolested. The French were united and thus always were formidable against the independent and jealous English provinces. The French thought that the chief Mohawk castle which they had destroyed was Andagoron. In this they were mistaken as the Canienga capital which they had burned was Tionnontogen, at present Sprakers Village.

TEKAKWITHA

"The Lily of the Mohawks"—whose saintly character has made her a prominent figure in the history of the Roman Catholic Church in America. From the statue unveiled at the Auriesville Shrine in 1923. She was baptized at the Castle of Caughnawaga, about one mile west of Fonda.

CHAPTER 18.

NEW NORTH SIDE MOHAWK TOWNS—1667.

JESUIT MISSIONS—CAUGHNAWAGA, CANAGORHA, CANAJOHARA AND TIONNONTOGEN OR TIONONDOGUE, DESCRIBED BY GREENHALGH IN 1677—CHRONOLOGY OF JESUIT MISSIONS AMONG THE MOHAWKS FROM 1648 TO 1684.

Following the destruction of their south side castles and towns by the French in the fall of 1666, the Mohawks spent a miserable winter among the ruins of their castles. They repaired and rebuilt and by dint of hardihood they survived the starvation and cold of the winter. The year 1667 found them somewhat cowed and miserable but at peace with their French and Algonquin enemies. The utter destruction wrought by De Tracy gave the Mohawks a changed idea of the power of New France and the peace party on both sides came more and more into control.

The Mohicans or Loups (Wolves) and the New England Algonquins now saw an opportunity for revenge against the Mohawks, who welcomed the French peace as it gave them a chance to face their Indian enemies in a new direction.

In the spring and summer of 1667, besides cultivating their old fields the Mohawks were clearing new castle sites at advantageous points on the north shore of the Mohawk and starting new corn fields in their vicinity. The labor of erecting new stockaded towns was a tremendous one for the small nation of the Mohawks. Their wars had cut their fighting strength almost in half since the time when they came into the valley. Where they had 500 warriors in 1640 they now had but 300. They had conquered their neighbors but had suffered terribly in their victories. Their warriors were also largely made up of adopted captives and the sons of captive women—but the strong national spirit of the Mohawks kept the tribe true to its traditions.

One of the most remarkable things in history is the power exercised by two small national bodies—who were deadly enemies—in America at the time of the English conquest in 1664. Then the French in New France numbered scarcely 2,500 souls while the Mohawks could never have exceeded 3,000 Indians. And yet these two little communities fought for the empire of

North America and, when both were exhausted by the struggle, the English stepped in and won the prize.

We can but admire the spirit of the priests and warriors of New France on the St. Lawrence and, in spite of their ferocity (common to all the Indians of northeastern North America), we must grant the virility and valor of the little nation of Mohawks along our river, who, at one time, held the fate of nations in their hands.

The Mohawks chose sites for their new towns or castles on the north shore of the Mohawk at the following sites: Caughnawaga, (or Gandawague) on the west side of the Cayadutta Creek at the extreme western outskirts of present Fonda; Canagora, on Briggs Run, about one mile east of Yosts station; Canajorha, on the Knauderack or Schenck's Hollow Creek, about two miles north of the Mohawk; and Tionnontogen (or Teonnontogen or Tionondogue), at present Wagner's Hollow. While the Mohawk tribe was hard at work making villages on these new sites, some of them lived at the old, and some at the new locations.

The terms of peace between New France and the Mohawks, were concluded in the summer of 1667 at Quebec and, in July, the Mohawk deputies left that city accompanied by the three Jesuit Fathers, Fremin, Pierron, and Bruyas. They were a visible sign of peace to the Mohawks, and they signified not only the power of the church but the might of New France. A Canienga scouting party led them from Lake George to the Mohawk River, probably at Dadanoscara, where they crossed to ruined Gandawague. Instead of being received with cruelty and beatings as Father Jogues had been, they were treated as the ambassadors of a victorious foe. At that time, the Mohawks were having a grand festival of drunken debauchery at the Canienga capital of Tionnontogen, which had been temporarily rebuilt on the west side of the Onagerea, at present Sprakers village. The Fathers were therefore obliged to remain for three days at Gandawague and were lodged in the cabin of Tegakwitha's uncle. All the family, except the little Mohawk maiden, were at the savage revels to the westward and Tegakwitha cooked for and served the Fathers during their stay. Her Catholic biographer says that it was this incident which led the Canienga girl to Christianity. Cholenec writes of this incident as follows:

"She was charged with the task of lodging the missionaries and attending to their wants. The modesty and sweetness with which she acquitted herself of this duty touched her new guests; while she on her part was struck with their affable manners,

their regularity in prayer, and the other exercises into which they divided the day".

While the blackgowns were the guests of this interesting Mohawk girl a Mohican war party killed an old squaw at the very gate of the town. The struggle between these two valiant Indian nations was again on. After repeated refusals, the dying Indian woman consented to baptism by one of the Fathers and the Jesuit missionary labors were thus again started along the Mohawk.

After three days at Gandawague, the French Fathers journeyed up the Mohawk to Tionnontogen, where the savages, shaken with their debaucheries, were easily overawed by the French Jesuit deputies' threats and words of authority, as the Jesuit Fathers doubtless knew they would be after their alcoholic orgie.

A great public reception of the ambassadors of New France was held in the public square of Tionnontogen, the Canienga (Mohawk) capital, which was attended by all the people of the Mohawk castles and towns. Father Fremin had had here erected "a great pole forty or fifty feet in height, from which a wampum belt was suspended. He then declared, on the part of Onnontio, (the governor of New France, as the Iroquois called him) that in like manner would hang the first Iroquois who should come to kill a Frenchman or any of their allies. The several thousand Mohawks, crowded into the village square, regarded with awe and horror this symbol of a form of death which they seemed to dread more than the torture fire. After a period of impressive silence, an old Mohawk, one of the best Canienga orators, arose and replied to Father Fremin's effective speech. He went through all imaginable mimicries to show his astonishment. As if ignorant of its meaning, he gesticulated and declaimed in the livliest manner, though a man of more than sixty years of age. Then he pretended to discover its true significance; he seized his throat, as Father Fremin tells us, "with both hands in a frightful way, grasping it tightly to represent, and at the same time, impress upon the multitude about him the horror of this kind of death. After he had spoken at length and with a surprising eloquence, exhibiting flashes of wit by no means common, he finished by delivering up the captives we demanded, and giving us the choice of the place where we would build our chapel, in the erection of which they proposed to go to work with all despatch. They moreover, delivered up to us a Frenchman, whom they had held captive for some time, and promised us the liberty of twelve Algonquins, partly of the nation of the Nez Perces, partly of that of the Outaouacs (Ottawas)."

Father Fremin thus established the mission of St. Mary's in a bark chapel at Tionnontogen, which had been temporarily rebuilt on the low, steep bluff on the west side of the Onagerea (Plattekill) at present Sprakers Basin. Just how long the Wolf Clan remained there is not known. The Mohawk Wolves were working on a new castle, probably on the site where the remains of a large Mohawk town lie, near present Wagner's Hollow, about three miles northeast of present Fort Plain. The Canienga capital was probably moved to the new site as soon as possible (probably before 1670), as it was essential, for safety, to have all the castles on the north side of the river, where all the others were building. Father Bruyas was stationed at the south side (Sprakers) Tionnontogen and also in the new north side town of that name, and here he compiled his valuable dictionary of the Mohawk language. Later Bruyas went to labor among the Oneidas, leaving Father Fremin alone with the difficulties of maintaining peace and establishing Christianity among the intractable Mohawks. Fremin gathered the Christian Hurons who were held captive in the Mohawk towns and preached, taught and baptized with but seemingly small results among the Mohawks. His position as a representative of French power, gave him influence with these Indians and he even saved an Ottawa captive from burning, a most unusual exhibition of power.

After the beginning of Jesuit missionary work at Tionnontogen, Father Pierron made a journey eastward to visit his Dutch friends in Schenectady and Albany, where he was hospitably received. Early in 1668, he retraced his steps over the Mohawk warpath northward to Quebec, where he reported the work of the Jesuit embassy to Governor de Courcelles.

Father Pierron returned to the Mohawk castles, reaching Tionnontogen, October 7, 1668. Here he replaced Father Fremin, the founder of St. Mary's, who went westward to the Oneida mission. Pierron was thus left in sole charge of the difficult missionary work among the Mohawks.

After 1668, Pierron located his mission at the castle of Caughnawaga, on the western edge of Fonda, (Dutch, Caughnawaga) on the (1890) Vedder farm. Here Pierron built a log chapel which he called the mission of St. Peter's, after which he made his home at the lower or Turtle Castle of Caughnawaga. The Mohawks, who were here converted on the banks of the Mohawk River carried this town name with them and gave it to their new Caughnawaga, on the south shore of the rapids of the St. Lawrence above Montreal. The name Caugh-na-wa-ga, pronounced

Kaug-na-wa-ga (with a hard guttural g sound), has been variously translated as "the Turtle village" or "at the rapids". The Caughnawaga Castle lay on the low bluff rising from the rapids of the Cayadutta and the new home beside the foaming "sault" of the St. Lawrence, was appropriately named with regard to either meaning.

Father Pierron, like a number of priests and nuns of his day, had considerable skill as an artist and he painted several pictures which he found more useful in spreading the Gospel than teaching by word of mouth. His pictures were the wonder of the Mohawk villages and these Canienga people probably secretly held him in high repute because of them. As Pierron was doubtless the first artist of the Mohawk Valley, his description of one of his religious paintings is of much interest. In the Jesuit Relations he tells that: "Among these representations I have made, there is one contrasting a good with a miserable death. What led me to make this was that I saw the old men and the old women would stop their ears with their fingers the moment I began to speak to them of God, and would say to me 'I do not hear'. I therefore represented, on one side of my picture, a Christian who dies a saintly death, with the hands joined as of one holding the cross and his rosary; then his soul is carried by an angel to heaven and the blessed spirits appear awaiting it. On the other side, I have put, lower down, a woman broken with age who is dying, and unwilling to listen to a missionary Father who points her to paradise; she holds both ears closed with her fingers; but a demon from hell seizes her arms and himself puts his fingers in the ears of the dying woman. Her soul is carried by three demons and an angel, who comes out of a cloud sword in hand, and hurls them into a bottomless pit. This representation has furnished me an occasion to speak of the immortality of our souls and of the good and bad of the other life; and when they once catch the import of my picture, no one presumes to say any more 'I do not hear'."

Thus did the clever Jesuit Father impress the intractable Mohawks with an object lesson in his religion. Father Pierron's task was not an easy one in the turmoil of the Canienga country. Every month he visited the seven towns of the Mohawks, which lay along the Mohawk from the Cayadutta to the Garoga, a distance of over twenty miles by the trails of that day. Besides the castles of Caughnawaga, Canagora, Canajorha and Tionnontogen, there were three unfortified towns and, as usual with the Mohawks, a number of scattered hamlets. Also, after

the first fear of the power of the French Jesuit priests had worn off, the Caniengas frequently treated the blackgown rudely. During their frequent drunken debauches, both his person and his mission were in danger. Father Boniface arrived at Tionnontogen to help Pierron in his labors. The Father thus describes the drunken turmoil of a Mohawk village debauch:

"It seems sometimes as if the whole village had run mad, so great is the license they take when they give up to drinking. They have hurled firebrands at our heads; they have thrown our papers into the fire; they have broken open our chapel; they have often threatened us with death; and, during the three or four days that the debaucheries last and which recur with frequency, we must suffer a thousand insults, without complaint, without food or sleep. In their fury, they upset everything which comes their way and even butcher one another, not sparing relative, friend, countryman or stranger. These things are carried to such excess that the place seems to us no longer tenable; but we shall leave it only with life. When the storm is over, we are left to go on with our duties quite peaceably."

Pierron preached so strongly against this dreadful evil, which was harming the Mohawks more than their constant warfare with their enemies, that the chiefs at last gave heed to his warnings. They held a council and, as a result, in 1668, addressed Governor Lovelace, through Father Pierron, asking him to stop the deadly traffic in liquor by the traders of Albany. The governor replied, with a promise "to take all possible care, under the severest penalties, to restrain and oppose the furnishing any excess to the Indians. And I am delighted to see such virtuous thoughts proceed from heathen to the shame of many Christians; but this must be attributed to your pious instructions, for, well versed in strict discipline, you have shown them the way of mortification both by your precepts and practise."

These promises to stop the liquor traffic among the Mohawks were frequently made but seemingly without any permanent effect. Sir William Johnson was one of the strongest advocates of its prohibition, but he never seemed able to suppress it. The rum and brandy sold to the Indians not only wrecked their bodies but had a permanently brutalizing effect on their already savage minds, making them less terrible to their enemies but a source of great danger to their friends and neighbors. However, as some so-called human beings will always do anything for money, so these depraved traders of Albany continued this traffic at the risk of their own scalps. As there are two sides to every story

and, as the vacillating and capricious Indian character is well known, it also should be understood that, had the Albany traders discontinued the liquor traffic among the Mohawks and other Iroquois, these Indians would have sought firewater in Montreal and Quebec, to the great detriment of the English cause. As the Indian had far less self control than the white man, the race was practically doomed when the first American Indian swallowed his first drink of rum. Governor Lovelace's reservation as to "any excess to the Indians" is amusing as even a spoonful of rum was "excess" to an Indian.

To the student of psychology, the actual conversion of the Mohawks to the Christian religion in the Seventeenth century, seems an impossible task, but the zeal of the Jesuits was unbounded and they actually succeeded in time in making a number of Mohawk converts. Father Pierron, however, knew the limitations and set character of the Iroquois mind as the following will show:

"I have attacked drunkenness and lewdness, which are divinities of this country, so madly are these people devoted to them. I have combated these vices * * * I have employed gentleness and vigor, threats and entreaties, labors and tears, to build up this new church and to convert these poor savages. There remains nothing more than to shed my blood for their salvation, that which I long for with all the desires of my heart. But, after all, I have not yet observed in them those marked amendments which the Holy spirit effects in those of the heathen whom he would put in the number of the faithful."

Taking courage from the blow dealt the Mohawks by the French, the enemies of the Caniengas grew bold in their attacks. While the new castles were being built on the north side, Mohican and other enemy scalping parties infested the Mohawk River country and cut off individuals and small parties of Mohawks. A number of Canienga squaws were killed and scalped or captured, as they were easy victims. The Mohawks seem to have been too busy with their moving to have seriously retaliated at this time.

The north shore Mohawk castles, as newly built, are described in detail in the account of Wentworth Greenhalgh, the explorer, who passed through the Mohawk Valley in 1677. "in a journey from Albany to ye Indians, westward; begun May 20, 1677, and ended July ye 14 following". He says:

"The Maquaes have four towns, vizt. Cahaniaga, Canagora,

Canajorha, Tionondogue, besides one small village about 110 miles from Albany.

"Cahaniaga is double stockadoed round; has four ports, about four feet wide apiece, conteyns about 24 houses, and is situate upon the edge of an hill, about a bow shott from the river side.

"Canagora is only singly stockadoed; has about four ports like the former, conteyns about 16 houses; it is situated upon a fflatt, a stone's throw from ye water side.

"Canajorha is also singly stockadoed, and the like manr of ports and quantity of houses as Canagora; the like situacon; only about two miles distant from the water.

"Tionondogue is double stockadoed around, has four ports, four foot wide a piece, contains abt 30 houses; is scituated on a hill a bow shott from ye River.

"The small village is without ffence, and conteyns about ten houses; lyes close to the river side, on the north side, as do all the former.

"The Maquaes pass in all for about 300 fighting men.

"Their Corn grows close by the River side."

The sole remaining evidence of these long vanished Mohawk towns is Tekakwitha's spring, situated about a half mile north of the Mohawk Turnpike, on the banks of the Cayadutta. This served the household purposes of the squaws and maidens of Caughnawaga, in their day, and it also forms a pleasing picture, in one of Miss Walworth's graphic descriptions of "The Life and Times of Kateri Tekakwitha."

"Above the spring at Fonda, on the high plateau, where is now the well-tilled farm, stood, two centuries ago, the log-built palisades of ancient Caughnawaga. In tall and close-set ranks, they served to hide from view and shield from ambush the long, low Indian houses, twenty-four in number. 'Double-stockadoed round, with four ports', as when the traveller Greenhalgh saw the place in 1677, 'and a bow-shott from the river', stands the strong Mohawk castle. The blackened stumps that now dot the sunny hillside of the Cayadutta, change into the old-time, mighty forest, and present a scene that is full of life; for down a well-worn footpath come the Indian girls to fill their jugs at the spring—afterwards to be known as Tekakwitha's Spring."

* * * * *

"A manuscript of the time," says Shea, "describes the Indian maiden with her well-oiled and neatly parted hair descending in a long plait behind, while a fine chemise was met at the waist by a neat and well-trimmed petticoat reaching to the knee; below

this was the rich legging and then the well-fitted moccasin, the glory of the Iroquois belle. The neck was loaded with beads while the crimson blanket enveloped the whole form."

"This, in general, is the costume of the merry group with Tekakwitha at the spring. The upper garment, however, is a kind of tunic or simple overdress; nor can it be said that all are equally neat in their appearance. Some have their dark, straight hair tied loosely back and hanging down or else with wampum braided in it. A few are clothed in foreign stuff, bought from the Dutch for beaver skins and worn in shapeless pieces hung about them with savage carelessness. On their dark arms the sunlight flashes back from heavily beaded wrists and arm bands, begged or borrowed from their more industrious companions. Not like theirs is Tekakwitha's costume. It is made of deer and moose skins—all of native make and stitched together by a practised hand, as every one of the pretty squaws well knew. Her needle was a small bone from the ankle of the deer, her thread the sinews of the same light-footed animal, whose brain she mixed with moss and used to tan the skins and make the soft brown leather which she shaped so deftly into tunic, moccasins and leggings. Her own skirt was scarce so richly worked with quills of the porcupine as that of her adopted sister there beside her, though both were made by Tekakwitha's hands.

"The Indian girls about her like her for her generous nature and her merry, witty speeches. She makes them laugh right heartily, while she stands waiting for her jug to fill at the trickling spring.

"These daughters of the Iroquois are bubbling over with good spirits and their pottery jugs with water, when all at once they spy a band of hunters coming homeward down the Cayadutta valley from the Sacondaga country. Knowing there is one among them who but waits his chance to lay his wealth of beaver skins at Tekakwitha's feet and take her for his wife, they turn girl-like to tease her; but the quick and timid orphan, dreading the license of their tongues, has bounded up the hill and hastens to her uncle's cabin with her jug, leaving her companions to bandy words with the young hunters as they stop beside the little pool for a draught of refreshing water."

Gone is the forest glade and its Mohawk maidens,—gone the Indian town and its painted warriors—gone the Caniengas from the scene of their former greatness, but Tekakwitha's spring still wells its clear waters beside the Cayadutta.

* * * * *

The following interesting chronology covers the period of the French Jesuit missions along the Mohawk, from the time of the death of Father Jogues, in 1646, to their end in 1684. It is taken from the August, 1902, issue of "The Pilgrim of Our Lady of Martyrs," which was published for a time in the interests of the Shrine of Our Lady of Martyrs at Auriesville. This condensed record covers the years described in this and the two following chapters:

1647. A band of Algonquin Christians were tortured and slain, with unusual cruelty, from hatred of their Prayer.

1648-9-50. The Mohawks took a principal part in the destruction of the Huron missions and massacres of the Jesuit priests, Daniel, Brébeuf, Lalemant and Garnier.

1650-1. Several leading Algonquin Christians were burned in the Mohawk villages, with added tortures for their faith: also a captive French woman, Catherine Boudart. Blind Monica and other native Christians kept the memory of the faith alive among the captives.

1653. Father Anthony Joseph Poncet captured and tortured; he exercised the ministry of a Catholic priest, for the first time in Albany, on a visit to that place, and was sent back to Canada by the Black River route.

1655-6-7. Flying missions, with visits to Albany, of Father Simon Lemoyne; at the same time a settled mission was attempted at Onondaga (near Syracuse), where the first chapel in the state was erected, with three sodalities of the Christians.

In this and following years, many native Christians were captured and put to death, often with additional cruelties because of their faith; among others three sodalists, one the prefect of the Huron Sodality. French captives were also tortured. Catherine Tegakwita was born in 1656, of an Algonquin Christian mother, who was married in captivity to a Mohawk chief, but died before the baptism of her children.

1666. After an unsuccessful expedition of Courcelles, which reached Schenectady, the Marquis De Tracy, lieutenant-general of the French king, marched with the regiment Carignan-Salieres, famous in the wars against the Turks, into the country of the Mohawks and destroyed their villages. He was accompanied by two secular priests, MM. Cosson and du Bois, and by the Jesuit missionaries, Raffeix and Albanel, who celebrated Mass with Te Deum. The burning of the village [Oct. 18, 1666] was on the twentieth anniversary of Father Jogues' death [Oct. 18, 1646].

1667. Founding of settled mission, called St. Mary's, though still retaining the old name of Mission of the Martyrs, by Fathers Fremin and Pierron. In the following years, arrival of Fathers Beschefer, Nicolas, and Boniface. The latter had charge of the first village, now moved across the river higher up and known as Gandaouague (Caughnawaga)—St. Peter's.

1670. The Jesuit lay-brother Maigneret superintended building of churches in two villages. Fifteen leading Mohawk Christians went for Christian training to Notre Dame de Foye, near Quebec.

1673. Large bands of native Christians took refuge in the Canadian reservation (now Caughnawaga, near Montreal). Father Boniface died worn out, and Father Bruyas, general Superior of the Iroquois missions, now resided at the upper Mohawk Church (St. Mary's).

1675. Father James de Lamberville came for lower mission, bringing the venerated statue of Our Lady of Foye, devotion to which was inaugurated on the Feast of the Immaculate Conception.

1676. Easter Sunday, Father de Lamberville baptized Catherine Tegakwia in the church at St. Peter's. Kryn, the great Mohawk, led new bands of Christians to the Canadian reservation.

1677. Hot Ashes, one of the murderers of Father de Brebeuf in 1649, but now chief of the Oneida converts in Canada, helped Catherine Tegakwita to escape to the reservation near Montreal. Father Francis Vaillant de Gueslis, the last resident missionary, took charge of all the Mohawk missions.

1680. Brother Maigneret again at work at church building.

1684. At the beginning of the year, all the missions were abandoned. Father Vaillant came to Albany in 1687, as French envoy, but was prevented from visiting his flock. The Mohawk Indians were henceforth under English influence, and those already Christians took refuge in Canada. There may afterwards have been a few flying visits from missionaries of the west; Catholic Indians from Canada continued trying to draw their countrymen to the faith by frequent visits as late as 1730.

CHAPTER 19.

NORTH SIDE MOHAWK CASTLES AND JESUIT MISSIONS 1666-1693.

1669, CONDOLENCE CEREMONY AT CAUGHNAWAGA—FATHER PIERRON IN A CONTROVERSY—INDUCES THE MOHAWKS TO RENOUNCE THE WORSHIP OF AIRESKOI—1670, FATHER PIERRON IN CHARGE AT TIONNONTOGEN, FATHER BONIFACE AT CAUGHNAWAGA—1671, FATHER BRUYAS IN CHARGE OF THE MOHAWK MISSIONS—CHRISTMAS AT ST. PETER'S, CAUGHNAWAGA—1684, FATHER DE LAMBERVILLE AT CAUGHNAWAGA —KRYN LEADS FORTY MOHAWK CONVERTS TO CANADA—1675, FATHER HENNEPIN VISITS THE MOHAWK MISSIONS—1676, TEGAHKWITA'S BAPTISM—1677, TEGAHKWITA ESCAPES TO CANADA—1677, VISIT OF GREENHALGH—ADARIO, THE HURON "RAT," STARTS WAR—1689, THE IROQUOIS ATTACK MONTREAL, KILLING AND CAPTURING 400—BEGINNING OF KING WILLIAM'S WAR.

Following the attack of the Mohicans at Caughnawaga and their defeat at Kinquariones, in 1669, the Mohawks, together with some Oneida and Onondaga warriors, sent a war party into the enemy's country. The Mohawks, in turn, were defeated and lost a number of warriors. They returned to Caughnawaga where, as usual after warfare, they held their impressive condolence ceremony for the relatives of the Iroquois warriors slain in the Mohican warfare. This solemn ceremony at Caughnawaga, has been said by some historians to have been the Feast of the Dead, with which it had no connection. It is evident that Father Pierron did not truly understand the significance of this ceremony or else he was constantly on the watch to undermine their racial beliefs and traditions, the more readily to convert them to Christianity. The condolence ceremony was held at Caughnawaga in the fall of 1669, attended by practically all the Mohawks, while the Onondagas and Oneidas who were present stood by themselves in two separate tribal groups, as was their custom.

An Onondaga chief rose and made a speech, then the Mohawk chiefs, following the custom of the solemn occasion, in turn repeated the chief fables and superstitions of the nation. Father Pierron had been an attentive listener and keen observer of the ceremonies. Suddenly Pierron began to speak. "He is telling fables of his own with a ridiculous twist. A Mohawk chief commands him to be silent. Instantly the solemn ceremonial of the Mohawks becomes an uproar. In the turmoil of noise some are

bidding the priest to be still, saying that he is ridiculing their rites and interfering with their national customs; others denounced the chieftain for discourtesy in telling the Jesuit Father to cease speaking."

Pierron evidently had seized upon a psychological moment to deliver a blow at the foundations of the Iroquois traditions, thinking to make their beliefs ridiculous and to turn them to the teachings of Christianity. Knowing his hold on the people, the Jesuit boldly addressed the chief:

"Dost thou know, indeed, that thou hast given me the keenest affront I could have received? But who art thou to order me to be silent, and am I here to obey thee? If I had treated thee after this sort at Quebec, wouldst thou not have had cause to complain; but in what have I spoken evil, that my mouth should be closed? And if I speak the truth, why art thou not willing to hear?" The chief replied that it was their custom on these occasions to keep up their fables. Pierron stoutly rejoined: "It is your custom to get intoxicated; honestly, is it a good custom, and ought I to approve it? It is your custom to violate every law of reason, and to live as the beasts; think you it is not my duty to reprove you for all these vices? And yet you impose silence upon me when I would speak to you. Is this reasonable?"

Having thus vigorously defended himself, Pierron left the Mohawk group and joined that of the Onondagas "who received him with marked respect." Then the singing began and other features of the ceremony continued for five hours, after which Father Pierron returned to his cabin.

The rumor spread among the Mohawks that the blackgown was to return to Montreal and fear of the wrath of New France and the memory of De Tracy's terrible raid, combined to make the Mohawks uneasy. The chief who had offended Pierron visited him and their differences were settled and between them a council was decided upon to which all the chiefs of the Mohawk nation were invited.

The council was held in Father Pierron's cabin. Here the Jesuit spoke boldly, telling the Mohawks to renounce Aireskoi, their war demon, to worship the true God, and bidding the medicine men to discard their charms for natural remedies and the nation to forego the superstitions of the dances. His words were received by the assembled chieftains with applause.

At a second council, the delegation from Onondaga was present and the gathering was addressed by Garacontie, an Onondaga chief who later became a powerful Christian leader. His speech

was strongly in favor of Pierron and his cause. The Father seemed to have won the day when the sorcerers cast their turtle-shell rattles into the fire. The royanders (lords) of the Mohawks brought their sons to Pierron for instruction in Christianity and Rawenniis (God) apparently had triumphed over Aireskoi. Father Pierron, however, knew the Indian character and wrote: "Their natural inconstancy still divides my heart between fear and joy." Probably a considerable part of the foregoing apparent Indian amenability to the blackgown's teaching was a subterfuge intended to appease Pierron and avert the wrath of France.

In 1670, Garacontie was baptized and confirmed at Quebec by Bishop de Petree. His godfather was Governor de Courcelle and his godmother was Mlle. Boutrouee, the daughter of the intendant. On entering the chateau, after his confirmation, Garacontie was honored by a salute from the cannon of the fort and the musketry of the soldiers. By these clever devices, the French tried to win the Iroquois to their side and they boasted, in 1674, that they had induced 200 Iroquois warriors to become allies and residents of New France and converts to Christianity. The seeming success was but short lived in spite of the efforts of the Jesuits and the clever French governors.

Father Pierron soon took charge of the mission of St. Mary's at the Mohawk capital, or upper castle of Tionnontogen (located at present Wagner's Hollow, northeast of Fort Plain), while his assistant, Father Boniface, had charge of the mission of St. Peter's, a small bark chapel which the Mohawks had built for the Jesuits at Caughnawaga. In 1670, the Fathers recorded eighty-four baptisms at the two missions.

In 1671, Father Bruyas took charge of the Mohawk mission, Father Pierron having been ordered to a new Christian Indian village, St. Francis Xavier Des Pres, then being organized on the banks of the St. Lawrence.

To this "Praying Castle"—the new Caughnawaga of the St. Lawrence—many Christian converts came from the Mohawk and other Iroquois castles. All the Indians who went to live at St. Francis Xavier Du Sault (as the place was known after its removal to the Lachine rapids) had to renounce three of their most cherished customs—"first, the idolatry of dreams; second, the changing of wives, a practice in vogue at Iroquois feasts; and third, drunkenness. Anyone among them known to have relapsed into any of these practices was expelled at once from the settlement by the ruling chiefs."

At this time the Jesuit missions of St. Mary's and St. Peter's

seemed full of wonderful promise for the French priests and New France. Father Boniface succeeded in winning many Mohawks to Christianity, thirty adult converts being made in a short time. Miss Walworth's "Kateri Tekakwitha" has the following interesting description concerning this period of Caughnawaga:

"After the morning and evening prayers at the chapel, a choir of children sang hymns in the Iroquois language; and every Sunday the primitive Christian love-feast, or ceremony of blessed bread, took place in the cabin of a pious Mohawk woman.

"At Christmas time the little bark chapel at Caughnawaga was aglow with lights and bedecked with evergreens. All day long the people of the Turtle village, much changed in mind since the torture and murder of Isaac Jogues, stole silently in and out of St. Peter's rustic shrine. The cross, considered uncanny and strange in the days of Goupil, had at last become a familiar sign among the Turtles in the Mohawk Valley. The crowd that gathered at the chapel door on Christmas day looked up at it again and again as they stood out in the snow and the cold December blast, waiting patiently for an opportunity to enter. There in the Chapel, Father Boniface had placed a fair little statue of the infant Jesus lying in his wretched manger on the straw. This Christmas crib was a strange and wonderful sight to the simple Indians. Those who had become Christians told and retold the Bethlehem story in all its details to the curious people who gathered about the image of the little Christ child to gaze and wonder."

Probably to aid their fur trade which had suffered during the war, the Dutch of Albany brought about a council of peace between the Mohawks and Mohicans at Albany, in 1672. The paths to the Hudson then became open to the Mohawks who promptly began to bring back casks of liquor from Albany and Schenectady. Many deaths among the Mohawks followed from alcoholism, which were attributed to a "fever" caused by the firewater. Peace, at times, was more deadly to the Iroquois than war.

In 1673, Count Frontenac held a great council with the Iroquois at Fort Frontenac (Kingston, Canada), where he temporarily gained their favor by a lavish distribution of presents.

When the Hollanders retook New Netherland in 1673, the Mohawks made a new treaty with the Dutch and in 1674, chiefs from Caughnawaga (also written Kaghnewage) and Kanagaro (also written Candagaro) visited the Dutch governor, Anthony Colve. The English recaptured the province in 1674 and continued to be its masters for just a century.

In 1673, Father Boniface was compelled to give up his mission work at Caughnawaga because of his health, broken by the unaccustomed hardships of Indian life. He left Caughnawaga, taking with him to New France a number of the Mohawk villagers whom he had converted to Christianity. This was the first of the exodus of the Christian Indian converts ("Praying Indians") from Caughnawaga and it caused great anger among the Pagan Mohawks.

In 1674, Father Jean de Lamberville arrived to take Father Boniface's place in the Caughnawaga mission. He was passing "slowly along through the rows of long, low, bark-covered houses forming the Turtle village," when he stopped at the cabin of Tegahkwita's chieftain uncle. He entered and met the little Indian maiden who announced her intention of asking for baptism and confirmation, in spite of the fact that two old Indian women were in the cabin at the time. After this Tegahkwita was cruelly treated by her uncle and aunts and her former girl associates. She had previously refused to become the wife of a young warrior and her relatives began to abuse her for what they considered a double offense to their tribal traditions. Her former companions also scorned and tormented her—all, in fact, but those of the Turtle village who had adopted Christianity. Her adopted sister, Anastasia Tegonhatsihongo, had already married. She and her husband had become converted to Christianity and had gone to the mission at St. Xavier.

Kryn, the great Mohawk, had some trouble with his Christian wife at their home in Caughnawaga, the difficulty arising over some dispute concerning their beautiful daughter. Because of this family row, Kryn left home and wandered about. In his journey he came, in 1674, to the "Praying Castle" on the St. Lawrence and there met Father Fremin who converted him to Christianity. He returned to Caughnawaga on the Mohawk and became reconciled with his wife. His lovely Mohawk daughter had died in his absence. Gathering some forty Christian converts from among his old followers, Kryn and his wife returned to the mission of St. Xavier on the St. Lawrence in New France. Kryn's Indian name was Togouiroui and, upon his baptism, he received the name of Joseph, thus becoming, as was the custom, Joseph Togouiroui. He was a Mohawk of great force of character and a natural leader of men. His warm adherence to New France and the Catholic religion was a source of strength to the French cause.

War had been constant for several years between the Andastes

(Susquehannas) and the Onondagas, Cayugas and Senecas, but that the Iroquois were divided on the subject is shown by the fact that the Mohawks, in 1675, said that "the Andastes were their brothers and might live with them." The friendship of the Mohawks did little good, for the Andastes were completely conquered within a few years.

King Philip's war was raging in New England in 1675 and he then tried to secure the aid of the Mohawks, whom he is said to have visited in that year. In order to gain our Valley Iroquois to his side, Philip had some of the Mohawks murdered and then attributed the crimes to the British. The trick was discovered and the Mohawks became his worst enemies.

In 1675, besides King Philip, (if he indeed came here) the Mohawks had two famous visitors. The English governor, Edmund Andros, went through the eastern Mohawk Valley on a visit to all the Mohawk castles, ending his tour at the Great Upper Castle of the Wolves—the Mohawk capitol of Tionnontogen (or Tionnondogue), probably then located at present Wagner's Hollow. This visit was made to keep the Mohawks allies of the English in King Philip's war.

In 1675, Father Hennepin came to Canada and engaged in mission work. He also visited the Oneidas, Onondagas and Mohawks, of which last visit he writes:

"At last we arrived at the Gannickez Agniez. This is one of Five Iroquois Nations, situated a good day's journey from the neighborhood of New Netherland. We remained some time among this last named nation, and were lodged with a Jesuit Father, born in Lyons, in order to transcribe a little Iroquois dictionary."

They were guests of Father Bruyas at Tionnontogen. The names "Gannickez Agniez" are both French distortions of the Mohawk's own name, Caniengas, "Flint People," a most appropriate name, considering the character of these Valley Iroquois.

In 1676, Kryn returned to Caughnawaga and led another exodus of the Mohawks to New France. The Mission of the Mountain was founded this year to which some of Kryn's pilgrims probably went. In the same year, the mission of St. Xavier a la Prairie de la Magdeliene was removed farther up the St. Lawrence to the Lachine rapids where it became the mission of St. Xavier du Sault (St. Xavier of the Rapids), so called by the French, but always referred to as Caughnawaga by the English, Americans and Indians.

Tegahkwita was baptized by Father de Lamberville at the mission of St. Peter's in Caughnawaga on Easter Sunday, 1676.

Miss Walworth in "Kateri Tekakwitha" gives a wonderful picture of that far off Easter day in the vanished Caughnawaga castle of the Caniengas:

"The Indian girls on that Easter morning, ready, as always, for a pageant or ceremonial of any kind, crowded about the door of the rustic chapel, inside and out. Some of them carried their little brothers or sisters tied to their backs on cradle-boards. Some were gorgeous with their bright-colored blankets and beads. Proudly they tossed their heads, these Mohawk girls, sure at least of their share of admiration from the young braves, notwithstanding that the old chief's niece was for the moment attracting more attention in the town than usual. What did her wonderful reputation for virtue amount to, after all? Much hard work, some of them thought, and a scant allowance of fun or excitement. But for once all eyes were centered on the quiet maiden, as she issued from her uncle's lodge, and with two companions, also ready for baptism, neared the door of the chapel. It was easy to see that most of the people of Caughnawaga respected and honored her on account of her virtue. There was a time when the Iroquois had vaunted the chastity of their women, and on that account held their heads higher than any other race of Indians. On this glorious Easter day, the Mohawks seemed to realize at least in a general way, that the maiden Tekakwitha, whom they knew to be as strong in will as their own flint rock and as pure at heart as their crystal spring, had caught up the beautiful crown that was fast falling from them. They felt that she at least, while she lived, could be trusted to hold it securely above the mire into which they were sinking faster and faster.

"On the day of Tekakwitha's baptism, the light which the blackgown brought with him to the Mohawk country beamed with unquenchable brightness from her quiet but joyful face, and glimmered in scattered reflection on the faces of the crowd through which she passed. There men and women, warriors, hunters, jugglers, boys and girls of every age—in a word, all who were in the village had gathered in groups to watch what was taking place at the chapel of St. Peter. The blackgown took care to render the baptism of an adult, and especially of such a noteworthy one as the niece of the chief, as impressive as possible; it was conducted with all due solemnity.

"Never before had the Christians of Caughnawaga been more generous with their gifts. They had offered their richest furs to adorn the chapel in honor both of Easter day and of Tekakwitha's baptism. The walls were hung with beaver and elk skins.

There were bear skin rugs and buffalo hides, embroidered in many colors, both under foot and on every side. Belts of wampum festooned the rafters. Blossoming branches of shrubs and clusters of frail little wild-flowers that grew in the ravines near by, decorated the altar. The entrance door was embowered in green. The approach to the chapel was through an avenue of budding trees, which had been planted there by the missionaries, to give an air of seclusion and dignity to the sacred portal. In them the birds were building their nests, and kept up a continual fluttering, chirping, and trilling. The blackgown's well-trained choir of Indian boys and girls, already within the chapel, were watching for Tekakwitha to enter. When the three catechumens appeared at the door, Father de Lamberville, in surplice and violet stole, advanced to meet them. Sturdy Mohawk boys who had learned to serve at the altar, attended him. The ceremony began at the chapel door. Katherine was the Christian name to be given to Tekakwitha. Clear and distinct were the words of the priest, as he asked the following questions: 'Katherine, what dost thou ask of the Church of God?' Then came the short, sweet answer, 'Faith.' 'What doth faith lead thee to?' 'Life everlasting,' was the response. The blackgown, still using the words of the time-honored ceremonial, continues: 'If then thou wilt enter into life, keep the commandments. Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, with all thy soul, and with all thy mind, and thy neighbor as thyself.' This exhortation sank deep into the soul of Tekakwitha. Fervent and collected in spirit, she strove to catch the meaning of each word and sign. Father de Lamberville went on with the sacred rite. Breathing on her thrice, as she stood with head bowed down, he exorcised the Evil one, saying: 'Go out of her, thou unclean spirit! Give place to the Holy Spirit, the Paraclete!' She raised her head at these words, and he signed her forehead and breast with the cross."

For a time after Tegahkwita's baptism, her relatives in the old chief's household seem to have let her alone, but gradually they began to abuse her. The chief, her uncle, was bitter against Father Boniface and the chief Kryn who had led so many of the castle away to Canada, thereby weakening his Turtle village of Caughnawaga. The old chief's wife, with her evil tongue, constantly tormented the gentle Kateri.

Miss Walworth speaks thus of this old beldame: "This evil minded old squaw, who looked through the murky cloud of her own sins at the brightness and holiness of the young life so close to hers, disliked its radiance." This aunt went to Father de

Lamberville with a long string of lies about her niece, Kateri. When the Jesuit learned their falsity, he sharply reproved the hag. About this time, her uncle tried to intimidate Tegahkwita by sending a rough young warrior to frighten her from her Christian ways. He rushed upon her with tomahawk upraised, but the intrepid young Mohawk girl only bowed her head to the blow and the ruffian, abashed, slunk out of the cabin.

In December, 1676, at the feast of the Immaculate Conception, occurred the blessing of a new religious statue at the Mission of St. Mary's at the Capitol castle of Tionnontogen. This was the figure of Notre Dame de Foye, a replica of a highly venerated statue of the Virgin in Belgium. It was sent to Father Bruyas as a gift to his Christian disciples among the Mohawks. The Caniengas were extremely susceptible to the influence of works of art and this statue created great interest among Christians and Pagan alike. "It was placed in the chapel in such a way that a bright ray of light, falling through a small opening in the bark wall, fell directly upon the Madonna. The Indians had not seen anything so beautiful and new to them since Boniface showed them, on Christmas day at Caughnawaga, the little statue of the Christ-child lying in the manger."

In 1677, Tegahkwita joined the Mohawks in their spring hunt at their Saratoga hunting grounds. Some of the squaws and young women accompanied these hunting parties to "keep house" for the hunters.

Later in 1677, the husband of Anastasia, Tegahkwita's adopted sister, came to Caughnawaga with the Oneida chief, Hot Ashes, in an attempt to aid Kateri to escape to Canada. The Oneida was one of the leading Iroquois chieftains who had been converted and gone to New France to live. His combination Christian-Indian name was Louis Garonhiague. While Kateri's fierce old uncle was absent on one of his periodical visits to Albany, Tegahkwita entered a canoe with her two friends and paddled down the Mohawk to present Amsterdam, where they took the trail for Lake George which has previously been described. On returning home, and finding his niece missing, Kateri's uncle shouldered his gun and started in pursuit "roaring he would kill somebody." He even caught up with the fugitives, but they had concealed Tegahkwitha and, although he passed quite near her hiding place, her uncle could find no trace of her. He returned to Caughnawaga without injuring anybody. After the long canoe trip over Lake George and Lake Champlain, Kateri and her companions safely reached the new Caughnawaga on the

St. Lawrence. Here Kateri made her home in the cabin of her adopted sister Anastasia Tegonhatsihongo. Tegahkwita was henceforth known by her baptismal name of Kateri, an Indian form of Katherine. She became one of the chief figures among the Christian Indians of the Mission of St. Xavier du Sault (Caughnawaga) gaining a great reputation among them for her piety and the sanctity of her life. She died there April 17, 1680, aged twenty-four years, the most famous Christian convert among the Indian women of the Iroquois race.

On Tegahkwitha's death at Caughnawaga, she was interred in the little Indian cemetery beside the noble St. Lawrence River. A large wooden cross was raised to mark the grave, which was several times renewed. In 1888 a large granite monument was sent to Caughnawaga on the St. Lawrence from the Mohawk Valley, the land of Tegahkwita's birth. It bears the following inscription:

KATERI TEKAKWITHA
April 17, 1680
Onkwe Onwe-ke Katsitsiio Teiotsitsianekaron

The translation of the foregoing is "The fairest flower that ever bloomed among the red men."

In 1923, a statue to Tegahkwita was unveiled at the Shrine of our Lady of Martyrs at Auriesville.

In 1677 Greenhalgh, the explorer, journeyed through the country of the Five Nations. He then made the notes from which he wrote the description of the Mohawk castles of that period, which appears in an earlier chapter.

In 1677, a war party of eighty Mohawk braves entered New England and attacked and defeated some of the Mohicans under Uncas. In 1678, New England complained to New York of these Mohawk incursions.

Father Jean de Lamberville was at Onondaga in 1681 and 1682 and until 1686. In 1682 the Iroquois made peace at Albany with the Colony of Maryland against whose settlers they had committed some depredations.

In 1682 Count Frontenac was replaced by Governor de la Barre in the control of Canada. De la Barre was instructed to attack the Iroquois, if advisable, in order to prevent the latter's movement against the Illinois allies of the French. In 1683, the Iroquois made an expedition against the Ottawas and the peace of seventeen years, between the French of Canada and the Iroquois (including the Mohawks), was ended. In 1683, the English Governor Dongan of New York announced that King James

had taken the Iroquois under his protection as his allies and forbade any other power making war upon them. Dongan had Arnold Viele, his Dutch deputy at Onondaga, put the royal arms of England on all the Mohawk castles.

The Jesuits withdrew from their Mohawk missions about 1683 and they were driven from or left their Cayuga and Oneida missions in 1684. Only Father de Lamberville was left at Onondaga. He was very much beloved and remained there until 1686. The French governor tried to involve him in a treacherous plot to lure a number of the Iroquois chiefs to Fort Frontenac under the pretext of holding a council with them there. De Lamberville was above such treatment of his Indian neighbors, who informed him of the plot and had a party of braves conduct him back to New France. The French however succeeded in capturing sixty Iroquois chiefs by this treachery, and de Nonville, following out the foolish order of Louis XIV sent thirteen of them to the galleys. The whole Iroquois confederation was enraged over this villainy.

Many of the Mohawks who had gone to Canada had for a long time, desired to return to their own home lands in New York Province, provided they could have a Christian village and a blackgown of their own. Kryn, the Great Mohawk there resident, said in 1687: "If a priest would settle at Saratoga, many would return, for they had longed and waited a long time for it."

In 1687, de Nonville led a large force from Canada which destroyed the Seneca towns. He promised the Huron chief, Adario, otherwise known as "the Rat", that the war would go on until the Iroquois were destroyed. That the Iroquois did not want war was shown by the peace mission of the great Onondaga chief, Hotreonate, to Quebec in 1688. He disappeared, probably having been murdered by the Rat, who also waylaid an Onondaga peace envoy at La Famine. Two were killed and the rest set free to return to the Iroquois castles with their tale of French treachery. The Iroquois were roused to fury and the bloody war of 1689 followed. The French really wanted peace but the Rat had spoiled their plans and started a century of terrible Indian warfare by his savage treachery. This was the first of the French-British American wars and is known as King William's war (King William having gained the throne in 1688). Peace was not signed between the Iroquois and French until 1700. It was a period of blood and terror to the pioneers of New York and the burning and massacre of Schenectady was one of its most horrible features.

In 1689, Fort Frontenac was besieged by 900 Iroquois warriors who failed to take it. The Jesuit Father Milet was captured there and carried to Oneida where he was afterwards adopted and became a principal chief.

From Frontenac the Iroquois went to Montreal killing or capturing 300 or 400 there. Two hundred Frenchmen were killed in one hour in one of these raids. A war party of 1500 landed at Lachine, in August, 1689, and killed and burned for two days, keeping the French shut up in their fort in Montreal. Another war party of 150 ravaged and killed on the island of Montreal in November, 1689. In one of these raids the Iroquois tortured and devoured their French captives before the eyes of their frantic countrymen in the citadel of Montreal. Count Frontenac arrived in Montreal in October, 1689, with the Iroquois prisoners who had been released from slavery in the French galleys. This knowledge and the breaking out of the dreaded smallpox in the Iroquois castle restrained the Iroquois warriors from further attacks.

The Five Nations held a council at Albany with New England delegates who wished the aid of the Iroquois against the eastern Indians, a remarkable proceeding considering the number of fighting men in the populous New England Colonies. The Iroquois refused to join in this phase of King William's war. In December, 1689, the Iroquois held a council at Onondaga to which Mayor Peter Schuyler and other prominent citizens of Albany were invited. The latter, very unwisely, sent only a Mohawk chief, an interpreter and one other. Three of the Iroquois chiefs who had been galley slaves were freed and sent to this council by Frontenac who evidently wanted an alliance or peace with the Iroquois. There seems to have been some sort of peace and understanding arrived at then and there, but alliance with the French was rejected.

The narrative of this war in the Mohawk Valley and Albany district begins with the Schenectady massacre of February 8th, 1690, described in a later chapter.

CHAPTER 20.

BATTLE OF KINQUARIONES, 1669.

MOHICAN ATTACKS ON CAUGHNAWAGA, 1669—REPULSE OF THE INVADERS—BATTLE OF KINQUARIONES, NEAR HOFFMANS—MOHAWKS, LED BY THEIR WAR CHIEF, THE "GREAT KRYN", ROUT THE MOHICANS AND KILL THEIR CHIEF, CHICATABUTT—ACCOUNT OF THE CONFLICT BY FATHER PIERRON, FRENCH JESUIT MISSIONARY AT CAUGHNAWAGA, NEAR PRESENT FONDA.

In July, 1669, the Mohicans organized a large war party, consisting of Mohican warriors and their allies, and set out to revenge themselves by the destruction of their old enemies the Mohawks. The authorities of Massachusetts and New York attempted to dissuade them from this expedition but the great Mohican chief, Chickatabutt (meaning, "House-afire"), raised, near Boston, a considerable force of Mohicans and their allies, and started the march for the Mohawk Valley. The number of the invaders is variously estimated by Father Pierron, at 300, and by Gookin, the Massachusetts Indian agent, as 600 or 700 warriors. Besides the Mohicans, Chickatabutt's savage army consisted of braves from the Massachusetts, Naragansetts and Hudson River tribes, all Algonquins, who were deadly enemies of the Mohawks. The meaning of Mohican is "Wolf" and the tribe was known as "Loups" (Wolves) to the French, and they were also frequently so called by the English. It will be noted that Father Pierron of Caughnawaga castle calls the Mohawks either "Iroquois" or "Agnies", which was a French adaptation of their true tribal name of Caniengas or "People of the Flint". It is said that a Mohawk could not pronounce the name "Mohawk", which was one given them by their enemies, the Mohicans.

All eastern Indians were now well supplied with arms and ammunition and the bow and arrow was used but little in Indian warfare. In savage fashion, the Mohican raiders are said to have wasted a great part of their ammunition in firing off their guns while boasting what they would do to the Mohawks, in the different Indian villages through which they passed on their march to the Mohawk castles.

In the early days of August, the invaders reached the Mo-

hawk country and before dawn made an attack upon the first castle to which they came—Caughnawaga, at present Fonda.

The Mohican war party opened a fire on the village and the Mohawk braves, aroused from their sleep by the rattle of muskets, seized their weapons and sprang to the stockade platforms for defense, where four were quickly killed and two wounded, while a number of the enemy fell from the well-directed fire of the castle's defenders. The Mohawk squaws and girls took knives and hatchets and made ready to sell their lives dearly in case the enemy should force the palisade, while they meantime urged on their Canienga warriors with shouts of encouragement and defiance. Scouts were sent out to warn the castles to the west and bring help. By noon the Canienga warriors from the middle castles of Candagaro and Canajora had arrived and the defenders prepared to make a sally from Caughnawaga against the enemy. Arrayed in full war regalia, the Mohawks burst from their town gates and dashed across the clearing upon the enemy: a furious Indian fight followed behind tree stumps and in the woods. After two hours of battle, the Mohicans retreated. Following the Indian custom of carrying off their dead from the battlefield, but one Mohican was left on the ground. To honor their war demon, Aireskoi, the victors proceeded to chop this victim up for a war feast.

A number of Mohawks had been killed or wounded and Father Pierron and the village squaws were busied with the care of the injured braves, while the castle resounded with the usual wailings of the squaws over their dead heroes.

The Mohicans did not retire from Caughnawaga but besieged it for several days, keeping up an occasional fire upon its ramparts. The provisions and ammunition of the invaders were getting low and they decided to retreat. They quietly decamped and passed down the river seventeen miles to Kinquariones, on the western side of the mountain of Touareuna and to the west of present Hoffmans Ferry. Here the Mohicans entrenched themselves on this summit, which commanded a wide view of the warpath down which they knew the Mohawks would soon come from the west in pursuit.

All the Mohawk warriors at this time probably did not number three hundred or equal the invading Mohican forces. So the Canienga chiefs waited until all the braves from Candagaro (Canagora), Canajora and the great castle of Tionnontogen had reached Caughnawaga and then, their full Mohawk war strength being assembled, the braves prepared to go against their enemy

led by their chief, Kryn, known as "the Great Mohawk", of the Caughnawaga castle.

The squaws prepared and supplied each warrior with the usual parched corn meal ration mixed with a little maple sugar, which was always carried on the hunt or the warpath. Kryn then led his war party from Caughnawaga to the river, where they embarked in canoes, rapidly paddled down the Mohawk and were soon lost to the view of the anxious squaws, children and old people left in the village. The next day a runner arrived with news of a desperate battle in progress twenty miles away. The following day, August 6th, 1669, news came that the Mohawks had won a great victory over their enemies, and that the invaders were in full flight. All was joy and jubilation in Caughnawaga. Father Pierron immediately set out, from the lower castle, for the battlefield to nurse the wounded and congratulate the victors. Pierron's account of the Mohawk-Mohican battle at Kinquariones, given in the Jesuit Relations, is the best we have. It is as follows:

"Night overtaking them in their pursuit, they sent in advance certain of their number in quest of the enemy, and quietly to discover the place where he was encamped. As the scouts came within sight of the spot, desiring a better view of the situation, they drew still nearer. But notwithstanding their great caution, one of the Loups on guard close by, hearing a noise, gave the customary challenge, 'Koue, kuoe', (this is 'Who comes there?' of the savages); as there was no response and he saw nothing, he did not deem it necessary to give the alarm.

"From the report given by the spies on their return of the condition of the enemy, it was determined not to attack him in his lodging place, where he appeared too well entrenched, but to prepare an ambush on the route it was believed he would take. In the execution of this plan, the Iroquois made a wide detour to lay their ambuscade in a cragged and most advantageous pass which commanded the only route in the direction of the Hollanders. In the morning the Loups decamped; and as they marched in single file, after the Indian custom, twelve of them fell unexpectedly into the ambuscade. A shower of balls of which they were at once made aware, immediately put to flight those that the casualty had spared. Frightful cries at once ran through the forest, and the Loups rallied at the same place where they had encamped. The Iroquois pursued them with vigor. On overtaking them, they made a fierce assault. The Loups at first made a stout resistance; but the cowardice of some among them forc-

ing the main body to recede before the fury of the Iroquois, ten of the whole band made a stand within their works to defend themselves unto death. This new entrenchment greatly harrassed our Agnies but, as they are an indefatigable and brave people, they did not lose courage nor the hope of driving out the enemy; and to succeed in this with the least peril they made use of an old tree which they found there and which they carried in front of them for protection. This they were able to do, instead of going up one by one to the place where the enemy was fortified. Their skill, however, did not avail them; for, notwithstanding this device, the Loups did not omit to open a heavy fire from all sides, killing and wounding a number of our people; and the fight, without doubt, would have been still more disastrous if night had not terminated it. Our Indians captured at the outset four women of the twenty-four who accompanied the expedition, and six men subsequently in the heat of the combat.

"The next morning as they were ready to renew the attack, they found the enemy had made their escape during the night and that they were left masters of the battlefield. The victors, following the custom of the savages, tomahawked and scalped the Loups left on the place, and then took care to bury those of their own people who had been slain in the fight.

"We left two days after the combat, in company with a large number, both those who had taken part in the fight and those who had come to look on. The victors bore the scalps well painted, at the end of long batons made to support their trophies. The captives, divided into several bands, marched with singing; and as I perceived that one of the women had a sick infant which she carried at the breast, I thought I would do well to baptize it, seeing it was about to die."

The Mohican captives, as usual, were hideously tortured and maimed after their capture and then were taken to Caughnawaga. Here they were again beaten in the gauntlet and placed on the torture scaffold for the final agonies before being killed or burned.

During an interval of this horrible business, Father Pierron led some of these unfortunates into a nearby cabin and gave them religious instruction to prepare them for death. Some of the Mohawks looked in saying, "Do you see how he loves our enemies", while others angrily remarked, "He ought to leave them to burn in hell—people who have done us so much evil". Pierron turned to the Mohawks and, with his usual effective fervor, "taking them for his text, explained so well and so forcibly the teach-

ings of Christ on the Mount, that in a little while the Indians, who had gathered about him, were all of one mind, and declared that he did well to teach the captives. They no longer interfered with his self-imposed task, but gave him ample time to instruct them. Before they were taken to their death, Pierron baptized all of the ten doomed captives."

After this defeat of the Mohicans, Kryn, "The Great Mohawk", became also known as "The Conqueror of the Mohicans." His subsequent conversion to Christianity and removal to the colony of "praying Indians" on the St. Lawrence, is told later, as well as his leadership of the Canadian Indians in the Schenectady massacre.

In the attack upon Caughnawaga and in the battle of Kinquariones, the Mohawks claimed that they had killed one hundred Mohicans, which Father Pierron seems to have doubted. The Mohicans admitted a loss of fifty warriors, while claiming they had killed forty Mohawks. The actual casualties are hard to discover but probably they were between fifty and one hundred warriors on both sides, not a large number for an attack on a castle and a pitched battle in the open in which six or seven hundred Indian braves were engaged.

Thus ended the attempt of the Mohicans, once masters of the Eastern Mohawk Valley, to regain their former lands and revenge themselves upon their ancient hereditary enemies, the Mohawks.

CHAUGHTANOONDA CREEK

CHAPTER 21.

SETTLEMENT OF SCHENECTADY, 1661-1662.

VAN CURLER'S LETTER TO GOVERNOR STUYVESANT PETITIONING FOR A GRANT OF THE GROOTE VLACHTE—THE MOHAWK GRANT OF SCHENECTADY LANDS IN THE ORIGINAL DEED IN DUTCH AND ITS TRANSLATION—OBJECTION TO SETTLEMENT—VAN CURLER'S COMPROMISE AGREEMENT OF 1663 SIGNED BY THE FOURTEEN SCHENECTADY PROPRIETORS.

The project of settling Schenectady was probably one which was developed during several years—perhaps during a longer period. Indeed, it may have been in Van Curler's mind from the day when he first set eyes on this "most beautiful land".

Throughout the period of three years of negotiation, purchase, apportionment, settlement and patent, Arent Van Curler was the moving spirit and leading figure, which fact justifies his proud title of the "founder of Schenectady," the great present day electrical city of over 100,000 people.

Having agreed upon the place and plan of settlement on the Mohawk River at Schenectady, Arent Van Curler and his fourteen associates proceeded to select the land they wished to acquire and then began to negotiate with the Mohawks for the sale of the property. Having completed their preliminary arrangements with the Indian owners, Van Curler's next move was to petition Director General Petrus Stuyvesant and his council for a patent for the Schenectady lands. The fourteen associates, or part of them, proceeded to plant crops on the Schenectady flats in the spring of 1661, when some settlers probably located there as they would not plant crops and leave them to the mercy of the bos loopers and Indians.

Van Curler brought the matter of the Schenectady settlement before Director Stuyvesant in a letter addressed to the Dutch governor under date of June 18, 1661, as follows:

"Right Honorable Sir,

"My Lord.

"When last at Manhatans I informed your honor that there were some friends and well wishers, who were well inclined with your Honor's knowledge and approbation to take possession of and till the Groote Vlachte well known to your worship; whereto

six or eight families are already inclined, and for which your Honor promised me a warrant authorising us to purchase said lands, but by reason of your Honor's daily occupations nothing came of it. So then your Honor promised to send it later but I am persuaded the daily cares of your Honor's government have driven it from your Honor's remembrance.

"Truly the way is now open, the savages being inclined to abandon the land for a moderate price, the more so as trade is so slack and meagre. Hence it is the wish of our friends to dispatch the bearer of this, Philip Hendrickse Brouwer, to refresh your Honor's remembrance, for as much as it is high time, (if your Honor please) that the people provide themselves with hay and fodder for their beasts and like to lay out the road thither.

"Please not, your Honor, distrust the people as is generally done here, by the common folks, nor doubt that one loaf will last till another be gained.

"So, then it will be better to provide betimes, to seize good fortune, for afterwards it may be too late. Doubtless as your Honor is likewise a lover of agriculture, your Honor will yield to the just request of the people; the money for the purchase of the aforesaid land they themselves will furnish temporarily and until it shall be otherwise ordered by your Honor.

"Finally I pray your Honor to be pleased to favor the people's good intention so far as possible, and conclude by commending your Honor to God's grace with the wish for a long and happy administration, and further I remain ever

"Sir
Your Honor's
most humble
Servant,
"A. Van Curler.

"Rensselaerwyck,
The 18th June, 1661.

"P. S. If your Honor falls short three or four Muds of oats as feed for your Honor's horses, please command me to supply your Honor with the same from my small store.

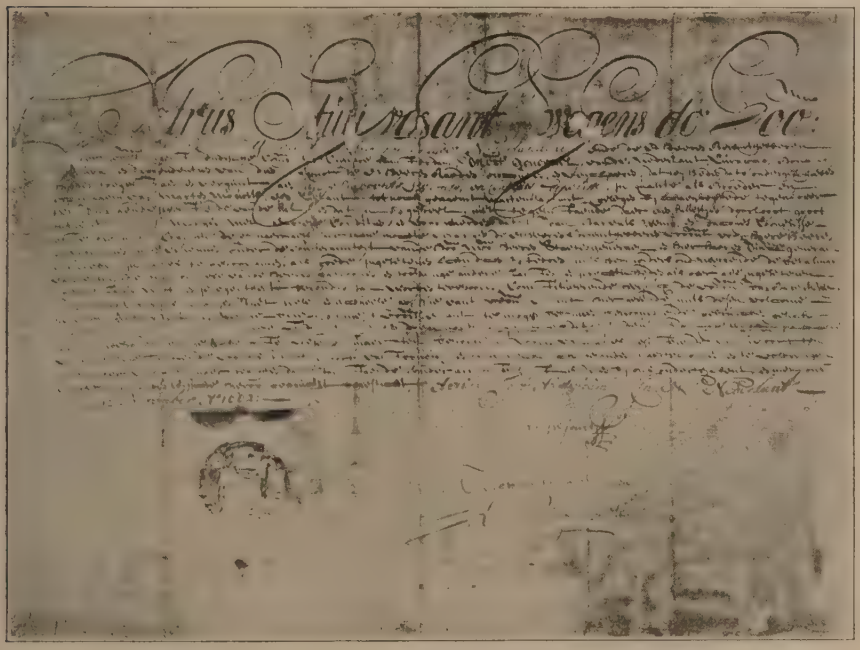
Your Honor's servant,
A. V. Curler."

The Director General and Council took the following action on Van Curler's petition, June 23, 1661.

"The letter of Arent Van Curler, being presented and read on the 18th June, containing in substance a request by him and a few other persons for the large plain situated to the back of Fort

THE MOHAWK CLUB

At the corner of Union and Church streets, on the site of the house of Arent Van Curler, founder of Schenectady (in the center of the 1662 stockade). A tablet, seen at the corner commemorates Van Curler. The present building was erected by the Mohawk Bank about 1815. The building at the extreme left is (1924) that of the Schenectady County Historical Society.



PATENT OF 1662 FOR VAN SLYCK'S ISLAND, SCHENECTADY

The first patent issued for land in the Mohawk Valley. Given in 1662 by Petrus Stuyvesant, Director General of the Province of New Netherland, to Jan Barentse Wemp and Jacques Cornelise (Van Slyck). The original hangs in the office of the President of Union College Schenectady.

Orange toward the interior, for the purpose of cultivation, and consent to purchase the same from the original proprietors and make a settlement there, etc.; which being maturely considered, the Director General and Council resolved to consent to it; provided that the said lands on being purchased from the native proprietors be as usual transferred to the Director General and Council aforesaid as representatives of the Lords Directory of the Privileged West India Company; and that whatever the petitioners shall pay for the aforesaid lands to the original proprietors, shall in due time be returned to them or be discounted to them against the tenths."

On the 18th of July, 1661, Arent Van Curler and his associates appeared before the Council and petitioned for the privilege to purchase the Schenectady lands and also for a patent to cover the territory involved.

The names of the petitioners are here given: Arent Van Curler, Philip Hendrickson Brouwer, Alexander Lindsay Glen, Sweer Teunise Van Velsen, Simon Volckertsen Veeder, Peter Adriance Van Woggelum, (also known as Sagermakeleck), Gerrit Bancker, William Teller, Bastian De Winter, Pieter Jacobse Borsboom, Pieter Danielse Van Olinda, Jan Barentse Wemp, Jacques Cornelise Van Slyck. Bastian De Winter appeared also as attorney for Catalyn De Vos, widow of Arent Andries Bratt.

The deed from the Indians to Van Curler was drawn, signed and executed on the 27th July, following, as herewith shown.

DEED FROM THE INDIANS FOR SCHENECTADY AND VICINITY.

Before this authority was received by Van Curler at Fort Orange, a disastrous freshet on the Mohawk River covered the Schenectady flats with water and ruined the newly-planted crops. A few days later, on June 26, 1661, a still greater flood completed the damage of the first. Pearson says it "forced the inhabitants to quit their dwellings and fly with their cattle for safety on the adjoining hills. Incalculable damage was caused by these eruptions. The wheat and grain were all prostrated and had to be cut mostly for fodder, affording scarcely seed sufficient for the next spring."

The foregoing would indicate that at least some of the settlers of Schenectady had moved to that place early in the spring and had built houses and planted crops. The evidence is strongly in favor of the first settlement here having been made in the spring of 1661, although, for some reason, 1662 is the generally accepted date. Van Curler himself says that "six or eight families are

already inclined" which probably means that six or eight families were already settled at Schenectady in 1661.

Despite this disaster, the Schenectady pioneers held to their plan of settlement and, in the following month (on July 27th) secured the following deed from the chieftains representing the Mohawks. While the Mohawks granted Glen's Scotia lands in 1655, the Schenectady deed, given by the Mohawks in 1661, is the earliest existing document, covering such a grant, to actual settlers of the Mohawk Valley. It is here given in full in the original Dutch together with its translation.

"Compareerde voor mij Johannes La Montagne ten dienste vande Groet Wesendische Compagnie door de Glen Racden Van Nieu Nederlant geadmitteert, Viers Direct en Commies op de fortss. Orangie en Dorp Beverwyk, eenige Oversten vant Maquaes Lant genaempt Cantuquo, Sanareetse, Aiadane, Sodackdrasse eigenaers van een seeckere stuck Landts genaempt Op duyts de Groote Vlackten Liggende achter de fort Orangie tusschen de selve en het Maquaes Landt de welcke Verklaeren gecedeert en getransporteert te hebben gelyck sij seedeeren en transporteeren by deesen in reele en Actuelle possessie en sijgondom ten behoeve Van Sr Arent Van Corlaer Ret gemelde stuck Landts of groote Vlackten op Wildts geneamdt Schonowe (is) in syn begrip en circonferentie met syn geboomte en killen voor een seecker getal of Cargosoenen voor welck de transportanton bekennen sattisfactie van gehadt te hebben renonceerende voor nu en altyt op alle eygendom en pretensie die sij op het gemelds stuck Landts tot nutoe gehadt hebben, beloovende het te bevryden voor all pretensie die andere Wilden soude hebben konnen. Actum in de fortss. Orangie den 27 July A, 1661, in presentie Marten Mouris en Willem Montagne daertee versocht.

dit ist merck Van Cantuquo
The Bear
dit ist merck
Aiadane
dit ist merck van
Sonareetsie
In Keunisse van mij
La Montagne
V. Dr en Commies M. Mou(ris)
opt fortss. Orangie William de La Montagne.

Translation.

"Appeared before me, Johannes La Montagne, in the service of the Privileged West India Company by the Director-General

and Council of New Netherland admitted vice-director and clerk (commies) at Fort Orange and village of Beverwyck, certain sachems of the Mohawk's land named Cantuquo, Sonareetsie, Aiadane, Sodackdrasse, owners of a certain piece of land named in Dutch the Groote Vlachte, and lying behind Fort Orange, between the same and the Mohawk's lands, who declare that they have granted, transferred, as by these presents they do grant and transfer in real and actual possession and ownership to the behoof of Mr. Arent Van Corlaer, the said piece of land or Great Flat by the Indians named Schonowe, in its compass of circumference, with its woods and kils for a certain number of cargoes, for which the grantors acknowledge they have had satisfaction; renouncing herenceforth and forever all ownership and pretensions, which they to said pieces of land heretofore have had and promising to free it from all pretensions which other Indians may have. Done in Fort Orange the 27th July, anno 1661, in presence of Marten Mouris and Willem Montagne hereto invited.

"This is the Mark x of Cantuquo,

"This is the Mark x of Aiadne,

"This is the Mark x of Sonareetsie.

M. Mou(ris)

"Acknowledged before me, William de La Montagne,"
La Montagne V. D., and
Clerk at Fort Orange."

The mark of Cantuquo to the above instrument was a bear; that of Aiadne, a turtle, and of Sonareetsie, a wolf, denoting the clan or family to which each belonged. The true name of the witness to this instrument, who signed as Martin Mourisse, was Martin Maurice Van Slyck, brother of Jacques Cornelise Van Slyck, both subsequently proprietors, and among the first original settlers of Schenectady. The mother of both was a Mohawk chieftain's daughter. They were the children of Cornelis Antonisen Van Slyck, the great Indian interpreter. They were born at the principal Mohawk castle of Canajoharie. Jacques was born about 1640, and Martin a year or two later.

"The petition, bearing the most oppressive conditions, as will be seen herein, was granted July 27, and here was staged a drama —the patent wrangle—that held the boards through a period of one hundred and thirty-seven years, or until 1798. It probably has no parallel in the history of settlements and town building in the United States. The distress, the loss and heart-burning trouble from the various sources attending this initial undertaking in independent building and being in the little local colony

constitutes a tragic, yet droll chapter in the history." (Monroe, "Schenectady, Ancient and Modern.")

On the sixth day of April, 1662, Arent Van Curler again addressed the Director General and Council stating that, in accordance with their resolution of the 23d June last, he and his associates had purchased and taken possession of the Great Flat behind Fort Orange and were now "engaged in constructing houses, mills and other buildings upon this plain," and that inasmuch as it was necessary to sow and cultivate these lands this season, which cannot be well done before they have been surveyed and allotted; therefore he solicits the Director General "to authorize the surveyor, Jacques Cortelyou, to measure and divide the same," and for this purpose that he return with the petitioner.

On this petition the following apostil was given:

"Before the requested settlement can be formed and surveyed, the persons who are inclined to establish themselves there ought to number at least twenty families and communicate their names at the office of the secretary of the Director General and Council and furthermore to engage and promise not to trade with the savages."

While the Schenectady settlers were doubtless living and working at that place in 1661 the new town did not take form until 1662. However it is probable that considerable work must have been done on the stockade and on the houses in 1661 so that the pioneers would be able to plow and sow in the following spring. What it would be natural to do we may suppose to have been done.

Schenectady, as laid out, embraced an area of four squares or blocks, each having a frontage of 400 feet. Each square was divided into four lots with 200 feet frontage and a depth of 200 feet. Each proprietor owned one of these lots, a farm or bouwerie on the Great Flat, a pasture land (Calvyre's Wastyea) east of the town, and a garden lot on the lowland lying west of Mill Creek and extending toward the Binne Kill (Dutch for "Inner Channel").

The area within the stockade of Schenectady was comprised within the limits of the present city streets as follows: From Front Street along Washington Avenue, south to State Street (Albany Path), on the south, and from Washington Avenue along Front Street east to Ferry Street, thence to State Street. A palisade ten feet high surrounded this land. The palisade or stockade was built of logs, flattened on the joining sides and set deeply and firmly in the ground. The tops were pointed to make it difficult for an enemy to scale this rampart. These stockades or

log forts were copied after those built by the Mohawks and other Iroquois tribes and all early Dutch, British and French posts, as well as many of those of the French and Indian and Revolutionary wars were built on the same plan. It was a long, laborious and difficult task to cut, cart and set in place the great number of logs necessary to enclose such a site. Stand at the corner of the Mohawk club, in the city of Schenectady, where the tablet marks the site of Van Curler's house, and look about the area comprised within the first village and then one can realize the comparatively great labor involved in the construction of even such a small village as the original Schenectady, when we consider the period and the small number of settlers. The logs for this stockade and for the village houses were probably cut and drawn here over the snow on sleds in the previous winter.

The main gate was located at present Church and Front streets, which is now easily located by the bronze tablet marking this gate, through which the French and Indian raiders came on the night of the massacre, February 8th, 1690. The second gate was on State Street near Church. A small blockhouse was located in the northwest corner of the stockade.

Front Street still has its original Dutch name. It fronted the river and the south shore river trail probably ran over its site, as the Niskayuna road led from it eastward from the original settlement of Schenectady.

Washington Avenue was Haendler's (Traders) Street. After the massacre and burning of 1690, it became Lion Street. The name was changed to Washington Street during the Revolution, because Washington stopped at the house of John Glen at No. 58 Washington Avenue. Later the word street was changed to avenue and this pleasant thoroughfare then became the Washington Avenue of today. The Haendler's Street of early Schenectady was the main business street of the town. Both houses, stores and small warehouses stood along it. It stood at right angles to Front Street and to the south shore Mohawk trail reaching here from the west. It also stood close to the river channel called Binne Kill, which formed the harbor for the settlers' skiffs, batteaux and the later Schenectady and Durham boats. For a century and a half after the settlement of Schenectady, it was a busy scene of Mohawk River commerce.

Union Street is the Niskayuna Street of the first Schenectady settlers, as it ran to the Dutch settlement of Niskayuna about ten miles southeast.

State Street was the Albany Path of the Hollanders and the

Skanaktade trail of the Mohawks. After the massacre of 1690, it was called Martyrs' Street, "because of the great number that were killed in that section of the town". After the Revolution, it was called State Street, in honor of the State of New York which succeeded the Royal Province.

Although there was no church building erected until 1684, Church Street bore its name from the time of the first settlement probably because some house or building upon it was used for church purposes, just as a horse mill in old Dutch Manhattan was the first church used on the present site of our great city of New York—"our" city, because it lies within the limits of "our" great Valley of the Hudson of which "our" Mohawk Valley forms a part.

The early names of the settlement were the "Groote Vlachte" (Great Flat) "the Plain" and "Schenectady" (in various spellings). In spite of statements to the contrary, the name "Schenectady" was used for this locality from the first, as will be seen by the copies of documents here reprinted.

"In a little while after the settlement the population had so increased that building lots were assigned along Albany Path, those being mostly on the south side of the highway. Soon, also, the large house lots within the palisades were divided to afford building sites for the newcomers. For a considerable time, however, after the settlement, Union Street was not opened east of the Ferry.

"While the Dutch were yet in power there was a small fort (Fort Orange) at Albany, garrisoned by a few soldiers, but after the assumption of control by England, the force at that place was often more than one full company and, a part of the time, two companies were stationed there. The fort at Schenectady had from twenty to forty men under a Lieutenant. During the period of French and English wars, these were often supplemented by the militia."

While Director-General Petrus Stuyvesant delayed (from 1661 to 1664) in granting patents to the settlers of Schenectady, yet he nevertheless made an exception in the case of the great island in the Mohawk River now known as Van Slyck island. This was conveyed by patent, under date of the 12th of November, 1662, to Jan Barentsen Wemp and Jacques Cornelise (Van Slyck). This conveyance is noteworthy, as it is the first patent for lands granted in the Mohawk Valley. Marten Cornelise Van Slyck, the Indian interpreter and the half-breed son of Cornelisse Antonisen Van Slyck, had died since he had witnessed, in the

previous year, the deed of sale of the Schenectady lands by the Mohawks. The Mohawks had given this island to Marten Cornelise Van Slyck (generally called Marten Mourits), and at the time of the patent, it was known as Marten's Island. Marten's brother, Jacques, was his heir, and succeeded to his ownership of the island, in which he had probably sold a half interest to Wemp. The island contained 82 acres. The original of this Van Slyck island patent hangs in the office of the President of Union College. It is here illustrated and a translation from the Dutch is given. The translation is by Mr. J. F. Van Laer, archivist of the University of the State of New York. It was made in connection with the conveyance made necessary by the construction of the Great Western Gateway Bridge over this and other islands in the Mohawk at Schenectady.

A year passed since Arent Van Curler wrote Stuyvesant, in 1662, asking that the Schenectady lands be surveyed. The inhabitants of Beverwyck and Rensselaerwyck "were most anxious to retain the fur monopoly and had sufficient influence with the Director and Council to induce them to order that the settlers of Schenectady should confine themselves exclusively to agriculture and abstain from all trade with the Indians."

"On the 9th of May, 1663, Governor Stuyvesant wrote to Commies La Montagne and the court of Beverwyck, that by request he had sent up the sworn surveyor, Jacques Cortelyou, to lay out and survey the Great Flat, but as he was indirectly informed that some of the new settlers there had dared, against his express orders, dated April 6, 1662, to sell strong liquors to the savages, he had commanded the aforesaid Cortelyou to measure no lands for any individual there except he had previously signed the enclosed indenture in the presence of the commies and commissaries."

This indenture called upon the settlers to "promise hereby that we will not, on the aforesaid Plain, nor in its vicinity, undertake to trade in any manner under any pretext whatsoever with the savages, either directly or indirectly," and it contained a fine of fifty beavers for the first offense, one hundred for the second, and forfeiture of all property in Schenectady for the third infraction.

Van Curler called the "settlers of Schanechstede" together, on the 18th of May, 1663, and proposed that they should sign an agreement recommended to him by Commissary La Montagne and the magistrates of Beverwyck.

To this the settlers unanimously answered, declaring their willingness "to obey the Noble West India Company and the su-

preme magistrates in New Netherland, with other subjects to pay all their taxes, and neither to do nor attempt anything contrary to published orders and placards, fully trusting that their honors will not treat us less kindly nor impose duties upon us other than upon the other subjects of this Province and being fully assured that your Honors will Seriously consider, that in consequence of your resolution of date 23d June 1661 these lands were purchased out of our own pockets for the Noble Company, settled at great expence, buildings erected and the land stocked with cattle and horses; and that if these settlers be treated otherwise and worse than other subjects, then all their labor would be in vain and they actually ruined, which God avert.

"We petition therefore that it may please your honors to permit us the continued cultivation of these lands, as by letters patent you granted [Marten's island] to Jan Barentse Wemp and Jacques Cornelise [Van Slyck] without any restrictions.

"Finally as the surveyor is in this vicinity and has no orders to survey the land save the aforesaid agreement is subscribed, we renew our request to prevent future differences and disputes that he may be authorized to survey and allot the land among us, otherwise we shall be compelled to help ourselves as best we can.

"A. Van Curler,
Philip Hendrickse [Brouwer],
Sander Leendertse Glen,
The mark X of Simon Volckertse [Veeder],
Pieter [Adriaense Van Wogelum],
alias Sogemacklic,
The mark X of Tuenis Cornelisse [Swart],
The mark X of Marten Cornelisse [Van Isselsteyn],
Willem Teller,
Gerrit Bancker,
Bastiaen De Winter, as attorney in the name of Catalyn [De Vos], widow of Arent Andriesse [Bratt],
Pieter Jacobse Borsboom [De Steenbakker],
Pieter Danielse Van Olinda,
The mark X of Jan Barentse Wemp,
The mark X of Jacques Cornelisse [Van Slyck]."

This petition is of interest as it contains the signatures or "merks" of fourteen of the original Schenectady proprietors. Director General Stuyvesant and his Council considered this peti-

tion on June 18, 1663. Their answer was indefinite, merely reiterating the necessity of the Schenectady settlers confining themselves to agriculture and leaving the Indian trade alone.

The Beverwyck fur traders made many complaints against allowing trade at Schenectady, alleging the danger, etc., to the Colony, and other reasons—all except the true one of its hurting their pockets.

Stuyvesant and his Council thereupon took into consideration "the danger of carrying merchandise six or seven (Dutch) miles into the country, on horses and wagons, for purposes of trade with the savages, by whom it ought to be expected that such goods would be attacked and plundered on the road, as indeed had already been the case and even attempts made to violate the women who went thither, as well as other insolences committed by the Barbarians, not only on the road but in the settlement itself."

For these reasons Director Stuyvesant and his Council forbade the carrying of goods to Schenectady for the Indian trade. 1663 went by without any patents being granted or any survey being made.

April 17, 1664, Alexander Lindsay Glen, Willem Teller and Harmen Vedder, "for themselves and the other inhabitants of the settlement named Schaneghstede," petitioned the Director Genral to send up Surveyor Cortelyou to survey and parcel out the lands.

At Fort Amsterdam, under the date of 20th of May, 1664, Stuyvesant "commanded" Jacques Cortelyou to proceed by the first sailing vessel to Fort Orange to lay out the "lands of Schanechstede." And so, after a delay of nearly three years, Director General Stuyvesant finally acceded to the demands and petitions of Van Curler and the Schenectady pioneers and the several lots and farms were surveyed and conveyed to them by patents. Dating from 1661 the little frontier settlement of Schenectady had three years of Dutch rule. These had been most unsatisfactory to the pioneers who probably numbered 200 in 1664. This period had been marked by irritating delays and squabbles over the surveys and patents of the lands, after the settlers had originally been permitted to purchase them from the Indians.

On August 29, 1664, Stuyvesant surrendered Fort Amsterdam, New Amsterdam and New Netherland to Colonel Nicolls, the commander of the invading English forces, and Schenectady ostensibly passed from Dutch to English rule, with hardly a ripple in its daily life caused by this historically momentous event.

English soldiers replaced the Dutch in Fort Schenectady but the local Dutch officials continued their duties. It is probable that the Schenectady burghers felt a relief at the change as they thought it might presage a loosening of the monopolistic grip of the fur traders of Beverwyck, now Albany, in which hope they were doomed to disappointment.

CHAPTER 22.

SETTLERS AT SCHENECTADY, 1661-4.

THE FIFTEEN PROPRIETORS OF THE SCHENECTADY PATENTS OF 1664—THEIR SCHENECTADY LANDS AND HEIRS—ARENT VAN CURLER, PHILIP HENDRICKSE BROUWER, ALEXANDER LINDSAY GLEN, SYMON VOLCKERTSE VEEDER, TUENIS CORNELISE SWART, MARTEN CORNELISE VAN YSSELSTYNE, ARENT ANDRIESE BRATT, BASTIAN DE WINTER, PIETER JACOBSE BORSBOOM, PIETER DANIELSE VAN OLINDA, JACQUES CORNELISE VAN SLYCK, JAN BARENTSE WEMP, GERRIT BANCKER, WILLEM TELLER, PIETER ADRIAENSE VAN WOGGLEUM—OTHER FREEHOLDERS OF SCHENECTADY, FROM 1661 TO 1700.

The following chapter gives a condensed description of the fifteen original proprietors of Schenectady, together with that of their families and a mention of the immediate successors to the title of their lands. A brief sketch is also appended of other settlers of the town from 1661 to 1700.

The petitioners of 1661 numbered 14, while the patentees of 1664 numbered fifteen.

The first fifteen landowners and settlers, not only of Schenectady but of the Mohawk Valley, merit this description which also throws a considerable light upon the early years of the first white settlement and early life along the Mohawk River. It is probable that a number of others besides the first eleven actual settlers and their families moved to Schenectady in 1661-4. The first population must have numbered a hundred people or more, including children, relatives, artisans, farmhands and negro slaves, as well as some individuals who desired to rent or buy lands from the proprietors. Such a number would have been necessary to erect the palisades, build the town and cultivate the land.

For more detailed description see Pearson's "The Schenectady Patent," which gives a large list of the adult freeholders of Schenectady prior to 1700 as well as of the lands apportioned under the Schenectady purchase of 1661, and their proprietors. From Pearson's valuable work the facts involved in the following description were chiefly obtained.

The names of the early inhabitants of Schenectady followed the Dutch custom of the day and, as a consequence, there are frequently considerable variations in these Seventeenth century Hol-

land Dutch names, which have often undergone great change and modification since those early days. The name prefix "Van" or "Vander" has frequently been dropped as in the case of Van Coppernol. In the days of the settlement of Schenectady, the ordinary Dutch freeholder had but one name, modified by the name of his father and his birthplace or place of residence. For instance, the name of the original Van Slyck was Cornelis Antonise Van Slyck, meaning "Cornelis, the son of Antonis of Slyck." His son, Jacques, was generally referred to as "Jacques, the son of Cornelis."

Harme Janse Knickerbaker sgnified "Harme, son of Jan the Knickerbakker, the maker or baker of knickers (children's marbles) or small chinaware"—knick knacks.

Alexander Lindsay Glen stood for Alexander Lindsay of the Glen, near Inverness, Scotland, where he was born.

As Major MacMurray says, in his introduction to Pearson's History of the Schenectady Patent: "It was not until late in English Colonial times that it became customary (for the Dutch of New York) to use the full name even in official and church records. It is very fortunate for history that Professor Pearson has made so full an analysis of these early names and fixed the connection between names now scarcely known and those of their descendants."

The reader will note this early peculiarity in the 1663 petition of the Schenectady proprietors to Director General Stuyvesant asking to have their lands surveyed. The family name, in this case, is frequently omitted by the writer and is added, enclosed in brackets, for purposes of identification. Names such as "John, son of Philip," and "Peter, the Brickmaker," are very early types of names, following the earlier simple savage names such as "Thundercloud," "Deerfoot," etc.

The following are the names of the fifteen original proprietors of the Schenectady land patents of 1664:

Arent Van Curler
Philip Hendrickse Brouwer
Sander Leendertse Glen (Alexander Lindsay Glen)
Symon Volckertse Veeder
Teunis Cornelise Swart
Marten Cornelise Van Ysselstyne
Arent Andriese Bratt
Bastian De Winter
Pieter Jacobse Borsboom
Jacques Cornelise Van Slyck
Pieter Danielse Van Olinda

(The foregoing eleven men were settlers as well as proprietors. The following were proprietors but not settlers):

Willem Teller
Gerrit Bancker
Pieter Adriaense Van Woggleum
Jan Barentse Wemp

(Myndert Wemp settled at Schenectady and took up the property of Jan Barentse Wemp.)

Pearson's "History of the Schenectady Patent" gives a brief sketch of each of these fifteen patentees as well as of the allotments of land under the patent. From these valuable annals, the following condensed sketch of the first white settlers of Schenectady and the Mohawk Valley, is taken

ARENT VAN CURLER.

Arent Van Curler came to New Netherland in 1637, at the age of seventeen, to act as assistant commissary of the Colony of Rensselaerwyck for his cousin, Kiliaen Van Rensselaer, the first patroon. He was later commissary and secretary of the Colony, and was probably its leading citizen, during the quarter of a century between his arrival in 1637 and his settlement of Schenectady in 1662. In 1642 Van Curler made a journey to the lower Mohawk castle of Osseruenon in fruitless attempt to ramsom the Jesuit priest, Isaac Jogues, who had been cruelly tortured there, as has been fully described in a previous chapter. It was during this trip that Van Curler particularly noted the beauty, fertility and advantageous position of the site of Schenectady. In 1643, Van Curler married Antonia Slaaghboom, widow of Jonas Bronck, an early settler of Bronx (Bronck's) Borough, New York City, from whom the borough derived its name. In 1645, Arent Van Curler made a treaty of friendship with the Mohawks and his influence, with the Mohawks and the others of the Five Nations, was powerful and beneficial.

When the English conquered New York, Governor Nicolls sent for Van Curler to consult with him regarding the relations of the Province of New York with the Iroquois and it was probably through the good offices of the founder of Schenectady that the Five Nations promptly made a treaty of peace and alliance with the British Government in the year 1664.

Van Curler was held in such high esteem by the Mohawk and Iroquois that for years thereafter they said "Corlaer" instead of "Governor," and so addressed the English governors of the province of New York. They also called Schenectady "Corlaer," as did the French who also termed the Mohawk "Corlaer River."

In 1667, while on his way to visit Governor De Tracy of Canada, Van Curler was drowned in Lake Champlain and thereafter,

for many years, the Mohawks called it Lake Corlaer. The untimely death of this great American, of Holland Dutch birth, was a great loss both to Schenectady and the Province of New York. Juffrouw Van Curler continued to live in Schenectady until her death in 1676, leaving no children. About 1671 fire destroyed the Widow Van Curler's house, barns and corn crop and left her destitute. She applied for a license as a tapster—a permit to sell rum to the Indians and settlers "as also some quantity of powder and lead." This license was granted because of the Widow Van Curler's loss by fire and "also the Losse of her Husband, Arent Van Curler, while he was employed in his Majesties Publick Service." The Widow Van Curler's license was granted to settle "the matter of difference between ye two Tappers"—Cornelis Cornelise Viele and Acques (Jacques) Cornelise Van Slyck. Her estate at her death amounted to $4,322.34, in beavers and her debts to $8,468.54, her insolvency probably having been caused by her disastrous fire.

Says Pearson: "Van Curler's home lot in the village was a portion (probably the whole easterly half) of the block bounded by Union, Church, Front and Washington streets. After the death of himself and his widow without issue, this lot was divided into four smaller portions and sold. The occupants of these parcels were as follows:

"The lot on the corner of Union and Church streets, 100 by 264 feet, was occupied by Ludovicus Cobes in 1684; from him it passed to Catrina Otten, wife of Gerret Symonse Veeder, and remained in his family or connections until after the beginning of this (nineteenth) century.

"Before the year 1684, Maria, widow of Jan Peeck, lived on the lot immediately north of this, being the west corner of Front and Church streets. Adam Vrooman early came into possession of this parcel (prior to 1690). It was here that he so bravely defended his house against the attack of the French and Indians in 1690. In 1718 he conveyed it to Pieter Quackenbos.

"The lot next west of the Veeder lot, 50 feet front on Union Street, and extending through the block 400 feet to Front Street, was owned by Symon Groot, the first settler, in 1669, and was still in the family in 1790.

"The lot next west of Groot's, and of the same dimensions, was owned by Benjamin Roberts as early as 1669. From him, it passed to Reinier Schaets, who was killed here in (the massacre of) 1690. In 1701, Gideon, the son of Reinier, sold it to Albert Vedder, son of Harman Albertse [Vedder], the first settler.

"Owing to Van Curler's great services in extinguishing the Indian title, and in procuring a survey and the patents for the lands, he received more than double a share of the choicest land on the Great Flat (and village).

The confirmatory patent for this farm was issued to his widow on the 4th of May, 1668, the description being as follows:

"A certain parcel of land at Schenectady, lying to the southeast of the Great creek or kil (Binne Kil) to the north of the woodlands, to the southwest of a certain small creek (Sand Kil, now Mill Creek), containing 114 acres or 57 morgens and thirty rods, as granted, Aug. 19, 1664, by Governor Stuyvesant to said Arent in his lifetime."

"This land was bounded according to this description, northeast and south by the Great creek, now the Binne Kil, by a 'certain small creek', subsequently called the Sand Kil, now Mill Creek, and, by the woods on the Sandy bluff; on the west side it was bounded by Pieter Adriaense Van Woggleum's and Catalyntje De Vos (Bratt's) farms numbered respectively four and one. The Schenectady car works stand on (1883) the extreme western boundary of Van Curler's farm, the west fence of the yard being a portion of the dividing line.

"After Van Curler's death in 1667, this farm passed to his widow, who continued to reside there until her death in 1677.

"After the Widow Van Curler died insolvent, in 1677, the estate was sold by the administrators, Cornelis Van Dyck and Johannes Provoost, in 1681, to pay the debts. It was divided into five parcels and sold to Sweer Teunise Van Velsen, the town miller, Gerrett Gysbertse Van Beakel, Isaac Cornelise Swits, Barent Wemp (Wemple), Adam Vrooman and Jan Vrooman, the two latter securing the largest parcel, being one of 40 acres."

The foregoing shows the disposition of the property of Van Curler and its detail is pertinent as it concerns the distinguished founder of Schenectady who was instrumental in securing the first legal grants of land for settlement in the Mohawk Valley.

ALEXANDER LINDSAY GLEN.

Next to Van Curler in importance in the new town of Schenectady came Alexander Lindsay of Glen, or Sander Leenderste Glen as the Schenectady Dutchmen miscalled him. After Van Curler's untimely death, Glen succeeded to his position as the "leading citizen." Although it is sometimes disputed, the traditions of the Glen-Sanders family has it that Glen bought land in present Scotia of the Mohawks in 1655, that he settled there in 1658 and

built his first stone house close to the river on the north shore opposite Schenectady. He thus was the first permanent settler of the Mohawk Valley, aside from the bos loopers (Dutch wood runners), who probably squatted in and about Schenectady, from time to time. Unlike Van Curler, Glen left the mark of his important location in the farmstead which, in 1924, had been in the hands of himself and his descendants for 266 years or two and two-thirds centuries—a record of family tenure equaled in America, in but few cases. He also has an enduring material record in the present Glen-Sanders house, which was built by his son in 1713, because it embodies building stone and woodwork which were part of the original dwelling. As the first seat of the first known permanent white dweller in the Mohawk Valley, the Glen-Sanders place has unusual historic importance and is therefore given the space which it warrants in this chapter.

Alexander Lindsay Glen was a native of Scotland. He was a Highlander, and was born in the vicinity of Inverness. The correct Scottish form of his name was Alexander Lindsay of Glen. He was a scion of the noble house of Lindsay, the Earls of Crawford, which family for two centuries ruled Scotland. Glen became a political refugee and fled to Holland. He entered the service of the West India Company and, in 1633, sailed for New Netherland, going to Fort Nassau on the Delaware. Glen later went to Manhattan, where he acquired lands, in 1646, in Smits Valley (Pearl Street). He also acquired land in Gravesend on Long Island. Glen went to Fort Nassau to settle in 1651, but was prevented from doing so by the Swedes who were then contesting the Delaware with the Dutch. In 1652 Glen came to Beverwyck and in 1653 he "took the oath of allegiance to Heer Van Rensselaer". He made numerous purchases of real estate in Beverwyck (later Albany), and seems to have retained a house there as a residence for a number of years. In 1657, Glen owned lands at Fort Casimir, New Sweden.

Glen married Catalyn Doncassen, by whom he had three sons, Jacob, Sander (Alexander) and Johannes. His Scotia house was a large mansion for those days. Glen named his Mohawk river home Nova Scotia (New Scotland) after his native land. The name Scotia has persisted to this day, when it is also borne by the village which has grown up around the original Glen settlement. The township, in which Scotia lies, is called Glenville, after its original white settler.

When the company was formed, in 1661, to take up lands at Schenectady, Alexander Lindsay Glen became one of the original

proprietors. His village lot was on the west side of Washington Street, beginning at the estate of the late Judge Paige and extending 200 ft. northerly along this street.

The patent for Glen's Scotia lands was granted November 3, 1665, as "a parcel of land between the lake and the river over against the town of Schenectady—100 acres or 50 morgens—in confirmation of a purchase of the grantee from the Indians," which would indicate the truth of his claimed purchase from the Indians ten years previous. The Glen farm extended along the river from "Claes Graven's Hoek" and easterly to Luysig Hoek, just above Freeman's Bridge, comprising with the additions several hundred acres. By marriage, this estate passed to the Sanders family. Besides the above land, Glen also owned two bouwerys numbered three on the Great Flat. In 1667 and again in 1669, Glen gave his bouwery at Scotia to his three sons.

In the absence of a Presbyterian Church (of which he was a member) Alexander Lindsay Glen gave his support to the Schenectady Dutch Reformed Church. In 1682, at his own personal expense, he erected the first little church at the junction of State, Church and Water streets and Mill Lane. He presented this church to the burghers of Schenectady and himself worshipped there. Catalyn, wife of Alexander Lindsay Glen, died in 1684 and Glen passed away November 13, 1685.

Glen's youngest son, Captain Johannes Glen, finally became sole owner of the Scotia property, through the death of his two brothers. The first house of 1658 was built too close to the river which had gradually eaten away the bank adjacent to the house until its position was unsafe.

In 1713, Captain Glen built the present Glen-Sanders homestead, constructed of brick and stone and using a large part of the materials of the first house. This 1713 Glen-Sanders house marks the general location of the first white settlement of the Mohawk Valley in 1658.

Captain Johannes Glen died in 1731, leaving his estate to his two sons, Colonel Jacob Glen, who resided in the stone house, and Abraham Glen, who occupied the picturesque steep roofed wooden house on the opposite side of Mohawk Avenue (No. 14), now (1924) the home of the Sisters of the School of St. John's R. C. Church. Both these Glen houses stand as sentinels of the past, at the Scotia end of the Great Western Gateway Bridge and the beginning of the Old Mohawk Turnpike. Jacob purchased Abraham's share of the estate and left it to his only daughter and heir, Debora Glen, who married Johannes Sanders of

Albany, since which time this historic property has been owned by the Sanders family.

The Glen property originally included Sanders Lake and two small river islands called Spuyten Duyvil and Kruisbessen (Gooseberry) Island. Sanders Lake is probably an old cut off river channel and is the only natural lake or pond lying along the Mohawk's course from its source to its mouth—a distance of 135 miles. The military camp ground known as "the Camp", lay to the westward of the Glen mansion on the Mohawk flats. Nearby, on higher ground, the Mohawks had a favorite place for torturing the victims which they had captured and here brought to the river.

On one occasion, the Mohawks captured a French priest and bound him at this place and then came to the pioneer Glen for firewater. The Scotchman supplied them so liberally that they were soon all sound asleep, whereupon "Sanderse" loaded an empty hogshead on a cart and put the French captive in it, sealed up the head, leaving the captive the bunghole for air, and then sent the driver across the ferry and on to Albany with his concealed passenger. When the savages awoke from their debauch they were furious at the escape of their prisoner, but Glen assured them that the priest was in league with the devil and had escaped by magic. This humane act became known in Canada and was the reason why Glen's house was spared in the massacre of 1690. Glen had a strong influence over the Indians which evidently was inherited by his son Johannes. Doubtless Glen had much to do with the early development of Schenectady as he lived for twenty-five years after his location at Scotia and as he was evidently a progressive and constructive American citizen.

JACQUES CORNELISE VAN SLYCK.

Next to Van Curler and Glen, the name of Van Slyck has a particular interest for us because Jacques Cornelise Van Slyck, one of the Schenectady proprietors, was the son of Cornelis Antonissen Van Slyck, the Indian trader, who was one of the first white men to be identified with the Mohawk Valley.

In 1640, Cornelis Antonissen Van Slyck is said to have been living near Cohoes Falls and thus became the first known settler of the Mohawk Valley. He cannot well dispute Glen's title as the first permanent settler because, so far as we know, he did not make a permanent settlement. The elder Van Slyck acquired great influence with the Mohawks by reason of his marriage to a Mohawk woman. Because of his position as a leader among

our Valley Indians, "Brother Cornelis", as the Mohawks called him, was a man of considerable importance in Rensselaerwyck and at Fort Orange. He and two of his sons and daughters acted as interpreters between the Dutch and the Mohawks and their names appear on many of the old deeds of Valley property.

The story of the Van Slycks and their Mohawk relationship is one of considerable romantic interest, touching closely the history of Schenectady and the lower Mohawk Valley, as well as that about the middle Mohawk castle in the Sprakers-Canajoharie neighborhood. This romance of a French trader and a Mohawk "princess" goes back almost to the beginnings of the history of New Netherland and New France.

About 1620, a French trader named Hartell entered the Mohawk country and became enamored of an Indian girl, who owned the island in the river at Schenectady now called Hog Island. The Iroquois woman was possessed of the land under the laws of the Five Nations as related in the chapter on the Mohawks and Iroquois. Hartell had two children by this woman—one called Ots-toch, who married Cornelis Antonissen Van Slyck, and Kenutje who married a Bradt. Ots-toch was wild and savage like her mother while Kenutje was small and handsome and very white like her father, Hartell.

The mother of these two half-breed (French and Mohawk) girls, at her death, was buried at the point of Hog Island toward the old highway bridge, which is shown in the illustration of the Great Western Gateway Bridge, published herein. The foregoing comprises two instances of "Indian marriages" between Dutch and French traders and Mohawk women. There were a number of such alliances and many Valley families of today have a strain of Iroquois blood of the Mohawk nation, although it is now frequently totally unknown by these very same descendants of the Canienga, as the Mohawks called themselves.

Cornelis Antonissen Van Slyck had several children by Ots-toch, his halfbreed wife—three sons, Jacques, Marten who died in 1662, and Cornelis who is mentioned only in the records of 1659. Two daughters of whom we have knowledge were Leah (who first married Claas Willemse Van Coppernoll and after his death, in 1662, married Jonathan Stevens, under which name she is mentioned) and Illetje who married Pieter Danielse Van Olinda about 1663, under which name she is mentioned in this chapter. Both of these Van Slyck daughters are said to have been handsome, intelligent girls with some education. Leah, who became a Christian, seems to have been a woman of a high type

of mind. Of course, the five Van Slyck children named above were only one-quarter Mohawk, as reference to their Dutch white father and French white grandfather will show.

In the marriages noted above, it will be seen that from the squaw "Queen of Hog Island", some slight strain of Mohawk blood is present in the Van Slyck, Bratt, Van Olinda, Van Coppernoll (or Coppernoll) and Stevens families, as well as a number of others of whom no records have survived.

Jacques Cornelise Van Slyck, son of Cornelis Antonissen Van Slyck, was born in 1640 at "Canajoharie", where his mother was then living. Canajoharie, at that period, was an indefinite name probably applying to a considerable territory. In 1634, there was a small village of Canagere west of the middle Mohawk castle and a mile or so east of the present village of Canajoharie. Whether this village was then existing or whether the Canajoharie was a small village then situated on the north Mohawk shore, we have no means of knowing. There were four or more different castles by the name of Canajoharie located in the Mohawk country during historic times.

Jacques shows his French descent by his name which was variously misspelled and mispronounced, as "Acques", "Akes", etc. His Indian name was It-sy-cho-sa-quach-ka. He was also sometimes called Jacques Cornelise Gautsh, pronounced "Hotch", which might be an abbreviation of his mother's name Ots-toch. Jacques married Grietje, daughter of Harmen Janse Ryckman of Albany, and had nine children living in 1697. He survived the massacre of 1690, possibly because of his Mohawk ancestry, but died the same year. A number of Mohawks then in the town were spared by the French and Indian raiders, to show them that the blow was directed against the English and not against the Mohawks. Jacques' widow married Adam Vrooman, whose heroic fight at the Schenectady massacre is mentioned later.

The first patent for land in Schenectady as well as in the Mohawk Valley has been previously mentioned as that granted by Governor Stuyvesant, Nov. 12, 1662, to Jacques Cornelise Van Slyck and Jan Barentse Wemp. It covered the Great island (now Van Slyck island) in the Mohawk River. This patent was confirmed by Governor Nicolls, April 13, 1667, to Sweer Theunissen (Van Velsen) and Jacques Cornelyssen (Van Slyck), to each of them severally a certain moiety of "a certain Island—Marten's island—near Schenectady, over against the town, etc., containing [82] acres, first taking out twelve acres or six morgens on said island, the title to which was vested in said Theunissen, who

married the widow of Jan Barentse Wemp, to whom and to the said Jacques Cornelise the said island was granted Nov. 12, 1662."

On April 2, 1695, Grietje Vrooman, Van Slyck's widow, received a confirmatory patent for his moiety of this island in trust for the use of his four sons, Harman, Cornelis, Marten and Acus. This island was originally called "Marten's island" (from Marten Van Slyck, its original owner and brother of Jacques) and was also called Van Slyck, Wemp's, Sweer Theunise's island from its various owners. The name "Van Slyck Island" has survived. Jacques Van Slyck also received a grant of land on the First flat, on the south side of the Mohawk River to the west of the village—consisting of 40 morgens or 80 acres. A morgen is a Dutch land measure comprising two acres. Jacques inherited this plot from his mother Ots-toch. His sons inherited and lived upon this farm which was still in the possession and occupancy of the family in 1883, 221 years after the settlement of Schenectady.

At one time Jacques Cornelise Van Slyck had a house lot in the village of Schenectady, probably on the west corner of Washington Street and Cucumber Alley, having a front on the former street of about 166 feet and extending back to the Binne Kil. The alley on the north side was the passage to the Binne Kil, which was crossed by a scow to his farm on the Great Island. The lot passed to his son, Capt. Harmanus Van Slyck.

Capt. Harmanus Van Slyck was the eldest son of Jacques Cornelise Van Slyck. He married Jannetie, daughter of Adam Vrooman, in 1704, by whom he had ten children. He commanded a Schenectady company of militia. In 1713, the Mohawks gave Captain Harmanus Van Slyck over 2,000 acres of land, extending along the north side of the Mohawk River from The Noses to Nelliston, which is mentioned later. Here he built a farmhouse and a mill about a mile west of present Palatine Bridge. Captain Van Slyck died in 1733, leaving three sons. Jacobus and Adam Van Slyck of Schenectady, and Major Harmanus Van Slyck who lived on the farmstead and who became a major of the Palatine district regiment of Tryon County militia during the Revolutionary war.

The historical facts, in the foregoing account of the Van Slyck family showing the ownership of much of the Schenectady lands by Otstoch, wife of Cornelis Antonissen Van Slyck, would seem to indicate that Van Curler secured the Schenectady lands from the Indians largely through the influence of "Broer Cornelis", the elder Van Slyck.

Pearson says that Jacques Cornelise Van Slyck "seems to have had the regard both of the natives and the Dutch and to have had considerable influence with both peoples, between whom he acted as interpreter."

One of the most interesting figures in the settlement of Schenectady is Leah, sister of Cornelis and daughter of "Broer Cornelis" and his French-Mohawk wife, Ots-toch. She married Claas Willemse Van Coppernoll, who hired a bouwery (farm) of Willem Teller, one of the original patentees at Schenectady in 1679. In 1685, Governor Dongan granted Van Coppernoll and Pieter Van Olinda the Willow flat (de Willegen Vlachte) on the south shore of the Mohawk east of Amsterdam. Van Coppernoll sold his interest to Philip de More in 1689 and moved to the Sixth flat on the north side of the river.

Van Coppernoll died about 1692, after which his wife Leah married Jonathan Stevens, a New Englander or "Yankee", who built the present Stevens house at Ael Plaats (Ael Place) east of Schenectady in 1693. His son, Arent Stevens, had, through his Mohawk ancestry, great influence with the Mohawks and acted as interpreter for Sir William Johnson for twenty years. Leah, his mother, was granted (by her Mohawk relatives) the Boght (bend in the river) at Watervliet, Boght near Cohoes Falls, and the Great Islands in the Mohawk at Niskayuna.

PIETER DANIELSE VAN OLINDA.

Illetje or Hilletie (Alice) Van Slyck (the other daughter of Broer Cornelis by his half-breed French-Mohawk wife Ots-toch), in 1663, married Pieter Danielse Van Olinda, one of the original proprietors of Schenectady, who came from Beverwyck where he had been a tailor. Through his French-Dutch-Mohawk wife, Van Olinda received valuable grants of land at De Willegen (the Willows) on the south river shore east of Amsterdam.

Hilletie, or Illetje, like her sister Leah, was a well-known Indian interpreter in the early days of Schenectady, being employed as a Provincial interpreter at a salary of twenty pounds yearly. Hilletie died in 1705, and Van Olinda died at an advanced age, in 1715, at Watervliet. They had three sons, Daniel, who inherited the "Boght of the Kahoos" and Jacob who received De Willegen Vlachte (Willow Flat) east of Amsterdam. Matthys was idiotic and was supported by his brothers.

The Great Island (later known as Shakers Island) at Niskayuna was deeded to Hilletie Van Olinda by the Mohawks, June 11, 1667. Van Olinda had a house lot in Schenectady on the south

side of Union Street, which was later occupied by the Schenectady County courthouse, now the Education building. Van Olinda and Van Coppernoll received the Williigen flat, east of South Amsterdam, through their wives, the sisters Leah and Hilletie Van Slyck, from their Mohawk tribesmen.

"Hilletie, although born and brought up in the early years among the Mohawks, was soon separated from them and received the rudiments of a Christian education in Albany and Schenectady." Her sister Leah also received the same advantages and both of these French-Dutch-Mohawk women of early Schenectady are spoken of highly by their contemporaries.

About 1680 two Dutch Labadists, Danker and Sluyter, came to New York and made a tour of the Colony in search of a site for the location of a settlement and church of that sect. They kept a journal of their journey which forms an interesting picture of the mingled Dutch and English life of the province of New York in 1680. In their travels they visited Albany, Cohoes Falls and Schenectady and met Hilletie, the wife of Pieter Danielse Van Olinda, who came to them with her idiot child hoping, in her fond mother's heart, that the two strangers might be able to help his condition. The paragraphs of the journal which relate to this incident give us something of a picture of Hilletie Van Slyck, and the rough little frontier town of Schenectady and its people. Hilletie was not a half-breed, as it here stated, but only one-quarter Mohawk, one-quarter French and half Dutch. The Danker and Sluyter journal, relating to Hilletie and Schenectady, follows:

"While we were there a certain Indian woman or half-breed, that is from a European and an Indian woman, came with a little boy, her child, who was dumb or whose tongue had grown fast. It was about four years old; she had heard we were there and came to ask whether we knew of any advice for her child or whether we could not do a little something to cure it. Sanders [Glen] told me aside that she was a Christian, that is, had left the Indians and had been taught by the Christians and baptized. I was surprised to find so far in the woods and among Indians, a person who would address me with such affection and love of God. She related to me from the beginning her case, that is, how she had embraced Christianity. She was born of a Christian father and an Indian mother of the Mohawk tribes. Her mother remained in the country and lived among the Mohawks, and she lived with her the same as the Indians live together. Her mother would never listen to anything about the Christians, as it was against her heart, from an inward, unfounded hate. She lived there with her

mother and brother and sisters; but sometimes she went with her mother among the Christians to trade and make purchases or the Christians came among them, and thus it was that some Christians took a fancy to the girl, discovering in her more resemblance to the Christians than the Indians. They, therefore, wished to take the girl and bring her up, which the mother would not hear to. The little daughter herself had no disposition at first to go. This happened several times when the daughter began to mistrust the Christians were not such as her mother told her. She, therefore, began to hearken to them, but particularly she felt a great inclination and love in her heart towards those Christians who spoke to her about God and of Jesus Christ and the Christian religion. Her mother observed this and began to hate her, her brothers and sisters despised and cursed her, threw stones at her and did all the wrong they could. They compelled her to leave them, as she did and went to those who had so long solicited her. They give her the name of Eltie or Illetie. She lived a long time with a woman with whom we conversed afterwards, who taught her to read and write and do various handiwork. She felt such a desire and eagerness to learn, that she could not be restrained, particularly when she began to understand the Dutch language and what was expressed in the New Testament where her whole heart was. Finally she made her profession and was baptized.

"She has some children; her husband is not as good as she is, though he is not one of the worst; she sets a good example before him and knows how to direct him.

"She has a brother [Jacques Cornelise Van Slyck] who was also a half-breed, who had made profession of Christianity and had been baptized and who was not by far as good as she, but, on the contrary, very wicked; although I believe he has been better and has been corrupted by the conversation of impious Hollanders, for this place is a godless one, being without a minister and having only a homily (postil) read on Sundays."—Danker and Sluyter's Journal, 1680, pp. 301-5.

The foregoing covers the story of the Van Slyck family as it relates to the elder Van Slyck, his French-Mohawk wife and their children. The Van Slycks enter into the annals of the Valley many times later on.

PHILIP HENDRICKSE BROUWER.

Brouwer located at Beverwyck in 1655, where he bought a house, lot and brewery. In 1662 he became one of the original proprietors of Schenectady, receiving Lot No. 2, and was one of

the eleven proprietors who settled there. In September, 1663, Brouwer loaded his gun and went out to shoot ducks. He came upon Claas Cornelise Swits, a "bouwknecht" (farm laborer) who worked for Willem Teller and who was plowing on Teller's farm No. 5.

After a heated argument, Brouwer shot Swits, who died a few hours after. Brouwer had previously ordered Swits off the land, over which there was a line dispute, Brouwer claiming that Swits was infringing on his property. And so the innumerable line squabbles of the Mohawk Valley began with murderous results in the first instance. Brouwer died in 1664 and his Schenectady property, including his house lot on the north corner of State and Church streets, was bought by Cornelis Van Ness.

TEUNIS CORNELISE SWART.

Teunis Cornelise Swart was one of the original proprietors who settled at Schenectady. Swart occupied the lot on the east corner of State and Church streets while his bouwland farm was No. 10. Swart had three sons, Cornelis, who removed to Ulster County; Adam, who moved to Kinderhook; and Esaias or Jesaias, who remained in Schenectady and became the ancestor of the Mohawk Valley Swart family.

BASTIAN DE WINTER.

De Winter was a native of Middleburgh, Holland, who came to Beverwyck in 1654 and to Schenectady in 1662. He was attorney in the name of Catalyn De Vos, widow of Arent Andriese Bratt, and so signed himself in the 1663 petition of the Schenectady settlers asking to have their lands surveyed and apportioned. His village lot was 200 feet square, on the southeast corner of Church and Union streets, now occupied by the grounds of the First Reformed Church. Falling sick in 1670, he sold his Schenectady property to Joris Arissen Vander Baast (the surveyor who was killed in the massacre of 1690), Jan Labatie and Elias Van Gyseling.

ARENT ANDRIESE BRATT.

Two brothers, Albert Andriese Bratt, "de Noorman," and Arent Andriese Bratt, "de Sweedt", were early settlers of Albany. How they could be brothers and one be a Norman and the other a Swede is a mystery. Albert Andriese Bratt De Noorman came to Fort Orange in 1630, and built a mill on the Tawasentha, which came to be called the Norman's kill on that account. Arent

Andriese Bratt married Catalyntje De Vos, daughter of the deputy-director of Rensselaerwyck, by whom he had six children. Bratt became one of the original proprietors of Schenectady in 1662, shortly after which he died. His widow married Barent Janse Van Ditmars, who was killed in the massacre of 1690, as was the eldest son, Arent Bratt.

Bratt's Schenectady lot was the west quarter of the block bounded by Washington, State, Church and Union streets. He also had 66 acres in two parcels on the Groote Vlachte (Great Flat).

PIETER JACOBSE BORSBOOM DE STEENBAKER.

Pieter Jacobse Borsboom was at Fort Orange as early as 1639, and continued there until Schenectady was settled in 1661-1662, when he became one of the fifteen original proprietors. As his name implies, he was a brickmaker and had a brickyard in Beverwyck, which he sold to Abram Staats, July 28, 1661, for 350 guilders, probably preparatory to moving to Schenectady. There is no mention of his making bricks in Schenectady. Borsboom had two village lots on the south and east corners of Front and Washington streets, and two farms on the bouwland marked No. 7. His children were Cornelis; Annie, wife of Jan Pieterse Mabie; Martie, wife of Hendrick Brouwer; Fytie, wife of Marten Van Benthuysen; and Tryntie, wife of John Oliver.

Besides the foregoing eleven of the original fifteen proprietors, who actually located in Schenectady, a brief mention of the other proprietors is here given.

JAN BARENTSE WEMP (WEMPLE).

Jan Barentse Wemp, alias Poest, settled in Beverwyck in 1643. He married Maritie Myndertse. In 1662, Governor Stuyvesant granted the first patent for land in the Mohawk Valley to Jan Barentse Wemp and Jacques Cornelise Van Slyck, it being the Great Island, or Van Slyck Island, in the Mohawk at Schenectady. Wemp was one of the fourteen original Schenectady proprietors but he died in 1662 and never occupied his Schenectady lands. His widow married Sweer Teunise Van Velsen in 1663, and Van Velsen took Wemp's place in Governor Nicoll's confirmatory land grants of 1667. Wemp's village lot was on the west side of Washington Street, extending westward to the river.

Myndert Wemp, son of Jan Barentse Wemp, inherited his father's town lot. Although Jan did not live to settle in Schenec-

tady, his son Myndert evidently did so at the time of the settlement. Myndert Wemp was one of the five patentees named in the Schenectady patent of 1684, granted by Governor Dongan. In 1689 he was a justice of the peace and was slain in the massacre of 1690, when his only son, Johannes Wemp and two negro slaves were made captives and carried to Canada. Johannes Wemp married Catalina Schermerhorn and later Ariaantje Swits and had twelve children, six sons and six daughters. He early (1711) moved up into the "Mohawks country" on the Mohawk River in the neighborhood of present Fonda. He is the ancestor of the Wemple family in the Mohawk Valley.

Captain Barent Wemp, another son of Jan Barentse Wemp, the original Schenectady proprietor, married Folkje, the daughter of Symon Volckertse Veeder, another proprietor. They had ten children. Barent Wemp was made captain of the Schenectady company of militia in 1690 by Governor Leisler. His son Jan Barentse Wemp inherited his father's property.

Johannes Dirkse Van Eps succeeded to the property of Philip Hendrickse Brouwer, upon its sale in 1664. It was bought for him by his father-in-law Cornelis Van Ness of Beverwyck. Van Eps was the son of Dirk Van Eps of Beverwyck who had had two children, Johannes and Lysbet, who married Gerrit Bancker, one of the Schenectady proprietors, but not a settler. Johannes Van Eps was one of the five Schenectady magistrates in 1676 and 1678 and one of the five patentees under the Dongan patent of 1684. He married Elizabeth Janse and had three sons and four daughters. Van Eps and one son were killed in the Schenectady massacre of 1690, when another son, Jan Baptist Van Eps was made prisoner and carried off to Canada. Johannes Dirkse Van Eps is the ancestor of the Van Epps family in the Mohawk Valley.

Jan Baptist Van Epps accompanied the French-Indian raiding party of 1693, which burned all the Mohawk castles and took 300 Mohawk prisoners. He escaped from this invading war party to Schenectady as the following Albany record shows:

"1693, Feb. 8, Wed. about 2 o'clock afternoon, we had the alarm from Schenectady that the French and Indians had taken the Maqas castles; soon after we had the news that a young man named Jan Baptist Van Eps (taken at Schenectady 3 years ago) was run over from the French as they attack the first castle of the Mohogs, and came to Schenectady, who related that the French were 350 Christians and 200 Indians."

During his captivity with the Indians in Canada, young Van Eps acquired a knowledge of the Indian language and subsequently was often employed as an interpreter and ambassador to

the Five Nations. Jan Baptist Van Eps was born in 1673 and so was seventeen years old at the time of the massacre and his capture. In 1699, Van Eps married Helena, daughter of Capt. Johannes Sanderse Glen, and had eleven children.

GERRIT BANCKER.

Gerrit Bancker was one of the first proprietors of Schenectady but not a settler. He probably came from Amsterdam, Holland, settled in New Amsterdam in 1655 and removed to Beverwyck in 1657. He married Elizabeth, daughter of Dirk Van Eps and sister of Jan Baptist Van Eps. Dirk was one of the first settlers of Schenectady. Bancker's town lot was the north quarter of the block bounded by Union, Washington, State and Church streets. This lot was sold in 1702 to Cornelis Swits. Bancker's bouweries were those marked No. 6, which were sold to Isaac Swits and Harmen Vedder.

MARTEN CORNELISE VAN YSSELSTEYN.

Marten Cornelise Van Ysselsteyn, or Esselsteyn (also written Isselsteyn), was born in the city of Ysselsteyn, Holland. His wife, Mayke Cornelise, was a native of Barnevelt, Holland. Ysselsteyn was an original proprietor and settler of Schenectady. His home was upon his hindmost lot of two on the bouwland, which were marked No. 8. He lived here six years and then sold his farms, and with his family, removed to Claverack. Foremost lot of No. 8, was sold to Claas Frederikse Van Petten and Cornelis Cornelise Viele.

SYMON VOLCKERTSE VEEDER.

Symon Volckertse Veeder, alias de Bakker, was born in Holland in 1624. In 1644 he was a sailor on the ship Prince Willem, sailing between Holland and New Amsterdam. He bought a house in New Amsterdam in 1652 and removed to Beverwyck in 1654. He was one of the fifteen original proprietors of Schenectady. His home lot in the village was on the north corner of State and Ferry streets. Symon had eight children and, on his death in 1700, his lot became the property of his son Volkert (who had twelve children), who bequeathed to his three sons, Symon, Hendricus and Johannes—each a lot of about 60 foot front. On the bouwland, Symon Volckertse Veeder received the parcels numbered 9. His front lot on the river was called De Bakkers Hoek (The Bakers Point), which eventually passed to his sons, Pieter and Johannes.

PIETER ADRIAENSE VAN WOGGLEUM.

Pieter Adriaense Soegemakelyk, alias Van Woggleum, was an original patentee of Schenectady but not a settler, so far as known. His name or sobriquet of Soegemakelyk is translated "Oh, so easy." Pieter and his brother, Jacob Adriaense, were innkeepers in Beverwyck. His village lot was the easterly quarter of the block bounded by Union, Washington, State and Church streets. He sold this to Helmer Otten, baker of Albany in 1670, who dying soon after, it passed into the hands of Ryer Schermerhorn, who married Otten's widow. It later passed into the hands of Catharina Otten, who married Gerrit Symonse Veeder. Van Woggleum had two parcels of land on the bouwland marked No. 4, which were sold to Helmer Otten and which passed to his daughter and only heir Catharina, wife as aforementioned, of Gerrit Symonse Veeder, and to Otten's widow, Aarientje Arentse Bratt, who married Ryer Schermerhorn. Foremost lot No. 4 remained in the ownership of the Schermerhorn family until 1872.

Ryer Schermerhorn is one of the most frequently mentioned of the early settlers of Schenectady from his connection with the Schenectady patent of 1684, granted by Gov. Thomas Dongan, under which he was one of the five patentees therein mentioned. From 1700 to 1714, Schermerhorn was the only survivor of these patentees, and he was strongly complained of as exercising arbitrary power over town affairs and rendering no account of his proceedings. The granting of the Dongan patent of 1684 caused one hundred and fifteen years of litigation and squabbling, which ended only with the granting of a city charter to Schenectady in 1798. These matters and Schermerhorn's connection therewith are covered in later chapters.

Jan Janse Schermerhorn was the first of the family in America. He was born at Waterland in Holland in 1622, and came to Beverwyck at an early date. He was arrested in 1648 by Director General Stuyvesant on a charge of selling arms and ammunition to the Indians and was taken a prisoner to New Amsterdam where he was sentenced to banishment for five years and the confiscation of all his property. The banishment was revoked through the influence of leading citizens but his property was confiscated. He began anew and, before his death in 1689, had acquired a fortune valued at 56,882 guilders, equal to $24,889, a large sum for those early days. (A guilder is a Dutch coin valued at 42 cents.) Schermerhorn settled in Schenectady some years before his death.

Ryer Schermerhorn was born in Albany in 1652 and married

in 1676, Ariaantje (daughter of Arent Andriese Bratt, one of the fifteen proprietors of 1662), who was born in Esopus. She was the widow of Helmer Otten, as previously mentioned, and, through her, he acquired bouwery No. 4. In addition to this, he owned the Seventh flat on the north side of the river. He also acquired through his wife the lot at Union and Church streets and owned other real estate in the village, as well as mills on the Schuylenberg Kil. Schermerhorn was a member, from Albany County, of the Provincial Assembly in 1690 and in 1700 was appointed assistant to the Judge of Common Pleas.

Symon Schermerhorn, son of Jacob Janse Schermerhorn, removed to Schenectady about 1689. In the 1690 massacre his son and three negroes were killed. Symon mounted a horse and rode through the enemy to Albany, a feat which is mentioned under the massacre. He later removed from Schenectady.

WILLEM TELLER, JOHANNES TELLER.

Willem Teller was an original proprietor of Schenectady, but not a settler here although his son, Johannes, evidently located here at an early date. Willem Teller came to New Amsterdam in 1639, as a soldier, and was sent to Fort Orange, where he served as a corporal and later became Wachtmeester of the fort. He lived in Albany until 1692, when he removed to New York, where he died in 1701.

Teller's house lot was the west quarter of the block bounded by Washington, Front, Church and Union streets. His bouweries were marked No. 5. Both his house lot and farms were evidently occupied by his son Johannes. Willem Teller was one of the five Schenectady patentees named in the patent granted in 1684 by Governor Dongan, and he was the only one of the fifteen original Schenectady proprietors so named.

Johannes Teller, son of Willem and the settler of Schenectady, was born in 1659 and married Sussanna, daughter of Capt. Johannes Wendel of Albany, in 1686. At the time of the Schenectady massacre of 1690, his house was burned and he was made a captive by the French and carried to Canada. In 1700 Willem Teller conveyed his two Schenectady bouweries to his son Johannes "in consideration that he was much reduced in property in 1690, at the burning of Schenectady by the French." Johannes Teller had three sons, Johannes, Willem and Jacobus, among whom his property was divided at his death in 1725.

Sweer Teunise Van Velsen, alias Van Westerbrook, in 1664, married Maritie Mynderstse, widow of Jan Barentse Wemp, one

of the fourteen original proprietors of Schenectady. In 1666 he removed from Beverwyck to Schenectady and built the first grist mill in the district on Mill Creek on Mill Lane. This was carried away by a freshet in 1673, and was rebuilt. In consideration of this loss he was allowed to take an eighth part of the meal he ground, instead of the regular tenth part which he formerly received from the farmers. In 1676, Van Velsen was made one of the magistrates of Schenectady. In 1684, he was one of the five patentees named in the Dongan patent of 1684. He was killed in the massacre of Schenectady with his wife and four negro slaves.

Freeholders, other than those mentioned above, who settled in Schenectady village and district prior to 1700, are given in Pearson's "History of the Schenectady Patent," in some detail. It is the mission of this chapter merely to give an account of the fifteen proprietors of Schenectady and the eleven who actually settled there, together with brief mention of those persons who were directly connected with them as relatives, heirs, purchasers, etc. For description of the other freeholders in the forty years from 1661 to 1700, see Pearson's work. Following are the names of the freeholders for this period, 1661-1700, other than those already mentioned. Date of settlement at Schenectady is also given where possible. Only the pioneers of the families are generally mentioned.

Jan Appel (severely wounded in 1690 massacre), William Appel, Douw Aukes (De Freeze), innkeeper at whose inn merry-making was going on the night of the massacre.

Bent Bagge (1669). Caleb Beck (1700), innkeeper. Hendrick Lambertse Bont.

Geraldus Cambefort (or Comfort), (1690). Teunis Cartense (1690). Christian Christianse (1671). David Christoffelse, son of an Englishman. Kit Davidts (about 1675), killed in the massacre of 1690. Ludovicus Cobes, schout and secretary of Schenectady in 1671. Johannes Clute, alias "de Boslooper," settled at Niskayuna. Jacobus Cromwell, innkeeper.

Claas Andriese De Graaf, who was the first settler west of Scotia at Claas Graven's Hoek, died 1697. Jan Delaward bought land at Niskayuna, prior to 1698. Johannes Dyckman, settled at Aal Plaats, and left after the massacre of 1690. Jonathan Dyer, a Welshman and bricklayer (1695).

Hans Janse Eenkuys, soldier and early settler.

Jillis Douwese Fonda, settled in Beverwyck before 1654. His son, Douw Jillis Fonda, owned land at Troy. His son, Jillis, married Rachel Winne and removed to Schenectady in 1700. He was

a gunstocker by trade and had eleven children and is the ancestor of the Fonda family of the Mohawk Valley. Jillis's son Douw removed to Caughnawaga (present Fonda), where he was a trader and had a son Major Jelles Fonda, both of whom are mentioned later.

Dominie Barnardus Freeman (or Freerman), born in Gilhuis, Holland, came to Schenectady in 1700. The Dominie was a good Iroquois linguist and, with the help of Laurens Claas Vander Volgen, translated a part of the prayer book and portions of the Scriptures into the Mohawk language.

Frederick Gerritse, yeoman, (1687). Symon Symons Groot, settled in Beverwyck in 1655 and removed to Schenectady in 1663. He had ten children and four of his six sons, Symon Abraham, Philip, Dirk and Claas, were captured in 1690, taken to Canada and redeemed the following year. Philip Groot moved to present Cranesville, Montgomery County, about 1710, but was drowned on the trip, his widow and children making the settlement.

Hendrick Hagedorn, son of Harmanus Hagedorn (1695). William Hall married Tryentie Claase, widow of Elias Van Gyseling in 1695. Dirk Hesseling (1671).

Paulus Janse (1669). His son, Arnout, was carried captive to Canada after the 1690 massacre. Jan Janse Joncker van Rotterdam (before 1678). Van Rotterdam secured the westerly half of the Second flat (in the general locality of present Rotterdam Junction) in 1678.

Johannes Kleyn came to Schenectady in 1678 and married Maria, widow of Ludovicus Cobes, secretary or village clerk of Schenectady.

Jan Labatie (Labadie), a Frenchman, came to New Netherland in 1634. He was commissary at different times of Fort Orange and Rensselaerwyck and bought property in Schenectady as early as 1662. He married Jilletje Claas Swits, widow of Surgeon Harmen Myndertse Van den Bogaert, who made the famous journey of 1634 to the Mohawks which is published in a prior chapter. Labatie did not live in Schenectady. Benjamin Lenyn, Frenchman, settled in the Woestyne. Jan Lens (1684).

Pieter Mangelse (1700). David Marinus (1676). Gerrit Marselis, killed with wife and one child in the 1690 massacre. Ahasuerus Marselis was the son of Marselis Janse from Bommel in Guilderland, Holland, who early settled in Albany. Ahasuerus was a shoemaker and removed to Schenectady about 1698 and

had his shop on the south corner of Mill Lane and State Street. Daniel Mascraft (1697).

Jan Pieterse Mebie (Mabie) married Ann, daughter of Pieter Jacobse Borsboom. He owned a village lot on the east side of Church Street in Schenectady. He bought the farm and house of Daniel Janse Van Antwerpen on the Third flat (near present Rotterdam Junction) in 1706. This Van Antwerpen house, built in 1670, is now called the Mabie house and is the oldest house in the Mohawk Valley.

Thomas Nobel, married Catarina, daughter of David Marinus, in 1701.

Helmer Otten, a German from Essen and a baker by trade, married Ariaantje, daughter of Arent Bratt.

The Holland Dutch family of Oothout were settlers in Schenectady before 1700.

Jacobus Peeck, a son of Jan Peeck, the New Amsterdam innkeeper, from whom Peekskill is named.

Philip Philipse (de Moer), married Elizabeth, daughter of Harmen Gansevoort of Albany. He settled on the Willegen Vlachte (Willow Flat), about a mile east of South Amsterdam, in 1689. Philip's son had a German housemaid, Catherine Weisberger, to whom William Johnson (later Sir William), then a young trader and neighbor, took a fancy and married, as mentioned later. Jan Philipse, brother of Philip. Bartholomew Pikkert (1700).

Jan Pootman (Putman), (1662), married Cornelia, daughter of Arent Adriense Bratt, one of the fifteen original proprietors. Pootman and his wife were killed in the 1690 massacre.

Pieter Ral (1700). Jurrian Rinckhout. Benjamin Roberts (1669). Jan Roeloffse was the son of the famous Annake Jans of New Amsterdam, by her first husband, Roeloffe Jansen. Jan was a surveyor resident at Beverwyck up to 1670, when he accidentally killed Gerrit Verbeek. He was pardoned and removed to Schenectady. He and his wife were slain in the massacre of 1690.

Reynier Schaets, surgeon, was a son of Dominie Gideon Schaets and an early settler of Schenectady. He was a justice in 1689 and, with one of his sons, was slain in the 1690 massacre.

Manasseh Sixberry, Englishman (1699). Cornelis Slingerland of Albany married Eva Mebie of Schenectady in 1699. Thomas Smith, New Englander, married Maria, daughter of Ludovicus Cobes, in 1696. Casparus Springsteen, married Jannetie, sister of Ryer Schermerhorn, 1695. Isaac Cornelise Swits (1663).

Dominie Petrus Thesschenmaecker was the first settled minister of the Reformed Dutch Church of Schenectady, coming here in 1684. He was slain in the 1690 massacre. Jeremi Thickstone, brother-in-law of Karel Haensen Toll, and with him settled near present Hoffman's Ferry in 1684. William Abrahamse Tietsoort (1681). Karel Haensen Toll, married Lysbet Rinckhout. He went from present Hoffman's Ferry to Maalwyck where he bought the Toll farm and settled about 1712; had considerable property, was member of the Provincial Assembly for Schenectady Township, Albany County, 1714-1726; was an interesting Schenectady Dutch character.

Daniel Janse Van Antwerpen was a deputy schout fiscal (deputy sheriff) at Fort Orange. He came to Schenectady about 1665 and settled just west of present Rotterdam Junction where he built the stone house now called the Mabie house, commonly reputed to have been built in 1670, and now the oldest house in the Mohawk Valley. Van Antwerpen is supposed to have traded with the Indians sub rosa. Marten Van Benthuysen married Feitje (or Fytie), daughter of Pieter Jacobse Borsboom, an original Schenectady proprietor. Claas Janse Van Boekhoven, married Catalyntje De Vos, widow of Arent Bratt, in 1691, and removed to Schenectady. Gysbert Gerritse Van Brakelen, married Elizabeth, widow of Jan Van Eps, in 1693.

Joris Aertse Vander Baast (1670), surveyer and clerk of the town in 1689, and slain in the 1690 massacre.

Lauren Claes Vander Volgen, carried captive to Canada after the massacre of 1690. He was then thirteen. After several years he visited his family, having promised his captors he would return. His sister cut off his scalp lock, which act disgraced him in the eyes of the savages. While waiting for it to grow out, he became reconciled to remain. He was Provincial interpreter for over forty years, 1700-1742, and, aided Dominie Freeman to translate a considerable part of the Scriptures into the Mohawk language.

Jacobus Van Dyck was the son of Cornelis Van Dyck, "Chirurgeon" of Albany and grandson of Hendrick Van Dyck, schout fiscal (sheriff) of New Amsterdam under Stuyvesant. Jacobus studied medicine under his father and settled in Schenectady, where he practiced his profession, being surgeon of Fort Schenectady, at one shilling per day. He married Jacomyntie, daughter of Johannes Sanderse Glen, in 1694, and had two children, Elizabeth, and a son Cornelis Van Dyck, who also became a surgeon in Schenectady.

Elias Van Gyseling (1670), with Cornelise Viele, purchased Bastian De Winter's farm. Benony Arentse Van Hoek. Jan Gerritse Van Marcken (the Schenectady schout in 1673). Goosen Van Oort. Claas Frederickse Van Petten, married Aeffie, daughter of Arent Bratt, one of the first proprietors, and later, Catalyntje De Vos. He came to Schenectady in 1664, and, with Cornelis Cornelise Viele, bought the bouweries No. 8 of Marten Cornelise Van Esselstyne, one of the first proprietors. After various purchases, he bought lot No. 3, and settled upon it. Jellis Van Vorst, married Elizabeth, daughter of Jan Baptist Van Eps, in 1699, and removed to Schenectady in 1700.

Cornelis Viele, mentioned above, was one of the two licensed tapsters of Schenectady, his inn being at the corner of State Street and Mill Lane. Douw Aukes succeeded him there, having married Maria, Viele's granddaughter. Arnout Cornelise Velie, son of Cornelis, was captured by Indians in 1683, and taken to Canada. He learned the Indian language and served for many years as Provincial interpreter at important Indian councils at Albany. His son, Arnout, was captured in the 1690 massacre and taken to Canada. He remained there three years, when he joined the French-Indian war party which raided the Mohawk castles in 1693, when he escaped to Schenectady.

Hendrick Vrooman, the ancestor of the Vrooman family in the Mohawk Valley, lived at Kinderhook and Steene Raby (Stone Arabia) in the present Lansingburg section of Troy, and came to Schenectady in 1677 and purchased 20 morgens of the Van Curler bouwery and a village lot. Vrooman was killed in the 1690 massacre, with a son and two negro slaves. His sons, Adam and Jan, inherited his property. Jan Vrooman married Geesie, daughter of Symon Volckertse Veeder, one of the fifteen original proprietors.

Adam Vrooman was born in Holland in 1649. He learned the millwright's trade at Rensselaerwyck. In 1683 he built a mill at Schenectady on the Sandkil. He saved his life by his brave fight in the 1690 massacre, although his wife and infant were killed and his two sons, Wouter and Barent, carried captive to Canada. His town house was on the west corner of Front and Church streets. He went to Canada in 1697, to obtain the release of his sons, his brother Jan and his cousin, Matthys Meese. In 1685, the Mohawks granted Vrooman 60 acres of land west of present

Cranesville "near the stone house" (Chuctanunda), in present Amsterdam, which flats lay on both sides of the river. He was granted the land on condition that he build a small house upon it, which, however, he probably did not occupy. Vrooman bought land of the Indians near Schoharie, which purchase is mentioned under the chapter devoted to Schoharie Settlement. Vrooman married, first, Engeltie (last name unknown); second wife, Grietje Ryckman, widow of Jacques Cornelise Van Slyck, 1691; third, Grietje Takelse Heemstraat, in 1697, in Albany. He had thirteen children, nine sons and four daughters.

Jan Luykase Wyngaard settled above present Hoffmans Ferry on the south river shore in 1686. He fled from this at the time of the Schenectady massacre, and bought a town lot which included the later Givens Hotel in Schenectady.

Robert Yates was the son of Joseph Yates, an Englishman, who settled in Albany in 1664 and married Hubertje Van Bommel and had seven children. Robert settled in Schenectady on the Albany road near Ferry Street. He left his property, including tan yards, to his sons, Joseph and Abraham "of the Mohawk country." Robert's nephew, Joseph Christoffelse Yates, also a cordwainer, settled in Schenectady in 1734. Abraham Yates, his son, owned the well known house which bears his name on Union Street, one of the few typical old-time Schenectady Dutch houses now standing. Another son of Joseph Christoffelse Yates and Eva Fonda, his wife, was Christoffel, who became a land surveyor and a leading citizen. He was lieutenant-colonel of the Second Albany County Militia Regiment during the Revolution and was wounded in action. His son Joseph became the first mayor of Schenectady and a governor of New York; Henry, a member of Congress; John, engineer of the Welland Canal and a millionaire, and Andrew, a minister and professor at Union College.

CHAPTER 23.

SCHENECTADY AND LOWER MOHAWK VALLEY—

1664-1690.

DEATH OF VAN CURLER, THE CITY'S FOUNDER, IN 1667—THE REFORMED DUTCH CHURCH BUILDING PRESENTED BY ALEXANDER GLEN IN 1682—FORMATION OF ALBANY COUNTY IN 1683—SCHENECTADY PATENT OF 1684—MASSACRE AND BURNING OF CITY IN 1690.

Previous chapters of this history have covered the settlement of Schenectady in 1661-2 by Hollanders from Beverwyck or Fort Orange (Albany) and the first early years of the town and district up to the granting of patents in 1664 to the fifteen original proprietors or their heirs. In the latter year the English conquered New Netherland and this momentous change of rule has also been described, particularly with regard to the Mohawk Valley settlements of New Netherland at and about Schenectady.

The following chapter treats of the history, development and settlement of Schenectady and the lower Mohawk Valley, from 1664 to 1690. In all historical description of this and other chapters, we must bear in mind that the Mohawk Valley was part of Albany County from 1688 up to the formation of Tryon County in 1772, when the middle and upper Valley was set off from Albany County. The lower Valley, including Schenectady village and the Schenectady township, present Schenectady County, and a great part of Schoharie County, remained under the jurisdiction of Albany County until the formation of Schoharie County in 1795 and Schenectady County in 1808. Albany had a great influence on the Mohawk Valley from the settlement of Schenectady in 1661-2 to the formation of Tryon County, one hundred and ten years later in 1772, while it continued to be the county seat of the lower Mohawk Valley excepting the Saratoga County river shore, until 1808, when Schenectady County was set off.

Schenectady early gave promise of rapid growth into a strong rival of Albany, although trade with the Indians was at first prohibited, as has been mentioned previously. Had not King William's war (1668-1698) broken out and involved the French and English with its resultant Schenectady massacre, the first town of the Mohawk Valley might possibly have outstripped its older Dutch rival on the Hudson.

Soon after the stockading of the town, the demand for space for buildings within the palisades made it necessary to cut up the sixteen building lots provided for in the original plan. The original squares or blocks consisted of four house lots but these were soon divided into three or four smaller lots thus giving as many as sixteen lots to the square with as many houses.

However, many settlers could not find room in the stockade and these people built houses along the Albany Road, so that, by 1690, there were buildings on the north side of the street as far east as Center Street. The community was one mostly of farmers. The families were large—ten children being an ordinary family —and the Dutch of New York are said to have doubled their population every twenty years prior to the Revolution, and so greatly increased the population at a time when the actual immigration was comparatively small.

During the period immediately following English conquest (in 1664), Schenectady's founder and leading citizen, Arent Van Curler, had a considerable influence on Provincial affairs. Governor Nicolls frequently called upon Van Curler for advice and consultation, particularly with reference to the management of Indian affairs and Provincial relations with the Mohawks and others of the Five Nations. Under English rule, the Schenectady fort was garrisoned by a company of from twenty to forty men under command of a lieutenant.

The first important event in Schenectady, after English conquest in 1664, was the expedition of the French Canadian governor De Courcelles against the Mohawks in the winter of 1666. De Courcelles lost his way and, instead of coming to the Mohawk castle at Gandawague as he expected, he came out on the Mohawk River at Schenectady. His army of 600 men was so exhausted and famished that they could go no farther. The Albany authorities allowed De Courcelles to buy provisions in Schenectady, probably with the idea that when provisioned, they would return to Canada, whereas the English regular and Provincial militia forces were too small to combat the invaders. De Courcelles would not allow his men to enter Schenectady because he feared if "hee had brought his weary and halfe starved people within the smell of a chimney corner, we would never have been able to get them out again." On their march southward sixty of De Courcelles' men were led into an ambush by a Mohawk war party. Eleven Frenchmen were killed and a number wounded, seven of whom the Albany people received for treatment. On February 12, 1666, the French began their retreat to Canada. They marched

on snowshoes while their provisions were drawn on slight sledges "by mastiff dogs." The inhabitants of Schenectady were repaid for all this kindness to the French by the horrible massacre, which took place twenty-four years later, almost to a day. In the fall of 1666, a French expedition of 1,500 men, led by De Tracy, destroyed all the Mohawk villages.

Arent Van Curler, the unofficial mayor of the town, evidently had a leading part in the peaceful handling of the French incursion under De Courcelles. Governor Nicolls wrote him commending him for his "conduct in these troubles," and hoping that the French would be discouraged from attempting "to disturb you and the Maquaes."

The great industries of the Mohawk Valley of today had their beginnings in the mill erected on Mill Lane Kill, in 1666, by Sweer Teunise Van Velsen, who thus becomes our pioneer Valley manufacturer. Van Velsen was one of the fifteen original proprietors of Schenectady. The first industries and stores of the little new frontier village are of much interest and are given where possible. They show the beginnings of Mohawk Valley urban life in the mid-Seventeenth century town. Much of this original Schenectady commerce and industry is mentioned under the chapter devoted to the Schenectady settlers.

Van Velsen took one-tenth of the corn or wheat which he ground as payment for his work. In 1673, his mill was destroyed by a freshet. After it was rebuilt he was allowed to take one-eighth of his millings because of his losses. At first he was denied the right to bolt flour, this privilege being granted only to the millers of Albany and New York. Later he was granted this right.

Pieter Fonda started a shoemaking and tanning industry at Schenectady, before 1670. His tannery was at the rear of his house on State Street, near Van Velsen's grist mill. There were several other industries and stores in the little town at this early date, in spite of the restrictions placed upon the village because of the jealousy of Albany. Symon Volckertse Vedder was a baker. P. Davits and Jellis Fonda made gun stocks and Barent Myndertse and Christian Smith repaired guns in 1693. The little town had its blacksmiths, carpenters, gunsmiths, shoemakers, wheelwrights and masons, as well as its millers, traders and farmers, probably from the early years of its settlement.

Symon Groot, son of Symon Symonse Groot (one of the settlers of 1663) was a carpenter and built the first bridge over

JAN MABIE HOUSE, 1670

This old Schenectady district farm house stands today at Rotterdam Junction, five miles west of Schenectady, exactly as built 255 years ago, with the exception of the small addition shown in the picture. An adjoining building was used as slave quarters for over 150 years up to the abolishment of slavery in New York State in 1827.

College Brook or Hansen Kill near the American Locomotive Co. works.

Jacques Van Slyck seems to have been the original innkeeper or tapster. In 1671, Cornelis Cornelissen Viele was granted a license as a tapster and in 1672 the Widow Van Curler received a license. Almost from the earliest days, a ferry ran to Scotia from the foot of present Washington Street, where the highway bridge was built in 1808.

In 1667, the Mohawks deeded the Great Islands in the Mohawk River at Niskayuna to Illetje or Hilletje (Dutch for Alice), wife of Pieter Danielse Van Olinda. Illetje, as previously mentioned, was a daughter of Cornelis Antonise Van Slyck and Ots-toch his Mohawk-French wife. Through this Mohawk Indian relationship the Van Slyck children, Jacques, Illetje (Alice), and Leah were granted valuable lands, which probably aided materially in the lower Valley's settlement, inasmuch as these three Van Slycks all married into Dutch families. Probably about the time of the Niskayuna grant of 1667, the Mohawks deeded to Illetje, wife of Van Olinda, and Leah, wife of Claas Willemse Van Coppernoll, De Willegen, "Willow Flat", below present Amsterdam. Illetje also inherited "the Boght of the Kahoos". It is certain that there were other and earlier settlers in the lower valley of the Mohawk. Illetje's or Hilletje's father, Cornelis Antonise Van Slyck, was living near Cohoes, Waterford and several other points at an early date.

Schenectady suffered a great loss the following year, 1667, when its founder, Arent Van Curler was drowned in Lake Champlain, while on a journey to Quebec to confer with De Tracy, the Viceroy of the French possessions in America.

Van Curler was highly respected by the governors of Canada, during his long residence at, and as an official of, Rensselaerwyck. M. De Tracy, Viceroy of New France, after his destruction of the Mohawk castles in 1666, probably thought he could further his plans for peace with the Iroquois by co-operation and counsel with Van Curler; accordingly De Tracy sent him the following letter, under date of May 20, 1667:

"If you find it agreeable to come hither this summer, as you have caused me to hope, you will be most welcome, and entertained to the utmost of my ability, as I have a great esteem for you, though I have not a personal acquaintance with you. Believe this truth, and that I am, sir, your affectionate and assured servant. TRACY."

Governor Nicolls furnished Van Curler with the following

letter characteristic of the servile courtesies of that day. It bears date of May 20, 1667, and reads in part, as follows:

"Mons'r Curler hath been importuned by divers of his friends at Quebec to give them a visit, and being ambitious to kiss your hands, he hath entreated my pass and liberty to conduct a young gentleman, M. Fontain, who unfortunately fell into the barbarous hands of his enemies, and by means of Monrs' Curler obtained his liberty."

On July 4, 1667, Jeremias Van Rensselaer wrote to Holland: "Our cousin Arendt Van Curler proceeds overland to Canada, having obtained leave from our general, and been invited thither by the Viceroy, M. de Tracy."

Van Curler went north, accompanied by M. Fontain and several Indians. While canoeing along Lake Champlain a severe storm overtook the party near Split Rock. Van Curler's canoe was overturned and he was drowned. It is said that the Indians offered a "sacrifice" by throwing tobacco on the waters to appease the evil spirit of the rocky point which they passed. Van Curler laughed at their superstitions and the redmen later said that the demon revenged itself for this levity by the death of the white man.

This history has previously told of Juffrouw Van Curler, who continued to live in Schenectady, until her death in 1676. She was born Antonia Slaghboom and at the time of her marriage to Van Curler, was the widow of Jonas Bronck. From Bronck, the borough of the Bronx, New York City, is named.

Under the chapter relating to "Settlers of Schenectady" it is told how the Widow Van Curler, in 1672, obtained a license to conduct an inn in the Van Curler house which stood on the site of the present Mohawk Club at Union and Church streets. Her farm house, barns and crops had all previously been destroyed by fire.

Because of the exposed portion of Schenectady and the danger of French and Indian invasion, Governor Lovelace, in 1671, issued an order that every man in Schenectady, over fifteen and under sixty years of age, should provide himself with a gun, side arms, and ammunition. In 1672, Jacob Sanders Glen and Sweer Teunise Van Velsen were made commanding officers of the Schenectady company of the Albany militia.

In 1669 the Mohicans invaded the Mohawk Valley and were severely beaten by the Mohawks at Caughnawaga and Kinquariones. As the latter battleground was only nine miles to the

westward, this Indian warfare probably occasioned much excitement in the little stockaded town of Schenectady.

Daniel Janse Van Antwerpen is an interesting figure in the settlement of the Mohawk Valley, for Van Antwerpen built the oldest house now standing along our river—now known as the Mabie house at Rotterdam. The date of the construction of this stone house, which is illustrated herein, is generally given as 1670, but it may have been built a few years earlier. Van Antwerpen came to Schenectady about 1665 and then, or soon after, settled at present Rotterdam, built his stone house "and doubtless traded sub rosa among the Indians on the Mohawk River".—(Pearson). Van Antwerpen purchased this land of the Indians and received a charter for "the third plain situated on this side of the Mohawk River," from Governor Dongan in 1680. In 1705, Van Antwerpen sold the westerly half of this farm and the house to Jan Pieterse Mebie. The old dwelling is now (1924) known as the Mabie house, Mabie being the present spelling of the name of the family, members of which were in possession of the property at the time (1924) of this writing, after an ownership of 220 years.

In the decade following Schenectady's settlement, 1661-1671, so many settlers came in that the original land was nearly all taken up. Consequently additional land was sought to the westward and, in August, 1672, "a certain Indian called Dahorywachqua and Crage, being the representatives of ye foure Mohocks Castells" sold to certain inhabitants of Schenectady "ye lands Near The Town of Schanhechtade within Three Dutch Myles in Compasse on both sides of ye River Westwards which ends at Hinquariones, Where the Last Battell Was between The Mohawk and the North Indians."

Jacques Cornelisse Van Slyck, Alexander Lindsay Glen, John Van Eps and Sweer Teunise Van Velsen were interested in this sale. The compensation for this land was "ye summe or quantity of six hundred hands of good Wheyte Wampum, Six Koates of Duffels, Thirty barres of Lead and nine bagges of Powder" in addition to a "Rundlet of Brandy". The quaint spelling and wording is from the original deed.

This 1672 purchase of Mohawk River lands extended the lands open for white settlement from the Alplaus Kil, about four miles east of Schenectady to Kinquariones, just west of present Hoffmans, or a distance of about fourteen miles along the river. Shortly after there were scattered farms and houses of Holland Dutch farmers and traders throughout the whole distance. By

1680, there was probably a greater population in the lower Mohawk Valley than there was at the close of King William's war in 1697, during which Albany County, including Schenectady, suffered a marked loss in population.

In July, 1673, while Holland and England were at war, a strong Dutch squadron, under command of Admirals Evertsen and Binckes, sailed through the Narrows and confronted the dismayed English captain Manning in the English Fort James at the lower end of Manhattan Island. The Dutch vessels floated up with the tide and when the English commander did not surrender within the specified time, they fired broadsides into the fort, killing and wounding a number of the garrison. The fort fired back and shot the flag ship "through and through." Then six hundred Hollander soldiers landed, under command of Captain Anthony Colve, and were joined by four hundred Dutch militia of the city. Together, the thousand Hollanders marched for the fort which promptly surrendered. Colve was made governor of the Province of New York, now renamed New Netherland. The English Fort James was renamed Fort William Henry in honor of the Prince of Orange, later King William of England. The name of New York City was changed to New Orange, while Albany became Willemstadt. There was rejoicing on the part of the great majority of the provincial population which was of Holland birth or descent. Albany and Schenectady, with a population almost exclusively Dutch, warmly welcomed the change which, however, made but little difference in the management of the affairs of the two towns, then largely in the hands of the local leaders.

The treaty of London, in 1674, ended the war between France and England, and upon the principle of reciprocal restitution, New Netherland was restored to the English Crown in October, 1674, when Sir Edmond Andros displaced Captain Anthony Colve and New York and Albany resumed their former English names. Again the change caused but little excitement in the upper Hudson and Mohawk Dutch settlements. Albany and Schenectady were so far removed from New York that, in times of peace, they went their placid ways, much as though they were little states by themselves set down in the mighty forest which everywhere encompassed them. Thus, within ten years, New Netherland or New York had experienced three changes of government. The resumption of English rule in New York was greatly to the advantage of the later Colonial solidarity which was eventually to win American independence. With a Dutch colony separating

New England from the other English colonies, the success of the Revolution would have been impossible.

Once more the people of Schenectady resumed their peaceful pursuits, bartering with the Indians on the sly, making wampum, grinding corn, building canoes and dugouts for river trade and tilling the rich flats of the Mohawk.

The time of the first formation of a Dutch Reformed Church society in Schenectady is not definitely known but one is supposed to have been organized as early as 1670. This is proven somewhat by the will of Hans Janse Enkluys, who, in 1674, deeded to the church organization, for the benefit of the poor, his land located in the northeastern section of the city, with the provision that the church was to maintain him until his death, which occurred in 1683. The Dutch church was the natural guardian of the poor, the dependent and the friendless. This property became known as the "Poor Pasture" and remained in the ownership of the church until 1862. It is now covered by the works of the American Locomotive Co. and many city dwellings and buildings. There was no church building here until 1682.

Rynier Schaat, a physician and surgeon, located in Schenectady in 1675. Dr. Jacobus Van Dyck was another Schenectady physician of the time, being surgeon at the fort at a salary of a shilling a day.

In 1675, courts were ordered to be held in Schenectady and five magistrates (corresponding to justices of the peace) were appointed. The place also had a schout or sheriff (Ludovicus Cobes), and a secretary, corresponding to our village and township clerk combined.

The history of the Reformed Dutch Church of Schenectady is practically that of the city itself so closely is the town's first religious organization bound up with beginnings and subsequent history of Old Dorp. It has been previously noted that there was a church organization without a minister as early as 1674. The Albany city records say that in February, 1679, "the court and consistory of Schenectady request that Dominie Schaets may be sent four Sundays in one year to administer the Lord's Supper to said place and community, which request is granted in so far that Dominie Schaets is allowed to go four times in one year to administer the Holy Sacrament, but not on a Sunday, whereas the community be without preaching." The community referred to being Albany which, of course, in its jealousy of Schenectady, could not see the other injustice of leaving that frontier town without any Sunday church services at all. At this time, the

town of Schenectady had thirty houses with a probable population of about 200 people. The First Reformed Dutch Church society of Schenectady was probably organized some time shortly after the settlement of the town in 1662, for its Calvinistic pioneers would not long delay the formation of some kind of a Reformed Church society, to which they bore an individual and national attachment.

The Schenectady church organization was probably the sixth Reformed Dutch Church society organized in New Netherland. The first six, in order of establishment, were: New Amsterdam, 1628; Beverwyck (Albany), 1642; Breuckelyn (Brooklyn); Esopus, (Kingston); Midwout and Amersfort (Flatbush); Schenectady.

Alexander Lindsay Glen, the laird of Scotia, was a Presbyterian, so that he naturally allied himself with the Dutch church. At his own expense, in 1682, Glen erected the first church building at the junction of State, Church, Water Street and Mill Lane. Glen presented this first little church to the inhabitants of Schenectady for the use of the Reformed Dutch Church.

Dominie Petrus Thesschenmaecker was the first minister, coming here in 1682 or 1683. Pearson says: "In the latter place he labored six years with reasonable success; and, in spite of the distant mutterings of war between Britain and France, the little community grew in numbers and wealth. The virgin soil of the neighboring flats and islands yielded abundantly and the population, gaining confidence, ventured beyond the palisades of the village and gradually crept up the Mohawk River, occupying the fertile lands on either bank." Dominie Thesschenmaecker was graduated as a student of theology in Utrecht, Holland. He went to Dutch Guiana in South America and came to New York at some time prior to 1676. When a resident of Staten Island in 1679 he was ordained a minister of the Reformed Nether Dutch Church.

The year 1683 was a notable one in the history of the liberties of the people of New York as well as those of the American people. On October 17, 1683, the first General Assembly of the Province of New York, composed of ten councilors and seventeen representatives of the people, met, says Lossing, at the City Hall in New York and were addressed by Governor Dongan, whose sympathies were in unison with the popular desires. The Assembly chose the experienced Mathew Nicolls speaker, and John Spragg as clerk. They sat there three weeks and passed fourteen acts, all of which were assented to by the governor, with the

advice of his Council. The first of these acts was entitled "The Charter of Liberties and Privileges, granted by His Royal Highness, to the Inhabitants of New York and its dependencies." It declared that the supreme legislative power should forever be and reside in the Governor, council and people, met in General Assembly; that every freeholder and freeman should be allowed to vote for representatives without restraint; that no freeman should suffer but by judgment of his peers; that all trials should be by a jury of twelve men; that no tax should be assessed on any pretense whatever, but by the "consent of the Assembly; that no seaman or soldier should be quartered on the inhabitants against their will; that no martial law should exist and that no person professing faith in God, by Jesus Christ, should, at any time, be anywise disquieted or questioned for any difference of opinion."

This was, indeed, a Charter of Liberties—the Magna Charter of the people of New York and deserving a place in the annals of all sections of the state than settled, because, by this Charter of Liberties, the people shaped their political conduct for the next hundred years. During this time we find them, both reasonably and unreasonably, standing out against the domination of royal governors and the usurpation of the rights granted them under this charter. It was upon instruments such as these that the Declaration of Independence was built, and it was for these very principles that the Mohawk Valley patriots fought and died during the Revolution.

Second only in importance was the division by this Provincial Assembly of 1683, of the Province of New York into ten counties. All of these counties exist today although most of them have been cut up to form other and later county divisions. This action was of particular importance to the people of Schenectady and the Mohawk Valley as Schenectady village and district became an important township of Albany County.

The next act passed by the Assembly, after that of making the Charter of Liberties the law of the Provinces, was one authorizing the division of the New York provinces into the ten counties of New York, Richmond, Suffolk, Kings, Queens, Westchester, Dutchess, Orange, Ulster, and Albany counties. The Duke of York's possessions in Maine at Pemaquid were organized as Cornwall County and the islands off the coast of Massachusetts included in his charter were constituted Duke's County. County seats were established in each county, Albany becoming the shire town of Albany County, which occupied all the territory between

the other counties and the adjacent lands of the Mohawks. "Courts of justice were established by the Provincial Assembly in the several counties. They consisted of four tribunals—town courts, county courts or Courts of Sessions, a Court of Oyer and Terminer and a Court of Chancery, to be the Supreme Court of the Province. The latter was composed of the Governor and his Council. But every inhabitant of the Province was allowed the right to appeal to the king from the judgment of any court. All the laws passed by this first General Assembly of New York were read to the people in front of the City Hall and were then sent to England for the consideration of the Duke."—(Lossing.)

While Schenectady became a township of Albany County in 1683 there are no figures available as to its population until 1689.

In 1684, Governor Thomas Dongan granted the Schenectady patent covering the township of Schenectady. This famous document is here printed in full because of its great historical value and the fact that it bore such an important part in the life of the town for the ensuing 114 years and was the cause of untold bickering and legal strife, which were ended only by the granting of a city charter to Schenectady in 1798.

"Thomas Dongan, Lieutenant and Governor and Vice Admirall under his Royall Highnesse, James, Duke of York, etc., of New York and its Dependencyes in America, etc.

"To all to whom these presents shall come, Sendeth Greeting, Whereas Tohorywachqua and Crage, Representatives of the four Mohake Castles, have for themselves, and Canachquo, Ocquary, and Tohoriowachwua true and lawfull Owners of the Land within mentioned, have by their certaine Writeing, or Deed of Sale, dated the third day of June Anno Dni 1672, Given and Granted unto Sander Lendrs Glenn, John Van Eps, Sweere Teunesse, as being impowered by the Inhabitants of the Towne or Village of Schenectady and Places adjacent, a Certaine Tract or Parcell of Lands, beginning at the Maques River, by the Towne of Schenectade, and from thence Runnes Westerly on both sides up the River to a Certaine Place called by the Indians Canaquarioeny, being Reputed three Dutch Miles or twelve English Miles; and from the said Towne of Schenectade downe the River one Dutch or four English miles to a kill or creeke called the Ael Place, and from the said Maques River into the woods South Towards Albany to the Sandkill one Dutch Mile and as much on the one side of the River North, being one Dutch mile more, there being Excepted in the said Bounds all Corne and Sawmills, that now are or hereafter shall be erected Within the Bounds of the said Towne, that

they be lyable to pay a perticular Quitt Rent for their Privileges, besides what is herein sett forth, as shall hereafter be agreed for by the Inhabitants of the said Places, or owners of such Mills, with such Governour or Governours as shall be Appointed by his Royal Highnesse; and likewise that noe Timber or Wood be Cutt but within the Bounds aforesaid, the said Excepteon being agreed upon by Myselfe as by a Certaine Writeing bearing date the 7th day of August last Past, doth more perticulerly Appeare;

"Now know Yee that by virtue of the Comieon and Authority to me Given by his Royall Highnesse James Duke of York and Albany, Lord Proprietor of this Province, I have hereby Given, Granted, Ratifyed and Confirme and by these Presents doe Give, Grant, Ratifye and confirme, unto William Teller, Ryert Schermerhorn, Sweer Teunessen, Jan Van Epps and Myndert Wemp on the Behalfe of the Inhabitants of the Townes of Schenectade and Places Adjacent aforesaid, Dependencyes theron, there Associates, Heires Successors and Assigns, all and Singular the before recited Tract and Tracts, Parcell and Parcells of Land, Meadow, Ground and Premises with their and every of their Appurtenancyes, together with all and Singular the Houses, Buildings, Messuages, Tenements, Heriditaments, Dams, Rivers, Runnes, Streames, Ponds, Woods, Quarryes, Fishing, Hawking and Fowling, with all Privileges, Libertyes, and improvements whatsoever, to the said Lands and Premises belonging, or in any wise appertaining, or accepted, reputed, taken or known as Part Parcell, or member thereof, with their and every of their Appurtenances; Provided Alwayes that this shall not anywayes make null or void a former Grant or Pattent, bearing date of the 30th of October last past made to Jacques Cornelisse of a Piece of Land lyeing within the Bounds heretofore mentioned of the Towne of Schenectade, (that is to say) the Land Lyeing and being betweene two Creekes, the one called the Stone Creeke to the Eastward, and the other the Platte Creeke to the westward thereof, the Low Land lyeing along the River side on the South of the Maques River, and then to the north of the Land belonging to the Inhabitants of Schenectade, the same Containing Forty Morgen, or Eighty acres of Land, as alsoe Forty Morgen or Eighty Acres of Woodland, or upland more, on the West side of the Platte Creeke, adjoining to the arrable Land along the River side, which was wholly exempt by the Indian Propreitors, in the sale of this Land, as belonging to Jacques Cornelise: To have and to hold the aforesaid Tract, Parcell and Parcells, of Land and Premisses with their and every of their Appurtenances, unto the said

William Teller, Ryert Schermerhorn, Sweer Teunessen, Jan Van Epps and Myndert Wemp on the behalfe of the Inhabitants of the Towne of Schenectade and their Associates, their Heires, Successors and Assignes, unto the proper use and behoofe of the said William Teller, Ryert Schermerhorn, Sweer Teunessen, Jan Van Eps and Myndert Wemp, their Heires, Successors, and Assignes, forever, to be holden of his Royal Highness, his Heires and Assignes in free and Comon Soccage, According to the tenure of East Greenwich, in the County of Kent, in his Magesties Kingdome of England, Yielding and Paying therefor, Yearly and every Yeare, as a Quitt rent, for his Royal Highnesse use, unto such officer or officers as shall be appointed to receive the same att Albany forty bushels of Good Winter Wheat, on or before the twenty-fifth day of March.

"Given under my Hand and Sealed with the Seale of the Province, at ffort James in New York, the first day of November Anno Dni 1684, in the thirty-sixth Yeare of his maties Raigne.

THO. DONGAN."

"This patent, as previously stated, covered the ancient township which in 1798 became the city of Schenectady. From this time forward all conveyances of land were executed by the trustees named in the patent. This power was vested in them, their successors, heirs and assigns forever, to have to hold, to sell and give legal title thereto: and out of this vested authority there developed disorder and complications that sorely harassed the inhabitants for more than a hundred years."

These legal conflicts and bickerings were only ended by the granting of a city charter to Schenectady in 1798—114 years after the Dongan patent. In spite of its unfortunate results, the Schenectady patent of 1684 is one of the three great land patents in the history of the Mohawk Valley. The two others were the Stone Arabia patent of 1723 and the Burnetsfield patent of 1725, both covering lands settled by Palatine Germans in the Middle and Upper Mohawk Valley. The Schenectady, Stone Arabia and Burnetsfield patents all represented patents covering tracts settled by communities of actual settlers, in distinction from great land tracts presented to Crown and Provincial favorites for private gain.

The Schenectady Patent of 1684 is given in full because of its importance as a popular land grant in the Mohawk Valley and also because it was written along the general lines of the majority of the English Crown land patents. Its wording, like that in the

generality of Colonial New York grants, needs a word of explanation.

Nearly all our royal Provincial patents are issued under conditions and titles "As of the Manor of East Greenwich in the County of Kent, in free and common soccage". This peculiar wording puzzles the reader. S. L. Mershon, in his "English Crown Grants", shows that this language made these grants come directly and personally from the English kings and queens as individuals, rather than as rulers of the realm. The Manor of East Greenwich lay about four miles from London Bridge and now embraces the Greenwich Royal Observatory. It was the personal estate of English sovereigns, who occupied it as early as 1300. These royal grants made the New York landowner a tenant of the ruler of England, rather than a patentee, holding land from the English Crown. The conditions, according to the letter of the grants, were feudal and mediaeval, although the peculiar relations of grantor to grantee never had any actual effect on ownership under these royal patents.

"Free soccage" was a tenure of land held for certain and determinate service, usually, in England, fealty and rent. It was called free, because the service was not only certain but honorable and thereby differentiated from "villein soccage," where the service was of a baser nature. A "Villein" was a feudal tenant of the lowest class, akin to a serf or a slave, from which latter class these unfortunates were derived. This was a Norman name —a "villein" or "villain" being one attached to a "villa" or farm. From this low and debased mediaeval individual, comes our modern word, "villain." Soccage comes from the English root "soc", meaning freedom or privilege.

Thus, according to the wording of these patents, all the public lands of the Mohawk Valley and the Province of New York formed part of the personal estate of the lord of the Manor of East Greenwich, rather than part of the public lands of Great Britain. This was evidently intended to take the lands out of any possible public or legislative control, to put them within the absolute disposal of the sovereign as an individual, and to emphasize "the divine right of kings." The American Revolution ended this peculiar situation, but practically all our Mohawk Valley land grants originally made their recipients the feudal tenants of a mediaeval lord of England, who was incidentally the British sovereign.

The Sweer Teunessen named as trustee in the foregoing patent was Sweer Teunise Van Velsen alias Van Westbrook, the first

town miller, who was made a magistrate of Schenectady in 1676. Myndert Wemp, Sweer Teunise Van Velsen and Johannes Dirkse Van Epps were slain in the massacre of 1690. William Teller was a resident of Albany and removed to New York in 1692, while his son, Johannes Teller, settled in Schenectady. Thus the sole management of the Schenectady lands, under the Dongan patent of 1684, remained in the hands of Ryer Schermerhorn after 1692. "And then the trouble began." For twenty-five years he had practically sole management over Schenectady land transactions. After Teller's death, in 1701, Schermerhorn was the sole survivor of the five patentees of 1684. He was many times complained of for exercising arbitrary power over town affairs and rendering no account of his proceedings. He was a member of the Provincial Assembly from Albany County in 1690, and, in 1700, he was appointed as an assistant to the Judge of the Court of Common Pleas.

On August 12, 1684, Sander Leendertse Glen (Alexander Lindsay Glen) lost his wife, Catalyn Doncassen. Glen died on November 13, 1685. In the death of this vigorous, progressive and worthy Scot, the Mohawk Valley lost its first settler and Schenectady its leading citizen since the death of Van Curler. Glen had borne a leading part in the affairs of Schenectady during the first twenty-five years following its settlement. He left three sons, Jacob, Sander (Alexander) and Johannes, the last of whom assumed somewhat the same position as that held by his father, becoming commander of the Schenectady town and district train band of militia. During this time the Glens continued to live in their first stone house built close to the river in 1658, the present mansion (close to the site of the first one) not having been built until 1713.

In 1686, Albany was incorporated as a city, with Peter Schuyler as its first mayor. In the same year the Five Nations held a conference with Governor Dongan at Albany in which the Iroquois asked that the Jesuit priests be kept out of the land of the Iroquois Confederacy. They had already driven out all but Father Jean de Lambreville at Onondaga. Governor Dongan promised them Iroquois English priests and a church at Saratoga, none of which promises were kept. In 1687 Marquis De Nonville, governor of Canada, headed an expedition against the Senecas, destroying all their chief castles, 1,000,000 bushels of corn and a great number of pigs which the Senecas then kept. The French, departing from their usual diplomacy, seemed bent on the destruction of their hereditary Iroquois enemies, at the

ending of the twenty years of peace. All these events deeply affected Schenectady, which was an Indian trading post and the most advanced frontier town of New York Province. The sure signs of approaching warfare probably retarded its growth considerably.

In 1687 Arnout Cornelise Viele, the Indian interpreter of Schenectady, was taken prisoner by the French while on a trading trip to Ottawa. Viele was much liked by the Mohawks because he "Hath done good service for us in travelling up and down in our country, and, we having a French prisoner, according to our custome, doe deliver him to the family of Arnout, in his stead and room to wash of the tears of his wife and children." Viele subsequently returned to Schenectady and occupied an influential position as an interpreter for the Albany magistrates and the Province.

An event of importance in this early period of the white man's occupation of the Mohawk Valley was the settlement of Heinrich Frey along our River in 1689. Frey came from Zurich, Switzerland, to New York in 1688. Governor Dongan gave him a "location ticket" for 100 acres of land on the Schoharie River. Frey however, preferred the Mohawk River section. He came up the Mohawk to the site of present Palatine Bridge, where he located with the permission of the Mohawks and bought a plot of land from them. Frey laid claim to 300 acres of farm and woodland, by this purchase. Frey's claim was included in the Van Slyck patent of 1716 and from Captain Harmanus Van Slyck, Frey obtained title to land, which, in 1924, had been in the possession of the family for 235 years, forming one of the most ancient tenures of land in the Mohawk Valley. Heinrich (or Hendrick) Frey opened store in his log house, which was later stockaded and became, at least temporarily, the most advanced western outpost of British empire, within the limits of the Province of New York.

For dauntless courage, the pioneer Frey has seldom been equalled in all the annals of the settlement of the United States of America. His log house stood at the river border of a forest which stretched, northward, in an unbroken wilderness, to the French settlements along the St. Lawrence. All the wild animals of those great woods thronged about his clearings. He had to carefully guard his stock to see that it was not killed by wolves, whose howls made night hideous about his cabin. Forty-two miles eastward, lay the little town of Schenectady, while, in his own neighborhood, the savage Mohawks were his only companions. Despite the howling of the wolves and the bloody terrors of

border warfare, Frey went serenely along, farming and trading and holding his own in his little outpost of civilization far within the great Mohawk wilderness.

In 1689 Albany County had 2,016 white people while the number had decreased to 1,459 white people and 23 negroes in 1698. After the period marking the close of the hostilities of King William's war in 1697, the number increased rapidly in Albany County and Schenectady. We can gain an idea of the population of Schenetady by a comparison of the fact that, before the massacre of 1690, Schenectady had one of the six militia companies of the county regiment which consisted of five companies of foot (infantry) and one of horse. In 1693 Schenectady had recovered from the massacre of 1690 so that it again had one of the county companies of militia.

The population of Albany County in 1689, being 2,016, one-sixth of that number would give Schenectady township a population of 334, with probably 250 of them in the town. An estimate of the time says that before the massacre of 1690, there were 80 houses and 400 people in Schenectady, which probably refers to the entire township and which may not be far from the facts, although the houses mentioned may have referred to other buildings besides the homes of the people, such as barns, etc. At any rate, it is known that Schenectady was a growing town and a prosperous section, prior to the approach of the war cloud of 1689. The population of the Province of New York in 1698 was 18,000. It probably was nearly as great in 1689 before it had been devastated by King William's war.

CHAPTER 24.

BEGINNING OF KING WILLIAM'S WAR—1688-1690.

ACCESSION OF KING WILLIAM TO THE THRONE OF ENGLAND—BEGINNING OF HIS WAR IN AMERICA, LEISLER'S REBELLION, 1689—THE ALBANY CONVENTION—DISORDER AND DISUNION IN ALBANY AND SCHENECTADY—JANUARY, 1690, FRENCH AND INDIAN RAIDERS START FOR ALBANY.

On November 5, 1688, William III, Stadtholder of the Netherlands, landed in England, at the invitation of its people and freed the land from the feeble and sinister rule of James III. Thus passed the last of the Stuarts and the Protestant religion became assured of its safety and growth not only in Great Britain, but in English colonies in America. This bloodless revolution meant the fourth change of rulers experienced by the people of New Netherland or New York. Again the people of Hollander blood in New York were under Dutch rule as well as English, for William continued as the Stadtholder of the Netherlands as well as King of England until his death in 1702. This Dutch king proved to be one of England's greatest monarchs and wisely continued the English system of rule in the Province of New York.

While the three former changes of government or conquests of New York had been placidly received the accession of William was the cause of a violent political disturbance, which came close to a civil war and stirred up political passions which embroiled the people of the province for many years. Even to this day an unprejudiced view of this period seems difficult to obtain, the historians being as violently for or against Leisler as were the people of his time. Jacob Leisler was a German by birth, a liquor merchant, and the senior captain of one of the five companies of militia in New York City. The political contest resolved itself into a conflict of the democratic and aristocratic parties of New York State, extending to all parts of the Colony, including Albany and Schenectady.

In the spring of 1689 news of the revolution which deposed James II and which placed William and Mary on the English throne reached New York by way of Virginia. The tidings that the Dutch Stadtholder reigned in England were enthusiastically welcomed in Albany and Schenectady, where the population was

almost entirely Holland Dutch. On May 18, 1689, Captain Bull of Connecticut brought the news in detail to Albany and later to Schenectady, where the people were "much rejoiced with the news."

On the 18th of April, 1689, the people of Boston formed a Committee of Safety and rebelled against Sir Edmund Andres, the royal governor or viceroy of New England. This was a true popular revolution, of which Brodhead, the historian, says: "A more unjustifiable rebellion of colonists who professed allegiance to their mother country never happened." Andres was imprisoned and Massachusetts seceded from the royal government of New England. For nearly two years, Massachusetts under Bradstreet, and New York under Leisler, practically acted as independent states, with but a surface showing of allegiance to England. New York's popular government of this period degenerated into a turbulent military dictatorship. Both New York and Massachusetts, however, had the experience of running their own government regardless of the ethics of the situation, and the two revolutions formed steps toward eventual national independence.

On the 3rd of June, 1689, Captain Jacob Leisler inaugurated "Leisler's Rebellion" by seizing Fort James in New York City, at the head of the town's militia companies or train bands as they were then called.

Albany and Ulster counties stood out against Leisler for the next nine months and conducted their own affairs as though they were separate and independent colonies. June 27, 1689, Leisler called a convention which resolved itself into a Committee of Safety and gave Leisler a commission as commander-in-chief of the Province of New York. Thus began one of the most violent factional quarrels of the many which have caused uproar and turmoil in New York, both as a province and as a state.

On May 24, the Albany magistrates renewed the covenant chain with the Mohawks. On learning that the Dutch prince was now the king of England, the Mohawks wanted the magistrates to replace the English with Dutch soldiers. Addressing the Albany officials the orator of the Mohawks spoke as follows:

"We hear a Dutch prince reigns now in England; why do you suffer the English soldiers to remain in the Fort? Put all the English out of the town. When the Dutch held this country long ago, we lay in their houses; but the English have always made us lie without doors."

In June, the other tribes of the Five Nations—Oneidas, Onon-

dagas, Cayugas and Senecas—came to the council at Albany and renewed the "old covenant", which was first made many years ago with Jacob Eelkens who in 1614, "came with a ship into their river. Then we first became Brethren and continued so till last fall, that Sir Edmund Andres came and made a new chain, by calling us Children. But let us stick to the old chain, which has continued from the first time it was made by which we became Brethren, and have ever since always behaved as such. Virginia, Maryland and New England have been taken into this silver chain, with which our friendship is locked fast. We are now come to make the chain clear and bright."

Thus, while the English Colonies were frequently disorganized, jealous and lacking in the spirit of unity, their covenant chain with the Five Nations kept them somewhat in a chain of union. This "silver chain," binding the Iroquois union to the Colonial disunion, had its effect in creating the final Colonial union which made the Revolution and the United States possible. The Mohawks hold an important place in history because they formed the anchor which always held the Iroquois in alliance with the English, when French diplomacy made some of the Five Nations ready to swerve toward the French. The Iroquois went directly from the Albany council to their castles to prepare for their great foray against Canada.

A convention of the civil and military officers of Albany County was held at Albany on August 1st, 1689. It was "Resolved that all public affairs for the preservation of their Majesties' interest in this city be managed by the Mayor, Aldermen, Justices of the Peace, Commission Officers and Assistants of this city and county, until orders shall come from their most Sacred Majesties." It was this body which ruled the affairs of Albany and Schenectady and Albany County for more than seven months.

Now came the mighty Iroquois blow, which nearly destroyed New France. On July 26, 1689, "in the gray of a summer morning, after a tempest of hail and rains, fifteen hundred Iroquois warriors who had quietly traversed Lake St. Francis, suddenly landed from their canoes at Lachine, the upper end of Montreal Island. Most of the inhabitants were asleep; the men were killed at once, the women and children with greater deliberation and cruelty. In an hour two hundred French colonists perished and all the houses in Lachine were burned. Montreal, only three leagues off, in consternation awaited an attack. French parties were sent out and defeated or captured. At length the Iroquois retired, after losing only thirteen warriors, and ravaging nearly

all the island of Montreal and killing a thousand French Canadians." (Brodhead). The Iroquois ordered Denonville to destroy and evacuate Fort Frontenac (Kingston, Ontario) which insolent order the French Governor abjectly obeyed. The Iroquois had humbled and terrified all Canada by this hideous onslaught.

This Iroquois invasion of Canada filled the people of Albany and Schenectady and of Albany County, with fear of vengeance by the French. Because this section was the most exposed to French attack of any in the Colonies, many of the settlers now began to move away. The magistrates of Albany issued a proclamation, in August, 1689, forbidding all persons to depart from the country and condemning the "bad example of such Timorous and Cowardly People."

The Mohawks, after their part in the great Canadian raid, now wished to strengthen the position of their upper castle by removing it to a point a mile farther west. The exact site of this upper castle at this period is not precisely known, but it is supposed to have been in the vicinity of Wagner's Hollow, in the town of Palatine, Montgomery County. The Albany Convention on September 2nd, sent six men and three teams to aid the Mohawks of the Wolf Clan to remove the heavier logs of the stockade from the old to the new site of Teonnontogen or Tienondogue, as it is variously spelled. The other Mohawk castles were strengthened at this time.

On September 4th delegates from Connecticut and Plymouth, Massachusetts, met in council with the Iroquois chiefs and the Albany Convention at Albany, when the New Englanders tried to secure the assistance of the Iroquois against the Eastern Indians. The Iroquois, through their Mohawk orator Tahajadoris, refused to war on their then friends—the New England Indians. In a private council with the Albany Convention, the next day, the Mohawks and Iroquois assured the Albany officials that "If the French shall attempt anything this way, all the Five Nations will come to your assistance; for our Brethren and we are but one, and we will live and die together. We have desired a hundred men of our Brethren of Boston to assist us here, because this place is most exposed." Then all the Iroquois joined in singing and crying out "Courage! courage!"

The Schenectady people were so torn over the political situation involved in Leisler's rebellion, that they were in no united condition to withstand any attack. The burghers were about evenly divided in their adherence or opposition to this military dictator, although the Leislerians finally gained the upper hand.

The people seemed more interested in violent arguments over the so-called parties of democracy and aristocracy than they were over their own safety. These chaotic conditions induced the Albany Convention to adopt a resolution of which the following is part, dated September 17, 1689:

"Understanding by ye Commission officers of Schennectady that there is no settlement there how or what way they are to Behave themselfs if ye enemy should come, since they can not agree amongst themselves in yt particular.

"Resolved that Mr. Dirk Wesseles and Capt. Johannes Wendel Justices of the Peace goe thither & Conveen ye Company together and consult what measures they are to take upon occasion if any enemy should come, to ye end there may be unity in such extremityes & ye inhabitants there are ordered to submitt to what ye sd gentn and ye head officers of there Toune shall Conclude upon, upon there oun Peril.

"Resolved, since we have Recd Certain Information of Some Praying Canida Indians lately taken by our Maquase that ye French Design to send our there Indians and french to kill and Destroy there Majts Subjects of this County and that Dirk Teunise Esqr. * * * goe to ye County of Ulster for ye assistance of 25 or 30 men to be Ready upon occasion if any attaque or Incursion should be made on ye frontiers of this County."

The inhabitants of Schenectady and other places in Albany County had complained of the sale of liquor to the Indians and their drunkenness at this dangerous period, saying "that there is no living if ye Indians be not kept from Drinke." The Convention therefore again prohibited the sale of liquor to the Indians, as it had previously done in May. This prohibition probably had no more effect than the other prohibitions of Colonial times, although it provided a penalty of two months imprisonment "without Baile" and a fine of five pounds.

An addendum to this proclamation says that "The messenger Johannes Bleeker who was sent Express to N: Yorke with a letter to Capt. Leysler * * * being Returned * * * (Reports that Leisler would have nothing) 'to doe with ye Civill Power, he was a Souldier and would write to a Souldier.' "

On October 29, 1689, Leisler sent a company of 51 men, under Jacob Milborne to strengthen the garrison at Albany. As usual, the troops came up the Hudson River in sloops; they landed at Albany on November 9th. The Albany Convention had made Mayor Schuyler commander of the fort, which Milborne now demanded be turned over to him. Schuyler refused and Milborne

prepared to storm it. The Mohawks were firm friends of "Brother Quider" (Brother Peter), as they called Schuyler, and a war party had come down to watch events. The Mohawks massed on a hill near the fort and prepared to fire on Milborne as soon as he should attack it. This move averted civil war. Milborne left his men in command of Joachim Staats, an Albany militia lieutenant, and then went down the river to Esopus (Kingston). He created considerable turmoil and unrest in Albany and added to the dangers of invasion by leaving the people of the great county of Albany in a disorganized and quarrelsome condition. On his sail down the Hudson, Milborne attempted to take command of Esopus but the people of Ulster County would have nothing to do with him.

In November, a war party of 150 Iroquois again visited the island of Montreal, killing a number of Canadians, taking a small fort and completing the devastation of the island begun in the summer.

New France was on the brink of ruin and destruction when Louis de Buade, Count de Frontenac arrived at Quebec, in October, 1689. His coming to Canada, doubtless saved its settlers from extermination. Although Frontenac was in his seventieth year, his strength, courage and spirit were wonderful. He made the tiny population of New France and its hardy rangers and red warriors a terror to the Iroquois and the comparatively great population of the English Colonies throughout the remaining years of King William's war and at its close, died in Quebec in 1698, in his eightieth year. Frontenac and Champlain are the great figures of New France and the "Old Man of Canada" is a striking example of the fact that a people are frequently made great by a great leader who inspires in his followers an effort to live up to his greatness.

The Albany Convention could do nothing with Leisler and sent to the Governor of Connecticut for aid. On November 25, 1689, Capt. Jonathan Bull at the head of 87 men, reached Albany from Connecticut. On November 29, Lieut. Enos Talmage of this company, marched to Schenectady with 24 men. The New England soldiers were to be paid by the people of Albany and Schenectady and were to be under the direction of the Albany Convention and Joachim Staats, the Albany deputy of Leisler—a seemingly impossible condition, considering that the two elements were bitter enemies.

In November, Leisler had promised the people of Schenectady equal trading rights with those of Albany and the right to bolt

flour, as well as political preference over Albany. On the 12th of January, 1690, deputies arrived from Leisler with the commissions for the five new magistrates appointed by him for the town of Schenectady—Douw Aukes, Ryer Jacobse Schermerhorn, David Christoffelse, Myndert Wemp and Johannes Pootman. Captain Glen, and the lieutenant and ensign of his Schenectady militia company and Van Velsen, all members of the Albany Convention from Schenectady township, refused to acknowledge the authority of Leisler or his commissioners or the magistrates so appointed for Schenectady. Feeling ran so strongly in Schenectady that Glen was forbidden to enter the town. Military coöperation with the little garrison of Connecticut soldiers became impossible. It was one of the many evidences cropping up everywhere in American history that the American people's love of factional quarrels and of party is stronger than their sense of unity, which alone can ever save them from destruction.

Frontenac sent back to Onondaga three of the Iroquois chiefs, who had been shipped by Denonville to the galleys of France. They brought to Onondaga a message from Frontenac asking the chiefs of the Five Nations to meet him in council at Cataracuoy. The Iroquois Confederacy thereupon called a great council. Tahajadoris, the Mohawk leader, came to Albany for advice and Arnout Cornelise Viele, the interpreter of Schenectady, and Robert Sanders of Albany, accompanied the Mohawk sachem to Onondaga, where the council opened on January 22nd, 1690. The Albany mayor, Schuyler's, influence at this momentous council fire was most marked as well as that of Viele, the Schenectady interpreter and that of Tahajadoris, the Mohawk sachem. From this time forward, for a period of forty years, Major Schuyler's strong hold on the Iroquois (and especially the Mohawks) kept them allies of the Province of New York against the French. Tahajadoris gave the council the message from Schuyler and the Albany Convention and Viele urged the council not to hearken to the French. The Onondaga chief Sadekanactie then said, "Brethren, we must stick to our Brother Quider and look upon Onnontio as our enemy for he is a cheat." New England sent a large model of its "sacred cod" as a token of its allegiance to the covenant. The council ended with Sadekanactie addressing the council and Viele as follows: "Brethren, our fire burns at Albany; we will not send Dekanesora to Cataracouy. Brother Kinshon, we hear you design to send soldiers to the eastward against the Indians there; but we advise you, now so many are united against the French to fall immediately on them. Strike

at the root—when the trunk shall be cut down the branches fall of course. Corlaer and Kinshon, courage! courage! In the spring to Quebec; take that place and you will have your feet on the necks of the French and all their friends in America."

Onnontio was the name given by the Iroquois to the governor of Canada and the term also somewhat represented New France in the minds of the Five Nations. Corlaer was the Iroquois word for the governor of New York, coming from Arent Van Curler, the founder of Schenectady, who negotiated the treaty of 1645 with the Iroquois, and for whose name the Five Nations ever retained a great veneration. The term also represented generally the Province of New York, and especially its officials at Albany. "Brother Quider" was the great American of Holland descent, Major (later Colonel) Peter Schuyler, mayor of Albany, who succeeded Van Curler in the esteem of the Iroquois and especially the Mohawks and who, therefore, had a great influence on the history of the Province of New York. "Quider" was as near as the Iroquois could come to the pronunciation of Peter. They said of "Brother Quider" that he never told a lie and that he never spoke without due consideration—unusual traits in the average white man with whom they came in contact. The name "Kinshon" represented New England, its governor or governors and its people. These early councils and extracts from their speeches are given here in some detail, as this time was a most critical period of the history of the United States, the State of New York and the Mohawk Valley. This matter also gives an inkling of the procedure of these councils which is omitted from later mention of them. They have a direct bearing on our history as the Mohawks were the Elder Brothers of the Iroquois Confederation and a great power in its councils and, from their geographical position, acted as intermediaries and messengers between the Colonial authorities and the Iroquois in these historically vital events. Also we see that Viele and a number of other Schenectady people acted as interpreters, not only in local matters, but in nationally important councils such as the one noted here.

While the Mohawks, Onondagas and Senecas took the stand at this council for war with Frontenac, the French Jesuit Father Milet kept the Oneidas and Cayugas neutral. The Oneidas, however, were deadly enemies of the Hurons who were allies of the French.

It seems incredible that people at any time should so conduct themselves in the face of a deadly peril, but such is the case. With over 300 militiamen in Albany County, with the 87 Con-

necticut soldiers and the Mohawk warriors near at hand, the Albany Convention and the county military leaders seem to have done practically nothing to combat the known coming invasion by the French and Indians of Canada. While the Albany authorities were "standing pat" and waiting for the raiders, and "consulting" as to how to get some Indian scouts, a party of Mohawks came down from Schenectady and addressed the Convention as follows:

"Brethren—We have been sent by ye 40 Maquase Souldiers now at Schenechtady to acquaint yu that they are come to goe out as Skouts toward ye Lake and Otter Creek to watch ye Designe of ye Deceiver ye govr of Canida to see if he will come and Invade our Country again & if we Discern any Progresse of his we have 4 Indians yt wee send forth Post to give yu & our people advertisemt."

The Mohawks' scouts failed of their purpose because they had two passes to cover and did not post scouts on the Schenectady trail until after the enemy had passed.

On February 5th, several delegates from the Albany Convention came to Schenectady in an endeavor to get the people to unite for defense in face of the common danger. Their efforts were unsuccessful.

The following story is a tradition of the Schenectady massacre which has been denied and yet it has all the elements of probability. As previously mentioned, the Leisler party was in the majority in Schenectady and it had forbidden Captain Johannes Glen to enter the town, threatening to burn him at the stake, if he should disobey the order. As Glen was the commander of the local militia company, this only added to the impossibility of united military action and to the danger which beset the town. Glen was a member of the Albany Convention and a strong anti-Leislerite, which accounted for the animosity of the Schenectadians against him. The Captain was very friendly with the Indians and, on the afternoon of the massacre, he got word that a hostile party was approaching. As he, personally, could not warn the people of the little village across the Mohawk, he at once sent a Mohawk squaw to carry the message to Dominie Thessehenmaecker, as the likeliest person to receive and communicate it to the townspeople. The Indian woman crossed the river on the ice and hurried through the snow to the minister's house. The dominie's housekeeper was entertaining an acquaintance at tea, when the squaw hastily entered. The true Dutch vrouw soundly scolded the Indian woman for tracking snow upon

her spotless floor, whereupon the squaw silently turned away with her message untold. Schenectady paid with the lives of sixty of her people for what the Mohawk squaw considered an insulting reception.

Schenectady, the victim of inaction, disunion, party squabbles and the conceit of supposed safety—with open gates and its Yankee garrison sound asleep—placidly awaited its impending doom.

CHAPTER 25.

1690—MASSACRE AND BURNING OF SCHENECTADY.

FRENCH AND INDIAN RAIDING PARTY BURN SCHENECTADY AND MASSACRE ITS INHABITANTS, SATURDAY NIGHT, FEBRUARY 8, 1690—ONE OF THREE EXPEDITIONS SENT AGAINST THE ENGLISH COLONIAL FRONTIERS, BY FRONTENAC—THE PALISADES GATES LEFT OPEN AND UNGUARDED—SIXTY SETTLERS KILLED AND TWENTY-SEVEN CAPTURED—MIDNIGHT RIDE OF SYMON SCHERMERHOORN TO ALBANY—ADAM VROOMAN'S HEROIC DEFENSE OF HIS HOME—MANY LIVES SPARED THROUGH THE INTERCESSION OF CAPTAIN JOHANNES SANDERS GLEN OF SCOTIA—SOME SURVIVORS REMAIN AND START REBUILDING—LETTER BY M. DE MONSEIGNAT TO MADAME MAINTENON, DESCRIBING THE RAID AND MASSACRE—LIST OF KILLED AND PRISONERS.

On the night of Saturday, February 8th, 1690, a war party of Canadian French and Indians burned Schenectady, massacred sixty of its people and carried twenty-seven of them into captivity. This gory beginning of King William's War in the Province of New York constitutes one of the most terrible chapters of early State history.

The French governors of Canada had many times advocated the conquest of New York. In 1689, DeCallieres, the governor of Montreal, wrote to France a detailed plan for the invasion of the province. Louis XIV was impressed by this project, which was made in great detail. Accordingly, he sent Count De Frontenac to carry out the great scheme and furnished him with instructions fully as complete in their scope as the plan suggested by DeCallieres. Louis, however, gave the touch of a true despot when he added to the military plan one involving the expatriation of practically all the 18,000 people of New York, who were to be sent out of the colony into those adjoining. Even the New York Catholics were to be considered not above suspicion. By the side of the grandiose plans of Louis XIV for the elimination of the people of New York, the later expulsion of the French from Acadia was a small affair.

Sixteen hundred French soldiers were ordered to Chedabucto Harbor in Acadie. The project was for Frontenac to invade New York by way of the Richelieu River and Lake Champlain in cooperation with the force which was to operate from Acadia. This plan of campaign was, in a general way, similar to that made by Burgoyne for the reduction of New York in 1777. The troop

ships were late in starting, and when they reached Chedabucto the season was too far gone to start the grand project of conquest. Frontenac was a man of action and he realized that something must be done to restore the prestige of New France, so recently devastated and laid low by the Iroquois invasion of 1689. Accordingly, the wily French viceroy launched three midwinter expeditions against the frontiers of the English colonies. The first war party went from Montreal against Albany, but the weakness of the troop made its leaders change their objective from Albany to Schenectady, or Corlaer, as they called the latter village, in honor of Van Curler, its founder. Here the Canadian invaders burned the town and massacred its people, as related later. The second party went from Three Rivers into New Hampshire and fell upon the sleeping village of Salmon Falls, where it slaughtered and burned much as the first party did at Schenectady. The third Canadian French and Indian party from Quebec now joined the second and together they attacked the New England fort at Casco Bay. The defenders made a strong resistance, but finally surrendered when promised protection from the savages. The pledge was not kept, and Portneuf, the French commander, handed over his captives to the scalping knives and tortures of his barbarian allies. This foul deed forms one of the several black stains on the military records of the usually gallant commanders of New France. The atrocities of Frontenac's border warfare impressed the Indians and the wavering northwestern tribes hastened to ally themselves with the strong "Old Man of Canada". By contrast, the English colonists were filled with horror at these unspeakable barbarities of a supposedly civilized people who waged as savage a war as their red allies. The Americans swore vengeance, resolving to unite and crush the common enemy. The colonists never conducted hostilities in the manner of these expeditions of Frontenac and they realized that two peoples, with such differing ideas of humanity, could not long endure upon the same continent.

The ambitious scheme of the Great Louis for conquest and empire dwindled into these three barbaric forays of De Frontenac. The grand plan to invade New York ended in the screams of dying women and the groans of tortured men on the remote frontiers of New York and New England.

The midwinter foray of the Canadian war party which went against Schenectady involved great hardships and was a remarkable military feat of arms, aside from the brutal and barbarous warfare practiced by the French as well as by their Indian allies.

The march was made on foot over forest trails and frozen lakes covered with two feet of snow. The men were laden with heavy packs, holding ammunition and provisions, and the journey of 300 miles was made in the bitterest cold of the northern midwinter. There were no houses, other than an occasional hunter's temporary hut, between Saratoga and the scattered homes of the French habitants of the St. Lawrence. Camp had to be made in the open and the hardy rangers and redmen slept under the bright stars of the winter nights or in the whirling snows of the wilderness storms.

The Schenectady massacre forms one of the most revolting chapters of early American history, as well as of the border wars, which raged along the Hudson and the Mohawk valleys during the following century. Not only did this atrocity cause untold suffering and sorrow, but it put back the material progress of Schenectady and its district so that it was ten years before the section had regained the position it had occupied before this hideous night of blood and fire.

The Canadian war party numbered 114 Frenchmen, eighty Indians from the Sault (Caughnawaga on the St. Lawrence), and sixteen Algonquin Indians. The expedition was commanded by Lemoine de Saint Helene and Lieut. D'Aillebout de Mantet. The enemy started southward from Montreal January 17, 1690, and after untold hardships came within sight of Schenectady at eleven o'clock on the night of Saturday, February 8, 1690. The Caughnawaga Indians were former Mohawks who had been converted by the French Jesuit priests, whom we have previously seen laboring in their missions along the Mohawk River. They were headed by the Great Kryn, otherwise known as the Great Mohawk, the conqueror of the Mohicans at Kinquariones in 1669.

Pearson summarizes the Schenectady massacre as follows. His terms, east and west, are general designations, not corresponding exactly to those of the compass.

"The village at this time lay mainly west of Ferry Street and was stockaded with palisades of pine logs ten feet high. It had at least two gates, one at the north end of Church Street opening out to the highway (Front Street) which led to the eastward to Niskayuna. Another was located at the south end of Church at State, opening out to Mill Lane and the Flats and the Albany Road (State Street).

"The only dwellings outside the stockade were built on the northerly side of State Street, extending as far southeast as Lang gang (Centre Street). It is said there were 80 good houses in the

village and a population of 400 souls, both numbers doubtless being exaggerated.

"In the northerly angle of the village on the Binne Kil (near corner Washington and Front Streets) was a double stockaded fort (or block house) garrisoned by a detachment of 24 men of Capt. Jonathan Bull's Connecticut company under the command of Lieut. Talmadge. Thus fortified and garrisoned, the inhabitants should have repelled any ordinary attack or at least held the enemy at bay until succor could reach them from Albany.

"The destruction of the place was occasioned by divided counsels and a fatal apathy. The whole Province was then divided into two factions—the Leislerians and the Anti-Leislerians—the short hairs and swallow-tails. Divided feelings and counsels ran so high at Albany and Schenectady as to counteract the sense of self preservation. Both parties were determined to rule, neither was strong enough to take the lead.

"On the fatal night of Feb. 8th, the 'Noche triste' of the ill-fated village, the inhabitants went to rest with their gates open and no guard set. They trusted that the Indians who had gone out as scouts to Lake George would forewarn them of the enemy's approach. The French marched upon the village from the north, crossed the river on the ice and divided their men into two companies with the intention of entering the town, one by the north or Church Street gate, the other by the south or State Street gate. The latter entrance, being in a measure, covered by the dwellings on the street, could not be found. Both companies, therefore, entered by the north gate and separating spread themselves throughout the village, five or six before each house. At the signal agreed upon, a simultaneous assault was made upon each dwelling and, before the terror-stricken inhabitants could seize their arms, the savages were upon them. Resistance was in vain. Within two hours, 60 of the people were slaughtered without distinction of age or sex."

A number of the townspeople escaped, during the fury of the attack, and hid in the woods or made their way over the Albany Road to Albany. Some had suffered wounds by the enemy and others had their hands and feet frozen in this terrible sixteen-mile night journey through the snow and bitter cold.

"Capt. Sander Glen's family and relatives, with their habitations and other property, on account of former kindness shown to captive Frenchmen, were spared by express order of the Governor of Canada.

"The utter helplessness of the inhabitants to offer resistance

is shown by the fact that only two of the enemy were killed and one severely wounded. The plucky fight made by Adam Vrooman and his family comes down to us by tradition. His house stood on the west corner of Front and Church Streets [at the point now marked by a tablet commemorating the massacre]. By keeping up a brisk fire from his dwelling he kept the enemy at bay and extorted a promise from the French commander to spare his life."

In line with Frontenac's policy of alienating the Mohawks and Iroquois from the English cause, orders had evidently been given the French commanders to spare all the Mohawks met with on this raid. Accordingly, twenty of that tribe, who were in the town on the night of the massacre, were spared, one evidently having been killed in the first fury of the attack. The French not only did not harm the Mohawks, but spared certain people who were their particular friends, as well as some of the "houses where ye Maquase lay at". Some sixty old people, women and children had their lives spared, after the first fury of the slaughter.

Another dramatic feature of the many wild and jangled events of this bloody night was the ride of Symon Schermerhorn to Albany. In the midst of the bloody furor of the first attack, he fought his way through the raiders, who killed his son and his three Negro slaves. Mounting his horse, Schermerhorn rode through the river gate amid a hail of bullets, one of which wounded him in the thigh and also wounded his horse. Through two feet of snow and great drifts, Schermerhorn galloped over the River road to Niskayuna, warning the settlers on his way. After covering over thirty miles, in a six-hour ride in the bitter cold of the February night, Symon reached Albany with his dreadful message. His horse fell dead at the city gateway and Schermerhorn fainted from exhaustion and his wound. Albany's excitement, when this blood-stained messenger appeared, can well be imagined.

Capt. Johannes Glen prepared to defend his Scotia house with the aid of his Negro slaves and some Indians. Kryn, the Mohawk chief, and a French officer went alone across the river on the ice and told Glen that he was safe because of the many kindnesses he and his wife had shown French captives. The raiders not only spared Glen's house and family, but they went with him to the stricken town and gave up to him such captives and their possessions as he claimed to be his kin. "The Indians grumbled that Glen's kinsfolk were astonishingly numerous." Through the

Captain's pleadings many lives and several houses were thus saved. It is said that the French officers ate breakfast at Glen's from a round mahogany table now in the possession of the Glen-Sanders family in their Scotia mansion.

It was a tragic Sunday that dawned upon the stricken village. The butchery was ended and the French set guards. While some of the red and white savages slept the sleep of exhaustion, others busied themselves looting the houses and packing the spoils upon the backs of the settlers' horses. After that all the houses and barns, save a few, were set on fire and the blood-stained raiders filed eastward from the burning town, with their pack train of booty and line of dejected prisoners. The little band of survivors stood helpless around their flaming dwellings, while some wept and wailed over the gory corpses of those who, a few hours before, had been their living loved ones. Even the Mohawks were shocked at the slaughter and destruction done by the enemy. The work of thirty years of human industry went blazing skyward and the night of that far off midwinter Sunday closed over the blackened ruin of what had once been the busy, thriving and comfortable little village of Schenectady.

The French began their retreat at eleven o'clock. They took with them twenty-seven prisoners, men and boys, and fifty of the settlers' horses, which served them in the double stead of pack animals and of food when their provisions ran out on the terrible winter march of over 250 miles. Had it not been for this traveling meat supply the raiders would have perished of starvation or would have been overtaken and destroyed by the force which went out in pursuit from Schenectady. Nineteen Frenchmen were killed or captured on this retreat by the war party of 140 Mohawks and fifty Albany militiamen, part of whom followed the enemy to the gates of Montreal. The pursuit could not overtake the main body because the raiders hitched their captured horses to sleds and so outdistanced their pursuers over the ice of Lake Champlain. The pursuing Mohawks and militia cut off several parties of stragglers and, in one skirmish, killed six Frenchmen. The Mohawks brought back the thirteen captured Frenchmen to their castles along our river, where the victims suffered a terrible retribution by being tortured and burned.

The foregoing gives a summary of the massacre and burning of Schenectady. The following documents of the time give the details of this woeful but dramatic chapter of early Mohawk Valley history.

* * * * *

An old Dutch Bible of the Glen-Sanders family has the following account of the massacre, written at the time in Holland Dutch by a son or daughter of Captain Glen.

"1690. tusschen de 8 & 9 Februarie is de droovige mort gedaan hereop Schenectady by de Franse en haar Wildes:—alles verdes treurt en Verbrant * * * op 5 huysen naer maer; maer op Schotieage neen quaet gedaen by akpresse order van haer governeur, Voor het goet doet myn grootvader mynvader en Oem aan een gevange paep priest & verscheiden anderen gevangen gedaen hadde in de oorlogh tussche onse Wildet & de Franse."

Following is a translation:

"1690—between February 8 and 9 the regrettable murder has been committed here at Schenectady by the French and their savages; everything destroyed and burned * * * but for five houses; but in Scotia no harm was done by the express order of their Governor. For the good my grandfather, my father and uncle did to a captured papist priest and several other prisoners in the war between our savages and the French."

"Schotieage" is Scotia. The writer's "grootvader" (grandfather) was Alexander Lindsay Glen, known to the Hollanders of Schenectady as Sander Leenderste Glen. "Mynvader" was the writer's father, Capt. Johannes Glen, and his "oem" (uncle) was Sander Glen. The "good" these Glens did the French priest and other prisoners consisted in assisting them to escape or in saving them from torture, as related in prior chapters.

The best detailed description of the Schenectady massacre and the burning of the town is contained in "An account of the most remarkable occurrences in Canada from the departure of the vessels, from the month of November 1689, to the month of November 1690. By Mons. De Monseignat, Comptroller General of the Marine in Canada." This was written to Madame De Maintenon, the morganatic wife of Louis XIV. It is found in Vol. I, page 297, "Documentary History of New York" (edition of 1849). M. De Monseignat's translated description follows:

"The orders received by M. le Comte (de Frontenac) to commence hostilities against New England and New York, which had declared for the Prince of Orange, afforded him considerable pleasure, and were very necessary for the country. He allowed no more time to elapse before carrying them into execution than was required to send off some despatches to France—immediately after which he determined to organize three different detachments, to attack those rebels at all points at the same moment, and to punish them at various places for having afforded protection

to our enemies, the Mohawks. The first party was to rendezvous at Montreal, and proceed towards Orange [Albany]; the second at Three Rivers, and to make a descent on New York at some place between Boston and Orange; and the third was to depart from Quebec, and gain the seaboard between Boston and Pentagouet verging toward Acadia. They all succeeded perfectly well and I shall communicate to you the details. * * * The detachment which formed at Montreal, may have been composed of about two hundred and ten men, namely: eighty savages from the Sault (Caughnawaga) and from La Montagne; sixteen Algonquins; and the remainder Frenchmen—all under the command of the Sieur Le Moyne de Sainte Helene, and Lieutenant Daillebout de Mantet, both of whom are Canadians. The Sieurs le Moyne d' Iberville and Repentigny de Montesson commanded under these. The best qualified Frenchmen were, the Sieurs le Bonrepos and de La Brosse, Calvinist officers, the Sieur la Moyne de Blainville, Le Bert du Chene, and la Marque de Montigny, who all served as volunteers. * * *

"After having marched for the course of five or six days, they called a council to determine the route they should follow and the point they should attack.

"The Indians demanded of the French what was their intention. Messieurs de Saint Helene and Mantet replied that they had left in the hope of attacking Orange [Albany], if possible, as it is the Capital of New York and a place of considerable importance, though they had no orders to that effect, but generally to act according as they should judge on the spot of their chances of success, without running too much risk. This appeared to the savages somewhat rash. They represented the difficulties and weakness of the party for so bold an undertaking. There was even one among them who, his mind filled with the disasters which he had witnessed last year, enquired of our Frenchmen, 'since when had they become so desperate?' In reply to their raillery, 'twas answered that it was our intention, now, to regain the honor of which our misfortunes had deprived us, and the sole means to accomplish that was to carry Orange, or to perish in so glorious an enterprise.

"As the Indians, who had an intimate acquaintance with the localities, and more experience than the French, could not be brought to agree with the latter, it was determined to postpone coming to a conclusion until the party should arrive at the spot where the two routes separate—the one leading to Orange [Albany] and the other to Corlaer [Schenectady]. In the course

of the journey, which occupied eight days, the Frenchmen judged proper to diverge towards Corlaer, according to the advice of the Indians; and this road was taken without calling a new council. Nine days elapsed before they arrived, having experienced inconceivable difficulties, and having been obliged to march up to their knees in water, and to break the ice with their feet in order to find a solid footing.

"They arrived within two leagues of Corlaer about four o'clock in the evening, and were harangued by the great Mohawk chief [Kryn] of the Iroquois from the Sault [Caughnawaga on the St. Lawrence above Montreal]. He urged all to perform their duty, and to lose all recollections of their fatigue, in the hope of taking ample revenge for the injuries they had received from the Iroquois at the solicitation of the English, and of washing them out in the blood of the traitors. This savage was without contradiction the most considerable of his tribe—an honest man—as full of spirit, prudence and generosity as it was possible, and capable, at the same time, of the grandest undertakings. Shortly after, four Squaws were discovered in a wigwam who gave every information necessary for the attack on the town. The fire found in their hut served to warm those who were benumbed, and they continued their route, having previously detached Giguieres, a Canadian, with nine Indians, on the lookout. They discovered no one, and returned to join the main body within one league of Corlaer.

"At eleven of the clock that night, they came within sight of the town, resolved to defer the assault until two o'clock of the morning. But the excessive cold admitted of no further delay.

"The town of Corlaer [Schenectady] forms a sort of oblong with only two gates—one opposite the road we had taken; the other leading to Orange [Albany], which is only six leagues distant. Messieurs de Sainte Helene and de Mantet were to enter the first which the squaws pointed out, and which in fact was found wide open. Messieurs d'Iberville and de Montesson took the left with another detachment, in order to make them masters of that leading to Orange. But they could not discover it and returned to join the remainder of the party. A profound silence was everywhere observed, until the two commanders, who separated at their entrance into the town for the purpose of encircling it, had met at the other extremity.

"The signal of attack was given Indian fashion, and the entire force rushed on simultaneously. M. de Mantet placed himself at the head of a detachment and reached a small fort where the gar-

rison was under arms. The gate was burst in after a good deal of difficulty, the whole set on fire and all who defended the place slaughtered.

"The sack of the town began a moment before the attack on the fort. Few houses made any resistance. M. de Montigny discovered some which he attempted to carry, sword in hand, having tried the musket in vain. He received two thrusts of a spear—one in the body and the other in the arm. But M. de Saint Helene, having come to his aid effected an entrance and put every one who defended the place to the sword. The Massacre lasted two hours. The remainder of the night was spent in placing sentinels and taking some repose.

"The house of the Minister was ordered to be saved so as to take him alive to obtain information from him; but, as it was not known, it was not spared any more than the others. He was slain and his papers burnt before he could be recognized.

"At daybreak, some men were sent to the dwelling of M. Coudre [Captain Johannes Glen] who was the major of the place. He was not willing to surrender and began to put himself on the defensive with his servants and some Indians; but, as it was resolved not to do him any harm, in consequence of the good treatment that the French had formerly experienced at his hands, M. d'Iberville and the great Mohawk proceeded thither alone, promised him quarter for himself, his people and his property, whereupon he laid down his arms on parole, entertaining them in his fort and returned with them to see the commandants of the town.

"In order to occupy the savages, who would otherwise have taken to drink and thus rendered themselves unable for defence, the houses had already been set on fire. None were spared but one house belonging to Coudre [Glen] and that of a widow [Bratt] who had six children whither M. de Montigny had been carried when wounded. All the rest were consumed. The lives of between fifty and sixty persons, were spared, old men, women and children, they having escaped the first fury of the attack. Some twenty Mohawks were also spared, in order to show them that it was the English and not they against whom the grudge was entertained. The loss in houses, cattle, and grain amounts to more than four hundred thousand livres. There were upwards of eighty well built and well furnished houses in the town.

"The return march commenced with thirty prisoners. The wounded, who were to be carried, and the plunder, with which all the Indians and some Frenchmen were loaded, caused considerable inconvenience. Fifty good horses were brought away. Sixteen

only of these reached Montreal. The remainder were killed for food on the road.

"Sixty leagues from Corlaer the Indians began to hunt, and, the French, not being able to wait for them, being short of provisions, continued their route, having detached Messieurs d'Iberville and Du Chesne with two savages before them to Montreal. On the same day, some Frenchmen, who doubtless were very much fatigued, lost their way. Fearful that they should be obliged to keep up with the main body and believing themselves in safety having eighty Indians in their rear, they were found missing from the camp. They were waited for the next day until eleven o'clock, but in vain and no account has since been received of them.

"Two hours after, forty men more left the main body without acquainting their commander, continued their route by themselves, and arrived within two leagues of Montreal one day ahead, so that there were not more than fifty or sixty men together. The evening on which they should have arrived at Montreal, being extremely fatigued from fasting and bad roads, the rear fell away from M. de Saint Helene, who was in front with an Indian guide, and who could not find a place suitable for camping nearer than three or four leagues of the spot where he expected to halt. He was not rejoined by M. de Mantet and the others until far advanced in the night. Seven have not been found. Next day on parade, about ten o'clock in the forenoon, a soldier arrived who announced that they had been attacked by fourteen or fifteen savages and that six [Frenchmen] had been killed. The party proceeded, somewhat afflicted by this accident, and arrived at Montreal at 3 o'clock p. m.

"Such, Madame, is the account of what passed at the taking of Corlaer. The French lost twenty-one men, namely four Indians and seventeen Frenchmen. Only one Indian and one Frenchman were killed at the capture of the town. The others were lost on the road."

An interesting account of the massacre from the American side is that contained in a book in the office of the county clerk of Albany County, entitled "Mortgages B." It gives the following account of Schermerhorn's arrival at Albany, with the news of the massacre and burning of Schenectady:

"Albany, ye 9th day of February 1690
Die Sabbathi

"This morning, about 5 o'clock ye alarm was brought here by Symon Schermerhoorn who was shott threw his Thigh yt ye

french and Indians had murthered the people of Skinnechtady; haveing got into ye Towne about 11 or 12 a Clock there being no Watch Kept (ye Inhabitants being so negligent & Refractory) and yt he had much a doe to Escape they being very numerous. They fyred severall times at him at last throw his Thigh and wounded his horse and was come over Cantagione (Niskayuna) to bring ye news. * * *

"Severall ye People haveing Escaped ye Cruelty of ye french and there Indians came Running here & told us ye Village was a fyre and yt they had much a doe to Ecape for all ye streets were full of french and Indians & yt many People were murthered and yt ye enemy were marching hither which news was Continually Confirmed till afternoon. * * *

"Some horse men sent out to Discover ye Enemies force and there march but were forced to Return ye snow being so Deep yet some were sent out again who got thither. Lawrence ye Indian with ye Maquase yt were in Towne were sent out also to Skinnechtady to Dispatch posts to ye Maquase Castles for all ye Indians to come downe, but unhappily sad Indians comeing to Skinnechtady were so much amazed to see so many People murthered and Destroyed that they omitted ye sending up to ye Maquase Castles according to there Engagement While ye Enemy was at N. Scotia a man came to Ensign Joh: Sander Glen and said he would goe to ye Maquase Castles and warn ye Maquase to come downe who was ordered to goe in all haste but comeing to ye Upper Plantations went for fear along with some of ye oyr Inhabitants into ye Woods and never went to ye Maquase Castles, this night we gott a letter from Skinnechtady Informing us yt ye Enemy yt had done yt mischieffe there were about one hundred and fifty or 200 men but that there were 1400 men in all. One army for Albany & anoyr for Sopus (Kingston) which hindered much ye marching of any force out of ye Citty fearing yt ye enemy might watch such an opportunity."

On February 10th, the Albany Convention, of which Captain Bull was a member, issued orders to the Captain to go to Schenectady with a detachment of soldiers to bury the dead and render what aid he could and, if possible, to join what Mohawks would go out and pursue the enemy. Fifty Albany militiamen and 150 Mohawks formed the pursuing party, which left Schenectady about February 12th. The Americans and Indians nearly caught up with the enemy, who escaped by hitching their captured horses to sleds on Lake Champlain and thus outdistanced the pursuers, who had been previously gaining rapidly upon them. The following old Albany record tells of this pursuit:

"Albany ye 22 day of february 1690.

"Symon Van Ness and Andries Barents who went out ye first with ye Maquaese returning told; they had Pursued ye Enemy to ye great Lake & would have overtaken them had they not been spyed by some of ye Enemy Indians that went out to looke for 2 Negroe boys, yt were Runn away from them, & yt ye Indians & Christians were all Tyred when they came to ye Croune Point neer ye Lake; some went further till they came to where ye Ise was Smoth; where the french had with horses that they carried from Skinnechtady & Skeets and Yse Spurrs, made all the way they could over ye Lake in so much that our People could gain nothing upon them; whereas at first they went 2 of there days journeys in one; nevertheless Laurence ye Maquase and about 140 Mohogs are gone in Pursuite of them, & will follow them quite to Canida."

The subsequent encounter, between the parties of French stragglers and this pursuing war party, is told in a letter from Mr. Van Cortlandt to Sir Edmond Andros, as follows:

"About 150 Indians and 50 young men off Albany followed the French overtook them upon the lake killed some and tooke 15 Frenchmen, which the Indians [Mohawks] have killed in their castles; the french Indians have killed eight or ten people at Conestagione [Niskayuna], which has made the whole country in an alarm, and the people leave their plantations. Most of the Albany Wood men are att New Yorke. Arent Schuyler went with eight Indians to Chambly, killed 2 and took 1 Frenchman prisoner."

The Schenectady massacre was the subject of important correspondence between the two political factions in the Province of New York—the Leislerites and the Anti-Leislerites—and leading officials of the American Colonies and England. Concerning it, Leisler wrote to Maryland, to Governor Bradstreet of Boston, to the Governor of the Barbadoes and the Bishop of Salisbury. Of the Anti-Leislerites, Mr. Van Cortlandt wrote to Sir Edmund Andros, and Mr. Livingston to Captain Nicholson.

Frontenac's savage warfare was the subject of discussion in London as well as in the towns of the American Colonies, while the butchery of the "heretics" of Schenectady was a matter of congratulation in the court circles of France.

As the Albany people were at odds with the Leisler government of New York, they turned to the strong colony of Massachusetts in their peril and distress. Peter Schuyler, mayor of Albany, and Justices Wessels and Van Rensselaer, on February 15, 1690, addressed Governor Bradstreet and his Council. Their letter de-

scribed the massacre of Schenectady and the attitude of the Mohawks regarding it and ended with an appeal for all the English colonies to unite and crush Canada. What the Mohawks had to say on the subject was most interesting. In this regard, the letter runs as follows:

"As soon as the Maquase of ye first and 2d Castle came downe and see ye Ruins of Shinnechtady were Verry much griev'd The 2 Principall Captns said to Mr Wessels and some oyr gent. yt were sent from Albany to Dispatch ye Christians and Indians away in Pursute of ye french. 'Now you see your Blood spilt, and this is ye beginning of ye miseries if not suddenly Prevented. Therefore write to all them that are in Covenant with us Vizt. New England, Virginia and all ye English Plantacons of America to make all Readinesse to master Canida early in the Spring with Great Shipps Else you can not live in Peace You say ye King is a great king, and you are very numerous here in this Country farr above ye french you are so But now is the time to show it, else ye more you are ye greater shame it is to suffer ye french to be master; and then we and all the 5 nations yes all ye farr nations must acknowledge ym for a great People and master of ye french if you now Subdue it. But hitherto we see ye french are the Souldiers they have been at ye northwest and killed ye English there; They have killed ye Indians at ye Sinnekes Country and now they come here and kill ye Dutch * * * * They are Victorious wherever they goe. Them of N. England have told us they would Destroy Canida, we have much Depended upon there great Promises since we know they are Potent Enough to doe it, & now we know there is open warr. If we are but assured yt ye English would minde theree Interest now and make Ready against ye spring we would keep them in alarm, we must goe hand in hand and Destroy the french, we hope yt ye Governr with men is come which you have often told us off. You told us also yt ye king of England was so Potent that he had Blokt up the french havens; yet ye french govr is come & we hear nothing of yours. In ye mean time we goe out now with Sixty Maquase of ye first & 2d Castle 25 River Indians Besides ye Christians and above 100 men of ye 3d Castle are comeing to morrow, we will Pursue ye Enemy and doubt not but to overtake them too; and Rescue ye Prisoners."

This was but the beginning of a number of instances, during the ensuing seventy years, when the Mohawks used words of wisdom in counseling with the Americans of New York Province and their English governors with regard to the military policy of the

Province against the French on the St. Lawrence. The next seventy-five years forms an amazing record of division, jealousy and inefficiency on the part of the English Colonies which is almost unparalleled in history. Only the smallness of New France and her armies prevented the conquest of America from the English. The French were everywhere aggressive and spread their empire and their influence from the Gulf of St. Lawrence to the Gulf of Mexico. The people of the English Colonies clung to the Atlantic seacoast and shuddered at the prospect of French invasion, although they outnumbered the Canadians twenty to one. It is a wonder that the English retained the alliance of the Iroquois, during this long period of time, when their inefficiency and disunion was so plainly evident. Only the numbers and wealth of the Americans saved them, together with the fidelity of the Mohawks, who we have just witnessed beginning their waste of wisdom on a people with whom unpreparedness has always been a national vice.

On February 27, 1690, the Governor and Council of Massachusetts at Boston, replied to "ors of the 15th instant bringing the sad and Solemn News of the desolation of Schinectedy, and the barbarous cruelties exercised towards the people of that place." The New Englanders bewailed the divisions which made the Schenectady horror possible and expressed their determination to be always ready to unite against the common enemy. On the same day they wrote a letter to Captain Bull, commanding the Connecticut company at Albany, in which they said: "The Lord inspire you and the Citizens with the Courage, Prudence and Unanimity, as not to think of deserting so important and defensible a Post as Albany is; the hinge upon which in a great measure the weight of our present New England affairs doth turn." They were also much concerned over the allegiance of the Five Nations and appreciative of the news sent them by the Albany Convention.

In the previous speech of the Mohawk chief to the Albany Convention we have seen how he spoke of "all ye English Plantacons of America."

This speech and this correspondence is interesting as showing that the name "America" was already in use as a generic term covering all the English Colonies of the Atlantic Coast. In the letter to Captain Bull, Governor Bradstreet says that "The America, a ship of near two hundred Tunns is near ready to sail for London." The name "America" was not only in use at this and earlier periods, but the American idea had already taken root

in the Colonies and, in spite of their divisions, the majority of the people felt themselves one land and one nation, to a very large degree.

When the history of these remarkable years of dangerous disunion in America is plainly written it will probably be found that the politicians, as always, were largely responsible for a state of Colonial affairs most dangerous to this American idea of unity. In fact, American independence would not have been won when it was won, had not the American people learned the principles and necessity of union in the bitter lessons of the Great French War of 1754-60. It was the French who taught America the principle of union by barbarities such as that of Schenectady. The tale of the horrors of Schenectady, Salmon Falls and Casco Bay was spread throughout "America" and the Colonists of every race vowed vengeance and the destruction of the French. The Schenectady massacre and similar incursions and the resultant frequent union of counsel and union of arms of the American Colonists against the French taught the Americans that "in Union there is Strength", and that, without union, "Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness" were impossible. Many of the subsequent events, which are seemingly unrelated, were in reality and unwittingly actual steps toward American independence and should be considered as such. Schenectady's massacre was one of these, as it gave the Americans of the Colonies the desire to unite against a common enemy, while the details of the horrors of the massacre only made the feeling of brotherhood the stronger. Strange as it may seem, it took nearly three-quarters of a century of bitter lessons similar to those of Schenectady to make this desire for union effective. The Schenectady massacre has generally been historically considered in the light of a local catastrophe, but it was, in reality, the first bitter lesson in the need of union and of united Colonies, and it attracted notice in London and Paris as well as in America. Our valley also furnished a strong object lesson in the necessity for American union which was constantly before the eyes of the Colonists and which was frequently a subject of discussion by our Colonial forefathers. This was the Iroquois Confederacy or the League of Five Nations, which the traditions of all the New York Iroquois agree was formed or inaugurated here along the Mohawk. As the Mohawks originally created the Confederacy, so were they its strongest exponents, and as they were the neighbors of the Dutch and English authorities of Albany, they became the most influential object lesson to the American Colonists of the successful results of a union of

different bodies of people with a common national heritage. The example of the Five Nations had a great influence upon the creation of the United States of America—a historical fact which is now generally acknowledged.

These observations upon the national influence of the Schenectady massacre are pertinent here, because these same general ideas were subjects of discussion among the American Colonists following this baptism of blood in the Mohawk Valley, which ushered in the ten years of King William's War in America.

Following the Schenectady massacre, New England and New York prepared for vengeance against Canada, with the usual futile results, which will be noted later.

* * * * *

The days following the burning of Schenectady were not only most tragic for the survivors, but they were vitally important to the future history of our Mohawk Valley.

The Schenectady settlers who were spared at or who escaped from the massacre probably did not exceed one hundred people. About fifty of these remained or returned at once to the sites of their homes among the smoldering ruins. These courageous survivors found shelter in the two houses which had been spared, as well as in Glen's house and barns in Scotia, and, probably, in huts hastily made from the debris. It was a matter of debate as to whether Schenectady should be rebuilt or the exposed settlement should be abandoned. The braver spirit won out and the Mohawks gave encouragement to the plan to remain and fight it out. A spokesman of a Mohawk delegation addressed a council of the leading men of Albany and Schenectady at Albany on February 25, 1690. The "whole house" he speaks of refers to the Iroquois Long House, a figurative term for the League of Five Nations. The Mohawks guarded the eastern gate of this Long House, while the Senecas guarded the western. The Mohawk orator spoke, in part, as follows, in the interpreted language of the old account:

"Brethren:—Wee are sory and Extreamly grieved for ye murther Lately Committed by ye french upon our Brethren of Shinnectady wee Esteem this evill as if done to ourselfs being all in one Covenant chain * * * *

"We Lament and Condole the death of so many of our brethren so basely murthered at Shinnectady, we cannot accompt it a great victory for itt is done by way of Deceit.

"Brethren:—Doe not be discouraged this is butt a beginning of ye Warr we are strong enough the whole house have there Eyes

fixed upon yrs and they only stay your motion and will bee ready to doe whatever shall be resolved upon by our Brethren. * * *

"Wee Recommend ye brethren to keep good watch and if any Enemies come take care yt messengers be more speedily sent to us than lately was done we would not advise ye brethren quite to desert Shinnectady but to make a fort there. The Enemy would be too glorious to see it quite desolate and yr Towne is not well fortifyed ye Stockades are so short ye Indians can jump over them like a dogg."

It is probable that these Mohawk words had their influence on the decision of the settlers to rebuild Schenectady, which work was immediately begun and which subject is covered in the next chapter. Even if the majority of the pioneers had decided to abandon the town, it is probable that some of the more intrepid of the people (such as Glen) would have remained and continued the settlement, as well as some of the braver farmers in the Mohawk River district west of Schenectady, which had been untouched by this foray. However, many former settlers, who escaped the massacre, deserted the place and moved elsewhere. Schenectady had suffered a blow from which it took her ten years to recover.

* * * * *

The following is a record of the people who were killed or taken prisoner in the Schenectady massacre, taken from the Documentary History of New York (1849), Vol. I, page 304.

List of ye People Kild and Destroyed

By ye French of Canida and there Indians at Skinnechtady twenty miles to ye westward of Albany between Saturday and Sunday ye 9th day of February, 1690.

Myndert Wemp kild		1
Jan van Eps and his Sonne & 2 of his Children kild		4
a negroe of dito Van Eps		1
Serjt Church of Capt. Bull's Compy		1
Barent Jansse [Van Ditmars] Killd and Burnd his Sonne Kild		2
Ands Arentse Bratt shott and Burnt & also his childn		2
Mary Velie, wife of Dowe Aukes & her 2 children killd and his Negro Woman Francyn		4
Mary Alolff Wife of Cornelis Viele Junr Shott		1
Sweer Teunise [Van Velsen] Shott & burnt his wife kild & burnt	all in one house	2
Antje Janz doughter of Jan Spoor kild & burnt		1
Item 4 Negroes of ye said Sweer Teunise ye same death		4
Enos Talmidge Leift of Capt Bull kild & burnt		1

Hend Meese Vrooman & Bartholomeus Vrooman kild & burnt__ 2
Item 2 Negroes of Hend Meese ye same death_____ 2
Gerrit Marcellis and his Wife & child kild_____ 3
Robt Alexander souldr of Capt Bulls Shott_____ 1
Robt hesseling shott _____ 1
Sander ye sonne of gysbert gerritse [Van Brakel] kild & burnt 1
Jan Roeloffse de goyer burnt in ye house_____ 1
Ralph grant a souldier in ye fort shott_____ 1
David Christoffelse & his wife wth 4 Children all burnt in there house _____ 6
Joris Aertse [Vander Baast] shott and burnt Wm Pieterse kild 2
Joh: Potman kild his wife kild & her skalp taken off_____ 2
Dome Petrus Tassemaker ye Minister kild & burnt in his house 1
Frans harmense [Van de Bogart] kild_____ 1
Engel the wife of Adam Vroman shot & burnt her childe the brains dashed out against ye wall_____ 2
Reynier Schaets and his sonne kild_____ 2
Daniel Andries & George 2 souldiers of Capt Bull_____ 2
a french girl Prisoner among ye Mohogs kild_____ 1
A Maquase Indian kild _____ 1
Johannes ye sonne of Symon Skermerhoorn_____ 1
3 Negroes of Symon Skermerhoorn_____ 3

In all_____60

Lyst of ye persones which ye French and there Indians have taken prisoners att Skinnechtady and caried to Canida ye 9th day of February 1690:

Johannes Teller and his negroe_____ 2
John Wemp sonne of Myndt Wemp & 2 negroes_____ 3
Symon, Abraham, Philip, Dirck & Claes Groot all 5 sonnes of Symon Groot _____ 5
Jan Baptist sonne of Jan Van Epps_____ 1
Albert & Johannes Vedder sonnes of Harme Vedder_____ 2
Isaak Cornelise Switts & his Eldest sonne_____ 2
a negroe of Barent Janse [Van Ditmars]_____ 1
Arnout ye sonne of Arnout Corn: Viele ye Interpr_____ 1
Stephen ye sonne of Gysbert Gerritse [Van Brakel]_____ 1
Lawrence sonne of Claes Lawrence Purmurent [Vander Volgen] _____ 1
Arnout sonne of Paulyn Janse_____ 1
Barent ye sonne of Adam Vrooman & ye neger_____ 2
Claes sonne of Frans Harmense [Van de Bogart]_____ 1
Stephen adopted sonne of Geertje Bouts_____ 1

John Webb a souldier Belonging to Capt. Bull_____ 1
David Burt belonging to ye same Compe_____ 1
Joseph Marks of ye same Compe_____ 1

In all_____27

According to the above figures of the garrison of 24 Connecticut soldiers, only four were killed and three taken prisoner. The other seventeen men must have escaped from the town during the turmoil of the massacre, as did a number of the citizens.

The succeeding chapter relates to the rebuilding of Schenectady and its history as well as that of the lower Mohawk Valley, during the period from the massacre in 1690 to the end of King William's War in 1697 and the beginning of Queen Anne's War in 1701.

CHAPTER 26.

SCHENECTADY AND THE MOHAWK VALLEY—1690-1693.

SCHENECTADY REBUILT AFTER THE MASSACRE—GOODS SENT TO THE IMPOVERISHED SURVIVORS—THE LEISLER REBELLION AND ITS TURMOIL IN ALBANY AND SCHENECTADY—FORT ORANGE SURRENDERED TO LEISLER BY THE ALBANY CONVENTION, MARCH 4, 1690—TAHAJADORIS, THE MOHAWK CHIEFTAIN, PREACHES AMERICAN COLONIAL UNION AT ALBANY COUNCIL OF MAY 3, 1690—EXPEDITION AGAINST CANADA FAILS IN 1690—SCHUYLER STRIKES HARD BLOW AT NEW FRANCE IN 1691—BUILDING OF THE STEVENS HOUSE AT AAL PLAATS (AEL PLACE) IN 1693—RAIDS OF KING WILLIAM'S WAR ABOUT ALBANY AND SCHENECTADY, 1690-1693—THE FRONTIER POPULATION MUCH DEPLETED.

Having decided not to abandon the settlement of Schenectady, the survivors of the massacre soon set to work to rebuild the town around the six houses left standing. By May 13, 1690, a new fort had been completed at the foot of present State Street. Another block house was constructed 100 feet north of St. George's Church and a guard house at the corner of Ferry and State streets. The settlement slowly recovered from the effects of the massacre and fire. Many people, however, removed to less exposed sections and it was over ten years before the Schenectady district had recovered its former population and prosperity. By 1695, there were 28 houses in the stockade and in 1698, there were 215 inhabitants in the whole Schenectady district, from the Alplaus Kill to present Cranesville. After 1700, the town and district grew rapidly in population.

On February 22, 1690, The Albany Convention passed resolutions inviting the Mohawks to leave their castles and to come and live at Schenectady so as to concentrate the military strength of the Mohawks and white settlers to more successfully combat another invasion from Canada. Very fortunately, nothing came of this unwise suggestion.

The Albany Convention, on February 27, sent delegates to New York City, Boston and Connecticut urging that they all unite with New York, attack Quebec and conquer Canada.

Brodhead writes of the Mohawk and Albany plan of Colonial union for action against a common enemy, as follows: "The idea of a confederation of British North American Plantations originated in New England in 1643. The policy of consolidating his Colonies to make them 'terrible to the French', was the thought

of James the Second in 1688. The patriotic purpose of a union of all the English dependencies in North America, from Virginia to New England, against a common enemy, was inspired by the New York Iroquois and formally propounded by the Albany Convention in February, 1690. From Schuyler and his associates just praise should not be withheld." The New York Iroquois here referred to were the Mohawks, a chief of whom made a speech on the subject to Magistrate Dirk Wessels of Albany and "some oyr gent yt were sent from Albany to Dispatch ye Christians and Indians away in Pursute of ye french", as the old account has it. This oration of a Mohawk chieftain on the subject of union of the Colonies was therefore delivered to the members of the Albany Convention who were present at the start of the pursuit party from Schenectady about February 12, 1690. The main credit should go to the chieftains of the Mohawks and the place where the proposal for an offensive and defensive league of the American Colonies was made was amid the ruins of Schenectady in the Mohawk Valley, and it was the massacre of Schenectady which inspired the idea.

Although he originally represented a popular movement toward free democracy, Leisler now began to fully show his unfitness for rule as well as the character of a petty dictator. He arrested and imprisoned about forty officers commissioned by Andros. Former Governor Dongan and a number of Anti-Leislerites fled from New York to escape imprisonment. Liesler sent his lieutenant, Jacob Milborne, to Connecticut to scold the authorities for coöperation with the "rebels" at Albany. The Albany Convention sent Robert Livingston and several other delegates to Connecticut and Boston to advocate the plan of union and ask for help in holding the strategic posts of Albany and Schenectady. Their mission was unsuccessful and Captain Bull's company was withdrawn from Albany.

On March 4th, 1690, Leisler sent 160 men to Albany under command of Jacob Milborne, his son-in-law and lieutenant. The expedition carried clothing and supplies for Schenectady and presents for the Iroquois. Fort Orange was surrendered on March 17th, by the Albany Convention, whose rule came to an end after a period of eight months, during which Albany and Ulster counties (embracing the greater part of the province) had acted as a colony independent of New York city. The change was made without disturbance and the Albany City and County officials were mostly retained in office.

The goods sent to Schenectady refugees were received by the

deacons of Albany and Schenectady and consisted of "2,348½ Dutch ells of Ossenburgh Linen, 3 ps. Serge, 13 prs. Stockings, 72 ells pennestont". These goods were a godsend to people who had lost their all. They were distributed to the Schenectady survivors at that place. Some of the linen supplies were distributed in the Bush or the "Woestyne"—wasteland or wilderness,—as the Dutch called that part of the township west of Schenectady. It is not evident why supplies were sent to the Woestyne, as that district had not been injured in the invasion. It is likely that the surviving Schenectady settlers had gone to the homes of relatives in the Woestyne as well as Albany, as nearly all the Holland Dutch of the Albany-Schenectady neighborhood were generally related. In the week following the massacre, the deacons of Albany had given to the Schenectady survivors goods to the value of 83 guilders.

The list of people to whom the goods sent by Leisler were given out, forms a roll of the surviving heads of families of Schenectady as well as those then resident in the Bush or the Woestyne—the Schenectady township section between Schenectady and westward to present Cranesville.

The Schenectady heads of families, who received these goods, were the following: Barent Wemp, Harmen Vedder, Symon Schermerhorn, Symen Groot, Arent Vedder, Anne, widow of Frans Van de Bogart, Willem Appel, Goosen Van Oort, Samuel Bradt, Johannes Dyckman, Geertruy Groot, Jacques Cornelise Van Slyck, Dirck Bradt, Isaac De Truax, Neices of Symon Vlockertse Veeder, Johannes Dyckman, Jan Van Eps, Ludovicus Cobes, Pieter Van Olinda, Gerret Jansen, William Van Erde, Elias Swart, Jan Buys, Cysbert Gerrets Van Brakel, Hendrick Gardiniers, Dirck Hesselingh, Adam Vrooman, Teunis Carstensen, Gerrit Gysbertsen Van Brakel, Catalyn Barensen Van Ditmars, Susanne Tellers, Dieur Wemp, Tryntje Bosboom, Symon Volckertse Veeder, Jacob Van Laer, Cornelis Viele, Manus Haegedoorn, Jannetie Schermerhoorn, Cornelis Schermerhoorn, Citte Bradt, Cornelis Claesen, Tryntie Schaets, David Christoffelsen's children, Johannes Pootman's children, Claas Laurens Van der Volgen, Fytie Pietersen Borsboom. The note is made on the original distribution list that the above persons were given goods at "Schoonechtede", so that 44 heads of families and some "nieces" and children were then starting life anew and rebuilding the ruined town of Schenectady. These people were truly heroic in the face of the disaster, which had so recently overwhelmed them.

The following family heads were given supplies in the Woestyne: Binnonie Arentsen, David Marinus, Elias Van Gyseling, Jan Vrooman, Teunis Viele, Tryntie Verwy, Claes DeGraef, Jan Hilt, Cornelis Groat, Jan Luycessen Wyngaardt, Lysbet Cornelissen. Swart, Cobes, Truax, Buys, Carstensen, Arent Vedder, Van Olinda, Harmanus Vedder, Dyckman, who received goods at Schenectady, also were among those to whom they were given in the Woestyne. Besides the settlers to whom goods were there distributed, there were at least as many more who received nothing, such as Toll and Van Antwerpen, so that, in March only a little over a month after the massacre there are about sixty heads of families indicated as living in Schenectady and the Schenectady district, which would indicate a population of about 200 people. Population figures of the time are, however, very difficult to arrive at and these figures are merely an estimate. Nevertheless, it is certain that a number of intrepid people had already taken the brave course of rebuilding and resettling the ruined frontier town of the province. The settlement of Schenectady had never lost its continuity, for six houses had been spared by the invaders and around these surviving dwellings of old Schenectady the new town arose from the ashes.

In April, Niskayuna (Conestiogone) was raided by Canadian Indians and eight people were killed. April 30th, Leisler wrote a letter to the Albany magistrates which shows the lack of education in this despotic German. It reads in part, as follows:

* * * "mest riars desired som guns with iff you seemeth most be taken from sloop or petrares for Schonectede with Wee Desiers ma not be deserted doo It shuld kost 50 soldiers to maentain * * *."

The attack on Niskayuna, following the terrible experience of Schenectady, caused general alarm throughout the Albany-Schenectady district. To allay this fear and to protect what was then the frontier, the magistrates of Albany on May 12, 1690 "Ordered that the Posts of Schenechtade, Connestigioone and half-moone be forthwith supplyed with the proper number of men to defend the same—and that none doe presume to post any other forces saving at the 3 places aforesaid at their uttmost peril.

"Whereas it is judged necessary for to defend Schanechtede and to that purpose it is likewise found requisite that a fort be built to defend ye Inhabitants and oppugn the Enemy if he should attack the same." Captain Johannes Sanders Glen and others

were ordered to build a "substantiall Fort on that lot of ground called by ye name of Cleyn Isaacs." This was a lot belonging to Isaac Swits, known as Kleyn (little) Isaak. Swits and his eldest son Cornelis were carried captive to Canada, following the Schenectady massacre. They returned the following summer, when Swits found that the Governor of the Province had taken his village land for the site of a fort which stood then on his old lot. Swits petitioned for £30 in money ($75) or its equivalent in land. It was not until seventeen years later that he received reimbursement for his village lot by a deed for 1,000 acres of land lying between the east bounds of the Schenectady Patent and Conestiogone (Niskayuna) on the south side of the Mohawk River, which parcel of land seems to have been unoccupied prior to this grant. It is said that the fort mentioned above was completed by May 30th, 1690, as previously mentioned.

Because of the destruction of the crops and goods at the burning of Schenectady and the consequent drain upon the remaining supplies and provisions, both Albany and Schenectady were so impoverished that they called upon Connecticut for aid "fournishing the souldiers with provisions, Shennectady being destroyed and most of the out plantations deserted, that your honrs would be pleased to send a supply of an hundred barrels of porks or beefe equivalent for maintaining their Majes. Forces."

On April 8, 1690, a general election for members of Assembly was held in the Province of New York, under a writ issued by Leisler on February 20. New York, Albany, Ulster, Kings and Westchester were represented, while a number of the counties were not. Albany County elected Jan Jansen Bleecker of Albany and Ryer Schermerhorn of Schenectady. In spite of the severe blow suffered at Schenectady, the Mohawk Valley was thus early taking part in New York politics.

Following out the speech of the Mohawk chieftain at Schenectady to delegates from the Albany Convention, the latter body had adopted the idea of Colonial union so aptly set forth by one of our Valley redmen and had given it wide publicity. Before Leisler had ended their power the Albany Convention had invited several Colonies to join with it in an attempted conquest of the French in Canada. Leisler, seeing the advantages to his own power in the plan now adopted it and the first North American Colonial Congress met at New York on May 1, 1690, at Leisler's call. Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut, and New York were represented, while Rhode Island and Maryland agreed to cooperate and send men for the Canadian expedition. The quota of

troops to be raised for this purpose by the different Colonies was as follows: New York, 400; Massachusetts, 160; Connecticut, 135; Maryland, 100; Plymouth, 60; 855 men in all. To cooperate with Massachusetts on the sea, Leisler sent five vessels to add to the strength of this early American navy. This Congress is interesting and important as showing that these Colonies, rightfully or wrongfully, were already raising military and naval forces and carrying on warfare without orders from the English Crown.

Four of the people who were captured in the Schenectady massacre escaped from Canada and reached Albany on June 9th, 1690. They were Kleyn Isack Swits and his son Symon, both of Schenectady, Ryck Claessen Van Vranken of Niskayuna and one of Captain Bull's soldiers.

The Albany magistrates held a council with the Five Nations at Albany, May 3rd to the 13th, 1690. The Iroquois speaker, Tahajadoris exhorted the brethren to maintain peace among themselves and to "join together the several colonies of New England and Virginia, likewise those of Albany, who have always sat under the green tree; otherwise we shall destroy one another." Such constant preaching of Colonial unity by the Iroquois and the Mohawks in particular must have had its effect on the American people during the eighty-five years ensuing before the Declaration of Independence. The Iroquois also recommended that Montreal be attacked by land and Quebec by sea; that Schenectady should be fortified anew, as their own castles had been and promised 1,800 warriors from the Five Nations to help the Colonies conquer Canada. In June a party of "praying Indians" (as the Christian converts of the French Jesuit priests were called) went out from Montreal against the Americans. On their return with some prisoners, they were attacked by a war party of Algonquin and Abenaki Indians, who mistook them for English. In the fight Kryn, the Great Mohawk, was killed, which was a hard blow for New France.

Although Leisler wanted his tool Milborne to be commander of the expedition against Canada, he was forced to accept Winthrop of Connecticut. The army got to the head of Lake Champlain when smallpox, lack of provisions and the smallness of the force compelled it to return to Greenbush, opposite Albany. It was the beginning of a long series of failures in the attempted invasions of Canada, which ended only with Amherst's successful expedition in 1760. Captain John Schuyler a brother of Mayor and Major Peter Schuyler of Albany, made a successful raid into

Canada with 40 militiamen and 120 Mohawks. Phipps' naval expedition was repulsed at Quebec and 1690 ended ingloriously for America in its attempts to conquer Canada by land and sea.

On October 10, 1690, Leisler appointed Staats, Wendell, Bogardus and Schermerhorn (of Schenectady) "to superintend, direct, order and control all matters and things relating to the city and county of Albany," etc. Wendell was commissioned mayor of Albany in place of Major Peter Schuyler, the great leader of Albany who was opposed to Leisler.

Lieutenant-Governor Ingoldsby reached New York, January 29, 1691, and Leisler started an actual civil war in New York by firing on Ingoldsby with the cannon and musketry of the fort, killing two and wounding several others of Ingoldsby men. Leisler's demagoguery and despotism had become insupportable. On Governor Sloughter's arrival, Leisler surrendered the fort on March 20, 1691, and the German despot's "popular government" came to an end after a sway of two years. On April 9th, the first New York Assembly convened under the direct authority of the English Crown, met in New York city. It was a unanimous Anti-Leisler body, and Leisler, was, among other things, blamed for the Schenectady disaster. Milborne and Leisler had been condemned to death and, on May 14, 1691, they were executed. This was a grave political mistake, as well as a brutal injustice, as it perpetuated the Leisler-Bayard political feud for many years to come and made a martyr for liberty out of a rather mean, despotic character.

While this political conflict was exciting the whole Province, including the Mohawks and the sparse white population of the lower Mohawk Valley, four prisoners, taken by the French at the Schenectady massacre, in 1690, were brought back to Schenectady by a war party of militiamen and Mohawks, in March, 1691.

In 1691, Major Peter Schuyler gathered a force at Albany to strike Canada. It consisted of 260 men, half of them militiamen and half Mohawks and Mohicans. At La Prairie, opposite Montreal, Schuyler's war party attacked and defeated a French force three times as great as that of the Americans. Schuyler's men later drove off another French party, under Valrenne near Chambly, and retired down Lake Champlain after having inflicted two hard blows upon the Canadians with a small force. In this foray, Schuyler displayed the great military ability which he exhibited on other occasions, notably in the pursuit of the French-Indian raiders who burned the Mohawk castles in 1693 and in the subsequent bloody battle of Saratoga.

In June, 1691, Governor Sloughter visited Albany and Schenectady and inspected their defenses. He wrote that he had "found our plantations and Schenectady almost ruined. I have garrisoned Schenectady and Halfe Moon with some of the 100 fusileers raised by our Assembly." Under date of August 6th, he wrote: "I found Albany full of disorder, the people about to desert it; about 150 farms deserted & destroyed by the French." The Governor seems to have had the defense of Schenectady as a military key position of the Colony, constantly in mind. Late in 1691, another Schenectady massacre prisoner was brought in from Canada, by an Oneida warrior, who received a reward of £2, 2s. in "Duffels and Rom." Duffel was a kind of coarse woolen cloth, having a thick nap, in much use in Colonial days. This made nine captives who had escaped from Canada to Schenectady since the massacre in 1690.

Albany and Schenectady were much alarmed, throughout 1692, by reports of invasion from Canada. On June 16, 1692, Major Ingoldsby reported to the Governor's Council, in New York, that he had found Albany in great disorder from false alarms occasioned by small bands of Canadian savages. He said that the fortifications were out of repair and that he had confirmed the chain of friendship with the Five Nations and the River Indians. He had also sent 30 men of the Albany garrison to Schenectady and 30 to Half Moon, and that 50 more were needed for Cannestgioenna (Niskayuna), which could not be spared from Albany.

At the council in 1692 of the Five Nations with Major Ingoldsby, an Iroquois chief spoke as follows: "We return you Thanks for the Powder and Lead given us; but what shall we do without Guns, shall we throw them at the Enemy? We doubt they will not hurt them so. Before this we always had Guns given us. It is no Wonder the Governor of Canada gains upon us, for he supplies his Indians with Guns as well as Powder; he supplies them plentifully with every Thing that can hurt us." With minds frequently so much more logical than the English and the Dutch, it is difficult to consider the Iroquois mentally inferior by comparison.

During August, 1692, an expedition of 350 Iroquois Indians (including Mohawks) was fitted out at Schenectady to go against Canada. It was under the command of Canachkorie. The Iroquois raiding parties did much damage in Canada in 1692 and kept the French there constantly on the defensive. The Mohawks were among the most active in this savage warfare. In 1689,

they had had 220 warriors, but were now reduced to 130 braves, having lost 90 of their fierce warriors in two years of fighting. In fact, during King William's war, most of the fighting against the French was done by the Iroquois, although they numbered less than one-tenth the total of the white inhabitants of the English Colonies.

In September, 1692, three French prisoners were examined at New York who testified that, during the summer, the French of Canada "had a design to fall upon Albany & Schenectady & the Mohac country, but first to take Schenectady where they resolved to build a fort * * * but their design failed"—probably because of the constant attacks upon Canada by war parties of Iroquois.

Governor Henry Sloughter died January 16th, 1692, and Governor Benjamin Fletcher succeeded him. In October, 1692, Governor Fletcher visited Schenectady and made its defenses as strong as possible for the coming winter.

So far King William's war had proved a terrible scourge both to the English Colonies and New France. The constant menace of Iroquois invasion prevented Frontenac from striking at the Colonies. The Mohawks were the most bitter foes of the French among the Confederates and the Old Man of Canada now planned a vital blow at his worst enemies.

In 1693, Jonathan Stevens, a Yankee from New England, married Leah, wife of Claas Willemse Van Coppernoll. The Stevens farm lay in the present town of Glenville, Schenectady County, along the Mohawk, being bounded on the east by the Aal Plaats kill. Leah was the daughter of Cornelis Antonisen Van Slyck by his French-Mohawk wife, and she was a famous interpreter. In 1693, Stevens built a house at the Aal Plaats (Ael Place) which is the second oldest house within the limits of the Mohawk Valley, being antedated only by the dwelling at Rotterdam, known as the Mabie house, which was built by Daniel Janse Van Antwerpen in 1670. Stevens' son Arent (also called Arnout), became a famous Indian interpreter, so acting for Sir William Johnson for a period of twenty years and his name appears a number of times in later chapters. The erections of these early Mohawk River houses are most important historically as they formed virtual outposts of civilization on the border of a vast wilderness. The Stevens house is also a material evidence and reminder of the interesting Dutch-Mohawk Van Slyck family, which was bound by ties of blood to the first Hollanders who settled at Schenectady and to their red brethren, the Mohawks.

CHAPTER 27.

1693, FRENCH DESTROY THE MOHAWK CASTLES

CANADIAN FRENCH-INDIAN WAR PARTY OF 625 BURN THE MOHAWK CASTLES OF CAUGHNAWAGA, CANAGORA AND TIONNONT'OGEN—MIDNIGHT ATTACK AND SHARP FIGHT AT TIONNONTOGEN, THE UPPER MOHAWK CASTLE—300 MOHAWKS MADE PRISONERS—MAJOR SCHUYLER PURSUES WITH ALBANY COUNTY MILITIA, MOHAWKS AND ONEIDAS—BATTLE OF SARATOGA—ENEMY ESCAPES—DESTRUCTION OF THEIR CASTLES GREATLY WEAKENS THE MOHAWKS' POWER—BUILDING OF THE MOHAWK TRIBAL CASTLE OF OG-SA-DA-GA, AT PRESENT TRIBES HILL.

In 1693 Frontenac organized an expedition with the object of striking a vital blow at the Mohawks, the most dreaded foe of French empire in America. The Canadian Viceroy also wished to alienate the Mohawks living at Caughnawaga, on the St. Lawrence, from their relatives of Caughnawaga on the Mohawk, and those of the other Canienga castles along our river. Parkman says of this invasion and its preparations: "All the mission Indians in the colony were invited to join it, the Iroquois of the Sault (Caughnawaga) and Mountain, Abenakis from the Chaudiere, Hurons from Lorette, and Algonquins from Three Rivers. A hundred picked soldiers were added and a large band of Canadians. All told, they numbered six hundred and twenty-five men, under three tried leaders, Mantet, Courtemanche, and La Noue.

"They left Chambly at the end of January and pushed southward on snowshoes. Their way was over the ice of Lake Champlain, for more than a century the great thoroughfare of war parties. They bivouacked in the forest in squads of twelve or more; dug away the snow in a circle, covered the bare earth with a bed of spruce boughs, made a fire in the middle, and smoked their pipes around it. Here crouched the Christian savage, muffled in his blanket, his unwashed face still smirched with soot and vermilion, relics of the war paint he had worn a week before when he danced the war-dance in the square of the mission village; and here sat the Canadians, hooded like Capuchin monks, but irrepressible in loquacity, as the blaze of the campfire glowed on their hardy visages and fell, in faint radiance on the rocks and pines behind them."

The Mohawks at this time had four castles on the north side of the Mohawk River. They were Caughnawaga, at present Fonda; Canagora on Briggs Run, east of present Yosts; Canajorha on the Knauderack, or Canajorha Creek, about two miles north of the present Montgomery County Farm; Tionondogue or Tionnontogen, east of present Palatine Church. Parkman speaks of only three castles, so that the castle of Canajorha (back from the river) must have been overlooked, or the Bear Clan villages may have consolidated before this time.

A hard winter's march of sixteen days brought the invaders from Three Rivers, on the St. Lawrence, to the Mohawk, probably over the trail reaching the river near Amsterdam. They had brought along a young Dutchman who had been captured at the Schenectady massacre three years before. This Jan Baptiste Van Eps escaped about this time and made his way to Schenectady, where he gave the alarm which was evidently the first intelligence brought in concerning the raiders. The news was hurried to Albany and from there carried to New York so rapidly that Governor Fletcher started north on February 11th, rousing the militia on his way.

On February 6th, the invaders came within sight of the first Mohawk castle of Caughnawaga. Here they waited till nightfall while they sent a party forward to Canagora, three miles westward. Both companies surrounded their respective castles and waited till midnight. When the Mohawks were deep in sleep, the Canadian, moved cautiously forward, found no sentinels posted, and captured the two towns without a fight. Most of the male inhabitants were absent. The French herded their prisoners in one castle and left them well guarded, while they burned the other. The invaders then resumed their march in an attempt to surprise the upper castle of Tionnontogen (or Tionondogue) which lay six leagues, or eighteen miles west of Caughnawaga. The site of this castle is the only one of the four not now (1924) definitely known. In 1689, the Mohawks moved their castle one mile from the vicinity of Wagner's Hollow.

Reaching the upper castle, which was the largest tribal town and the Mohawk capital, the Frenchmen and Indians hid in the woods, in an attempt to repeat their surprises of the night before. In this attempt they were again successful.

Parkman describes this attack as follows: (Frontenac and New France, pp. 311, 312):

"Through all the early night, they heard the whoops and songs of the warriors within, who were dancing the war-dance for an

intended expedition. About midnight all was still. The Mohawks had posted no sentinels and one of the French Indians, scaling the palisade, opened the gate to his comrades. There was a short but bloody fight. Twenty or thirty Mohawks were killed and nearly three hundred captured—chiefly women and children. The French commanders now required their allies, the mission Indians, to make good a promise which, at the instance of Frontenac, had been exacted from them by the governor of Montreal. It was that they should kill all the male captives, a proceeding which would have averted every danger of future reconciliation between the Christian and heathen Mohawks. The converts of the Sault and the Mountain had readily given the pledge, but apparently with no intention to keep it; at least, they now refused to do so. Remonstrance was useless, and, after burning the town, the French and their allies began their retreat, encumbered by a long line of prisoners."

The enemy passed east over the north shore Mohawk River trail (which probably then generally followed the present line of the New York Central Railroad) to present Amsterdam, where they took the Valley central trail, leading north through Saratoga to Lake George.

"They marched two days, when they were hailed from a distance by Mohawk scouts, who told them that the English were on their track, but that peace had been declared in Europe and that the pursuers did not mean to fight but to parley. Hereupon, the mission Indians insisted on waiting for them and no exertion of the French commanders could persuade them to move. Trees were hewn down and a fort made, after the Iroquois fashion, by encircling the camp with a high and dense abatis of trunks and branches. Here they lay two days more, the French disgusted and uneasy and their savage allies obstinate and intractable."—Parkman.

When young Van Eps appeared before the people of Schenectady with the startling news of the invasion, a messenger was hurried to Major Peter Schuyler, commander of the Albany County regiment of militia.

With the invaders but thirty miles up the Valley, the Mohawks, who had escaped from the attacks, came to Schenectady and were impatient for their white brethren to go against the enemy but the Albany County militia by itself was not strong enough.

Major Schuyler ordered the militia to mobilize at Schenectady and came there on February 9th. On the following day, he sent

Lieutenant John Schuyler, of Albany, and Lieutenant John Sanderse Glen, of Schenectady, with six men to reconnoitre the enemy. They returned with word that the Canadians were in possession of Caughnawaga and Canagora, the two lower Mohawk towns. A scouting party of 50 men went up the Mohawk Valley from Schenectady, on the 11th, and returned with the news that they had heard firing in the direction of the upper Mohawk castle of Tionondogue. Major Ingoldsby then sent 200 men to Schenectady from Albany, out of the militia force which had arrived there.

Major Schuyler had received no orders to march, but, on February 13, he crossed the Mohawk on the ice. In the afternoon he received orders to march against the enemy and, at about the same time, one of his scouts came in with the news that the French and their Indians had burned the three Mohawk castles and were in retreat with their prisoners. Schuyler at once set out in pursuit with his regiment of 237 men, probably mainly composed of the Albany County militia. He marched twelve miles north until 10 o'clock, when a scout overtook him with the news that a large body of Iroquois was on its way to join him. Schuyler immediately sent the scout to Major Ingoldsby at Albany with requests for ammunition and provisions for his expected allies.

In the night a scout came back with the news that the enemy was only eight miles above, and at about one o'clock in the morning Schuyler ordered camp broken and his weary soldiers to march. Lieutenant Harmanus Van Slyck of Schenectady and two Indians went forward as scouts and returned with the news that the invaders had broken camp and were in retreat. On the 15th, 290 Iroquois Indian men and boys joined Schuyler. Some were with arms and some without and the pursuers were still outnumbered by the enemy. About this time, Arnout Velie escaped from the French and ran into Schuyler's camp. He was a son of Arent Cornelise Velie, the Indian interpreter of Schenectady, and he had been captured at the Schenectady massacre of 1690. He brought in word that the French had built a camp and were resolved to fight. On the 16th, Schuyler's army was within a mile of the enemy, at a point about three miles from the present city of Saratoga. On February 17th, 1693, Major Schuyler broke camp and marched his regiment against the enemy. At eight o'clock in the morning, he came in sight of the enemy's fort. The American force numbered about 400 effective men against the Canadians' 600.

Parkman describes the battle of Saratoga of 1693, which ensued, as follows:

"Meanwhile Major Peter Schuyler was following their trail, with a body of armed settlers hastily mustered. A troop of Oneidas joined him and the united parties, between five and six hundred in all, at length appeared before the fortified camp of the French. It was at once evident that there was to be no parley. The forest rang with war-whoops and the English Indians, unmanageable as those of the French, set at work to entrench themselves with felled trees. The French and their allies sallied forth to dislodge them. The attack was fierce and the resistance equally so. Both sides lost ground by turns. * * * Three times the French renewed the attack in vain, then gave over the attempt and lay quiet behind their barricade of trees. So also did their opponents. The morning was dark and stormy and the driving snow that filled the air made the position doubly dreary. The English [Americans] were starving. Their slender stock of provisions had been consumed or shared with the Indians, who, on their part, did not want food, having resources unknown to their white friends. A group of them, squatted about a fire, invited Schuyler to share their broth but his appetite was spoiled when he saw a human hand ladled out of the kettle. His hosts were breakfasting on a dead Frenchman.

"At night the hostile bands ensconsced behind their sylvan ramparts, watched each other in silence. In the morning an Indian deserter told the English that the French were packing their baggage. Schuyler sent out to reconnoitre and found them gone. He ordered his men to follow but, as most of them had fasted for two days, they refused to do so till an expected convoy of provisions should arrive. They waited till the next morning, when the convoy appeared; five biscuits were served out to each man and the pursuit began. By great efforts they nearly overtook the fugitives, who now sent word that, if they made an attack, all the prisoners should be put to death. On this, Schuyler's Indians refused to continue the chase. The French, by this time, had reached the Hudson, where, to their dismay, they found the ice breaking up and drifting down the stream. Happily for them, a large sheet of it had become wedged at a turn of the river and formed a temporary bridge, by which they crossed and then pushed on to Lake George. Here the soft and melting ice would not bear them; and they were forced to make their way along the shore, over rocks and mountains, through sodden snow and matted thickets. The provisions, of which they had made a depot on Lake Champlain, were spoiled. They boiled moccasins for food, and scraped away the snow to find hickory

and beech nuts. Several died of famine, and many more, unable to move, lay helpless by the lake; while a few of the strongest toiled on to Montreal to tell Callieres of their plight. Men and food were sent them and, from time to time, as they were able, they journeyed on again, straggling towards their homes singly or in small parties, feeble, emaciated, and, in many instances, with health irreparably broken."

Major Schuyler evidently used every means to overtake and destroy the enemy, but conditions were against his success. In the desperate Saratoga battle, the Americans had lost four white militiamen and four Indians killed and twelve wounded. Schuyler's regiment and his Indians had killed 33 Frenchmen, including their commandant and a number of other officers. In the pursuit, they had rescued 50 Mohawk prisoners. There were a number of Mohawks in Schuyler's war party, who had escaped from the fight at Tionondogue or who had been absent at the time of the capture of the lower castles. The threat of the French to kill all the Mohawk prisoners, in case they were again attacked, deterred the Mohawk braves from joining in an assault which would have meant the murder of their wives and children among the captives. In this attitude they were joined by their brother Oneidas.

On the 19th, Captain Simms, with 50 men and provisions, reached Schuyler. The pursuit was resumed after the famished soldiers had eaten. "Coming within a mile of the enemy, the Indians refused to attack, for fear the French would kill all their wives and children whom they had prisoners."

The next day, the 20th, Major Schuyler resolved to cross the Hudson and pursue the Canadians but the men were exhausted "their shoes quite worn out and provisions scarce, were not able to make any further pursuit." As the Mohawks and Oneidas refused to attack the enemy for fear of the safety of the Indian captives, Schuyler ordered a halt and reluctantly about faced his command and marched back to Schenectady.

Governor Fletcher arrived at Schenectady on February 17th, with 280 militiamen. On the 19th, the force had all crossed the Mohawk and on the 20th were joined by a pack train of thirteen horses, loaded with provisions and ammunition. On the 21st, as the expedition was ready to start, a scout reached Fletcher saying that Schuyler was returning. On the 21st, Major Schuyler reached Schenectady and, on the 22nd, Governor Fletcher and Schuyler returned to Albany with their troops, with the exception of those who lived in Schenectady or along the lower Mohawk.

Frontenac said "the expedition was a glorious success" and it certainly did result greatly to the advantage of the French, although the Canadians had suffered far greater losses than the Americans and their Mohawk and Oneida brethren in arms. The French and Canadian Indians had lost heavily in their attack on their pursuers at Saratoga and they had also had a number of their party die from exposure and starvation on the terrible winter retreat to Three Rivers.

Frontenac's raid of 1693 left the Mohawks absolutely destitute in midwinter. Through their remarkable carelessness they had made themselves as open to attack as had the Schenectady settlers at the time of the massacre of 1690, and they were left in much the same desperate condition as were the survivors of old Dorp after that other tragic February night three years previous to this time. The Mohawks sought what shelter was available about their old homes or with their white friends at Schenectady and Albany. They had lost fully one-fifth or more of their tribe, who were now captives of the hated French, and about forty of their warriors had been slain in this invasion. Where they had numbered 270 fighting men at the beginning of King William's war in 1689, they now were only 150 strong. By the end of the war in 1697 there were scarcely 110 braves left in the Mohawk nation. They and their younger brothers, the Oneidas, suffered more severely from this conflict of nine years than the other Confederates of the Five Nations.

The Mohawks were so decimated that the survivors of the Turtle, Bear and Wolf clans now all united and, in the summer of 1693, built a stockaded tribal town, called Og-sa-da-ga, at present Tribes Hill, Montgomery County. From this tribal village of the Mohawks the ancient little town of Tribes Hill derives its name. At Ogsadaga, the Mohawks lived until about the year 1700, when they removed to three new sites on the south side, which were the last that they occupied along the Mohawk, in the three-quarters of a century prior to their departure for Canada, with Col. Guy Johnson, Indian superintendent, at the beginning of the Revolution in 1775. These three south side castles were located at present Fort Hunter, Fort Plain and Indian Castle.

In all the bloody but generally indecisive and futile warfare of King William's war, there were no more effective blows struck by Frontenac from New France, than those invasions which destroyed Schenectady in 1690 and the Mohawk castles in 1693. Thus the Mohawk Valley played an important part in the first of the terrible wars which the American colonies, with more or

less assistance from England, fought with New France for the mastery of the North American continent.

Frontenac, at last, had broken the wonderful and terrible fighting power of the Mohawks and our river Iroquois were never again the American arbiters of world destiny.

CHAPTER 28.

SCHENECTADY AND THE MOHAWK VALLEY, 1693-1701.

DESERTION OF SCHENECTADY GARRISON, 1696—BATTLE BETWEEN DESERTERS AND MILITIA—FRONTENAC DESTROYS ONONDAGA AND ONEIDA CASTLES—END OF KING WILLIAM'S WAR, 1698—LORD BELLOMONT, GOVERNOR OF NEW YORK, VISITS SCHENECTADY IN STATE, 1698—RETURN OF FORMER SETTLERS AND INCREASE IN POPULATION AFTER THE WAR—NEW MOHAWK CASTLES BUILT AT PRESENT FORT HUNTER, FORT PLAIN AND INDIAN CASTLE, 1700.

During the summer of 1693, there was quiet in the Albany-Schenectady section, following the disastrous Canadian raid against the Mohawks the previous winter. With the coming of cold weather, there was again apprehension along this exposed frontier, always the first to feel the blows of the aggressive "Old Man of Canada". Albany had a garrison of 300 men, which Governor Fletcher wrote the Board of Trade, was not half enough for this key position of the English Colonies. Fletcher also wrote that the Provincial militia numbered less than 3,000 in 1693, whereas it had been 5,000 before the war. People were moving from the colony almost every day, and the situation in the Province was discouraging.

The winter of 1693-4 was quiet in Albany County and no aggressive movements were made from or against this important section. The French attempted to conciliate the Iroquois so that they could attack the English and Americans unhampered by fear of the warriors of the Five Nations. The English authorities and the Albany magistrates worked to counteract this French diplomacy and to keep their red brethren in alliance with the English Crown. The succeeding summer of 1694 passed without any serious military movements by either side in this section. Ill-fated Schenectady did not get through the year without disaster for, about October 15th, 1694, there was a disastrous "fire att Schenectady which burnt 1000 skippel of wheat." Small scalping parties of Canadian Indians committed murders and atrocities about Schenectady and Albany in 1694 and until the end of the war.

Since the massacre of 1690 and the slaying of Dominie Tesschenmaecker, the Schenectady Nether Dutch Church had been with-

out a regular pastor. People who wished to attend church service were compelled to go to Albany, where Dominie Dellius preached in the Albany Nether Dutch Church. In 1694, Dellius began to minister to the people of Schenectady. He came on the 11th of April and the 9th of October, 1694, when new members were added to the Schenectady church society and children baptized. There was no church building then in existence. In 1695, the Albany Dominie visited Schenectady on January 2nd, March 27th, June 26th, and October 9th. Dellius labored as a missionary to the Mohawks, in which work Hilletje (Van Slyck), wife of Pieter Danielse Van Olinda, acted as his interpreter. Hilletje was the daughter of Cornelis Antonise Van Slyck, the celebrated Indian trader, and his French-Mohawk wife, Otstoch. Hilletje was herself a zealous Christian and greatly aided Dominie Dellius and his successor, Dominie Freeman, in their work with regard to the religious education of the Mohawks. Dellius continued his occasional visits to Schenectady until his return to Holland in 1699, when he was succeeded by Dominie Johannes Petrus Nucella. Nucella continued the visits until the arrival of Dominie Barnardus Freeman, who became the second regular minister of the Schenectady church in 1700.

The smallness of the Schenectady population and the general stagnation during the war is shown by the fact that Dellius and Nucella added only 25 members to the Schenectady congregation in the seven years of their visits. In the same time, they baptized 76 children, of whom seven were Indians. Dominie Dellius married five couples and Johannes Sanderse Glen, "Justis Vandepeace" married seven couples in this period. Some Schenectady couples probably journeyed to Albany to be married, during this stormy period.

Rev. John Miller, who was chaplain of the British garrisons of New York, visited the Hudson River posts as far north as Albany and came to Schenectady in 1695. He returned to England in 1695 and wrote a manuscript entitled "Description of the Province and City of New York, with plans of the City and several Forts as they existed in the year 1695. By the Rev. John Miller, London. Printed and Published for the Enlightenment of such as would desire information Anent the New-Found-Land of America." This valuable document is now in the British Museum. Miller illustrated his work with plans of fortifications, among them that of Schenectady, of which he says, "Dependent on this city [Albany] and about twenty miles northward from it is the Fort of Scanectade, quadrangular with a treble stockade with a

new blockhouse at every angle and in each blockhouse two great guns." Miller's plan of Fort Schenectady in 1695, is doubly interesting because it not only shows the fortifications but the town as well, for, at that time practically all of the town was contained within the stockade. This map, which is illustrated here, shows the stockade to be oblong, with its greater dimension northward and southward. There are 29 buildings shown in the palisade, besides two large Mohawk long houses which probably date from the time of the massacre, when the Mohawks came to the ruined town and showed their faith in Schenectady's future by living in these cabins. Aside from the stockade, with its four blockhouses, the settlers' buildings and Mohawk long houses, there are a considerable number of pig sties shown standing along three sides of the stockade. Pearson's Schenectady Patent (quarto edition, Munsell, 1883) has interesting notes regarding details of the Miller map on pages 310, 312, 313.

There is no record of the palisade having been destroyed in 1690, at the time of the massacre and burning of Schenectady. Probably it was then largely destroyed and a new one built. In 1695, the people of Schenectady were ordered to renew the stockade. Ryer Schermerhorn, the surviving active trustee of the Schenectady Patent of 1684, refused to cut and draw his quota of logs, whereupon Justice Johannes Glen issued the following formidable document:

"William, by ye grace of God of England, Scotland, france & Irelande Kinge defender of ye faith, to John Mebee and Dirack Brat, Constables of Scanectedy, yu are in his Majestyes name to requier & commande Ryer Jacobse Schermerhorn to pay ye sum of twellve shillinges for ye Disobayinge my formur warande in not adinge & assistinge ye rebuelldinge of ye forte of Scanectedy, wh. are for his Majestyes sarvis & ye Publick good: I do fourder commande yu yt with in fouer dayes from ye dayte of thes presants yt yu leed & bringe ye complyment of Stockades as I have given yu formur notis as is Aloted yu for yr share & yt yu do mount & fix ye sd Stockades answerabell to ye rest of ye inhabitants at yr parill as yu will answer ye neglect. given under my hande ye furst day of Novbr in ye seventh yeare of his majestyes reane Anno dom: 1695. JOHANNES SANDERSE, Justes."

Schermerhorn was a man of considerable ability but he also seems to have been of a self-seeking nature and a somewhat disturbing factor. This is shown more fully in the legal turmoil aroused by Schermerhorn's conduct as the trustee of the 1684 patent, which is noted later.

In January, 1696, Schenectady was excited by the desertion of the majority of the garrison. About midnight of January 10th the guard and others of the redcoats here stationed to the number of sixteen broke through the northwest blockhouse and got away, having previously withdrawn the charges in the cannon of the fort. Lieutenant Bickford was in command. He called for volunteers from the militiamen of the town's small population and ten men responded—"Harmen Van Slyck, ensigne of the trained bands of Schenechtide and Gerryt Simons Veeder, Peter Simons Veeder, Albert Veeder, Gerryt Gysbert (Van Brakel), Jan Danielse Van Antwerpen, Dirck Groot, Jonas De Roy, John Wemp, Daniel Mutchcraft (Mascraft) & Thomas Smith." Lieutenant Bickford notified Colonel Richard Ingoldsby, the commander at Albany, of the desertion and started in pursuit, with the remaining twelve men of the garrison and the ten militia volunteers. "The serjeant & seven red coats soon gave out and were left behind. At four in the afternoon the lieutenant and his 14 men came up with the 12 diserters; ordering them to lay down their arms; they answered with a volley and both sides continued to fire until five of the diserters were killed and two wounded when the remainder surrendered." They were tried by court martial and condemned to death. One, a chief ringleader, was shot and the other eight were pardoned. There were no more wholesale desertions after that from Fort Schenectady.

In a report of the desertion, Lieutenant Bickford says: "Here is a strong and regular fort, built by the inhabitants with foot works and a stone magazine fitt for this garrison."

The Iroquois had kept up a constant warfare against the French during 1695 and Frontenac now decided to strike crushing blows against the Oneidas and the Onondagas. He collected a force of 1,400 French and 460 Indians and set out from Montreal where four Onondagas were burned as the old savage (Frontenac) reached that place from Quebec. Frontenac frequently ordered Iroquois captives to be burned and in one instance, Parkman says, to be burned and eaten. The Old Man of Canada was as much of a savage at heart as any of his fierce red warriors. Even the Jesuits would not intervene to spare an Iroquois prisoner from death by burning or torture. This savagery on the part of the French Canadians was probably partly responsible for the terrific barbarism with which the Mohawks and other Iroquois treated French and Canadian Indian captives. They refused to let their northern white enemies out-do them in savage atrocities and fiendish tortures.

Frontenac was carried in a chair through the wilderness from Oswego to the Onondaga castle, which the French found burned and deserted by the Iroquois, with the exception of one old Christian Onondaga man and one squaw. The old man, said to be nearly 100 years old, had been kind to French visitors and priests in previous years. One account says that the Canadian Indians wished to kill him at once and that the French insisted on slow torture by fire. The official account claims that the savages could not be restrained, which is difficult to believe, considering the general merciless attitude of the French toward Iroquois captives. The old man was slowly tortured to death, the old squaw was killed by a blow on the head. A detachment of the French army then marched to the Oneida castle and burned that, without a battle, most of the tribe having fled. This expedition left Lachine on July 4th and returned to Fort Frontenac on August 15th, 1696. Oneida castle was burned August 7th and the Canadians left there August 9th, 1696. The invasion had caused great property loss to the Iroquois but had not lessened their fighting strength. In many respects it was a failure and showed that Frontenac's powers were evidently on the wane. The English Provincial government of New York assisted the destitute Oneidas and Onondagas with supplies and food.

News of the invasion of the Iroquois country by this then great military force was brought to Schenectady by Indian runners and Albany and Schenectady were fearful that the invaders would march down the Mohawk and attack them. The Albany force was insufficient to repel such an invasion. Frontenac's age and weakness prevented any further activity although his officers wished to strike some decisive blows. And so the feeble old man went back to Canada with his big army and an Oneida captive was burned at Montreal.

There was great need of men in the colony's military forces and, in 1696, Governor Fletcher offered a bounty of £3 and four pence per day and provisions for all men who would enlist as soldiers for one year. The bounty was later raised to £4, 6s.

The officials of Albany city and county appealed to Governor Benjamin Fletcher, on September 30th, 1696, asking him to spend the winter at Albany and to supply it with sufficient troops, saying that the militia and regular garrison combined amounted to not more than 200 men.

Desultory warfare continued between the Canadians and the Iroquois during 1697. Albany, Schenectady and the Mohawk Valley, as well as the Mohawk Indians, expected a raid from Canada

during the winter, which fortunately did not occur. The Mohawks took peace belts to Canada but nothing came of these overtures. Canadian scalping parties continued to lurk along the Mohawk and the upper Hudson rivers. On the 6th of May, eight Canadian Indians killed an Onondaga while he was on his way from Albany to Schenectady. Later in the day, they attempted to take a young white settler prisoner near the Willigen on the southern Mohawk shore, about opposite present Cranesville. He fought the savages off for some time, when a party of Onondagas happened along and came to his rescue. Another party of French regulars and Canadian Indians captured a prominent Onondaga chief at the very gate of Schenectady.

This guerrilla savage warfare kept up during 1697. The Iroquois and the Canadian Indians stalked each other, attacked in small parties, pounced upon each other from ambuscades and slashed, tomahawked, scalped and killed. King William's war had become a true barbaric conflict in the wilderness to the north and west of Albany and Schenectady. Only the bravest of the settlers remained, the population daily lessened, civilization was turning into savagery just as the wilderness was again claiming the cultivated farmlands for its own. No section of the English colonies in America welcomed peace more heartily than the sparse populations of America's most advanced and savage frontier—that about Albany and Schenectady. "For nearly ten years the Mohawk Valley had been the scouting ground of the two hostile parties. The husbandman had labored with his musket by his side and made his dwelling literally his castle."

King William's war, with all its futile horrors and savage atrocities, had been a lesson in united and independent action on the part of the Colonies of New England and New York. During Leisler's rule, for two years these colonies had waged war against Canada on land and sea, practically independent of England. They had deposed their English governors and had ruled themselves in an independent American manner. King William's war may be justly regarded as a great step toward American independence.

The Mohawks were probably saved from extermination by the very deep snow which covered the wilderness trails, between the St. Lawrence and the Mohawk River in the winter of 1697-8. The snow lay seven feet deep everywhere on the level, a thing unheard of before and probably since. Frontenac planned to attack Ogsadaga, the Mohawk tribal castle, during the winter but

was prevented by the persistence of this heavy snow blanket, which made travel impossible even with snowshoes.

England and France concluded the treaty called the peace of Ryswick, on September 20th, 1697. News of this peace reached New York in May, 1698, and was sent from there to Canada—probably by way of Schenectady. In the same manner, news of the cessation of hostilities, at the end of the Revolutionary war in 1783, first reached Canada, from New York, being sent by Washington, at his Newburgh headquarters, to Colonel Willett, at his Mohawk Valley headquarters of Fort Plain. From there Willett sent a messenger to the British post of Oswego, whence the news was dispatched to Montreal and Quebec.

Although England and France were now at peace the situation on this New York frontier was not greatly changed because New France still menaced the Iroquois and desultory warfare continued between the Canadian Indians and the Five Nations. The Iroquois seemingly wished peace, which evidently was not in Frontenac's scheme of things and he kept planning invasions of the Iroquois country until his death in 1698. As long as Canada and the Five Nations were at war, peace between the French and English colonies of America was impossible and everyone in the New World fully realized it. It was also evident to the wise, that there could be no permanent peace until either New France or the English Colonies should win the mastery of North America. All subsequent peaces were nothing but truces in America.

During the year 1697-8, Lieutenant Daniel Hunt commanded the garrison at Schenectady.

Governor Fletcher was recalled in 1695, but his successor, George Boote, the Irish Earl of Bellomont, did not arrive until April, 1698. Fletcher was displaced because of his direct and indirect connection with the pirates which swarmed off the Atlantic Coast, his petty tyranny, his universal unpopularity and his participation in land frauds. In one of the latter, he had acted in partnership with Dominie Dellius of Albany, and this land scandal probably influenced the return of Dellius to Holland in 1699, when Schenectady lost her visiting pastor who had supplied her with her only religious services during the previous six years.

In July of 1698, Bellomont visited Albany and Schenectady, bringing his coach and six horses from New York by boat and traveling in regal style for the time and place. At Schenectady, Bellemont gave orders for the repair of the barracks. As he paid Captain Johannes Sanderse Glen £8-9s-3d for provisions, the Governor and his lady probably stayed at Glen's town house while

his escort found quarters elsewhere. The Earl traveled to and from Schenectady in his coach and six and while in the town, the Schenectady train band or militia company was called out in full force and probably paraded with the garrison. Each of the 63 militiamen received a shilling from the Governor. At that time Schenectady's total military force, including the red coats and the militia numbered about 90 men, which was more than in previous years and which would indicate that old settlers had returned or new ones had come in. The population of the Schenectady district was then about 300 people and probably most of them, as well as the greater part of the Mohawks, were on hand to see the brilliant official party on its visit to the little frontier town. Bellemont's writings show that he was pleased both with the beautiful situation and strategic position of Schenectady.

As the attitude of Canada toward the Five Nations continued warlike, Governor Bellomont on this visit ordered the Albany and Schenectady militia to be ready to join the regulars against the French at a moment's notice. The strong part and the defense afforded the English Colonies by the citizen soldiers of the Colonial key position of Albany and Schenectady, during those most critical years, is but little appreciated by writers of American history. Bellemont considered the Albany and Schenectady fortifications most weak and planned to strengthen them. In writing the Lords of Trade, after his visit in 1698, Governor Bellemont said:

"I shall propose a fund for building the Forts at Albany and Schenectady, which are so necessary for the defense of this and the neighboring Provinces. * * * If such were built and well garrisoned the French could never make any impression on this Province. * * * They are both of them very well seated for frontier places: Albany for covering all the Province from attack on Canada side and Schenectady for doing that in part and for covering the Mohacks, it being very commodiously seated on the Mohacks River and much more pleasantly than Albany." As usual, however, with the coming of the sham peace, both the government and the local authorities allowed both the Albany and the Schenectady forts to go to decay.

In spite of the probability of an early renewal of war with Canada, old settlers began returning to the Albany-Schenectady district. New settlers also came in and the ending of King William's war marked the beginning of Schenectady's new growth and a renewal of its prosperity and importance as a river trading post. It was some time, however, before Schenectady and Albany

and Albany County regained what they had lost during the disastrous war. The renewed growth was cumulatively rapid and, until the beginning of the "Old French War" in 1744, the Albany and Schenectady districts experienced a comparatively great growth and an abundant prosperity. This half century of peace developed much of the later character of the Mohawk Valley.

The ravages of war can be plainly seen in the population figures of Albany County in 1689 and 1698. The total population in 1689 was 2,016 and in 1698, 1,459. Eighty-four people had been killed by the enemy and 16 taken prisoner, while 419 people had left the county. The foregoing figures of the killed and wounded are evidently put too low.

If the white pioneer population had suffered great loss, that of the Mohawks along our river was proportionately much greater. Where the Mohawks had 270 braves at the beginning of the war, they now could muster only 110 fighting men. Nearly two-thirds of the Canienga warriors had been either killed or captured. The French raid of 1693 had dealt the Mohawks a blow from which they never fully recovered.

The Iroquois held a council with Governor Bellomont at Albany on August 20, 1700. There were 50 sachems of the Five Nations present. As usual at the Albany councils, the Mohawks were prominent in the proceedings. They said that they had persuaded "Brandt and three others, who were going to Canada, to remain and become Protestants." There were then estimated to be 350 "praying Indians" (Catholic Iroquois) at the various Canadian missions. The Albany people opposed the Onondaga fort as they wished to keep the trade at Albany, where the Indian trade was then very slack and their influence prevented its building. Although the Mohawks had been greatly weakened by the war the terror of their name still remained strong. They threatened the New England Indians with attack, if they would not live in peace with their Yankee neighbors and the eastern redmen obeyed their Mohawk masters.

Peace was made between New France and the Iroquois at Montreal, September 8, 1700. French Jesuit priests now returned to the Onondagas and Senecas and some remained among them until 1709. All of these important Iroquois councils are of interest because they concerned the Mohawks and are thus a vital part of our Valley history.

Since the French foray of 1693 had destroyed their castles, we have seen the Mohawks living in one tribal village at Ogsadaga, where the little old village of Tribes Hill now stands. Meanwhile,

the tribe had been building strong new castles at Iconderoga, at the lower side of the junction of the Schoharie with the Mohawk. This was the lower castle of the Wolf Clan of the Mohawk tribe, and was palisaded. The Turtle Clan located a small village on Prospect Hill at the southern limits of the present village of Fort Plain, known as Tarajorees, meaning "Hill of Health." This was the middle town but whether it was ever stockaded is a question. It had no palisade in later years and was abandoned in 1755, when its small population moved up the river and joined the Bear Clan in their upper Mohawk castle which was also called the Canajoharie Castle. This was now the greatest division of the Mohawks and they were also frequently called the "Canajoharies," while the Iroquois of the Lower Castle were called Mohawks, although they, of course, all belonged to the Mohawk tribe and the designations, Canajoharies and Mohawks, were merely an easy way of differentiating between the Indians of the two chief towns. The Canajoharie Castle was at present Indian Castle on the site of the (1924) farm of Willis Greene, where the long house is said to have been located on the site of the farm greenhouses. The Mohawks called the entire river district, from the Noses to Fall Hill, by the name of "Canajoharie," and hence the name Canajoharie Castle. When the white settlers began to come into this section, they considered themselves as living in "Canajoharie." General Herkimer dated letters from his home at Fall Hill as from "Canajoharie." All of this has caused much confusion among historians who consider that the "Canajoharies" of old must, of course, refer to the site or neighborhood of present Canajoharie village. There were four known Mohawk towns using some form of the name Canajoharie and the Sand Hill section of present Fort Plain was so called on some maps, while its church was known as "the Reformed Dutch Church of Canajoharie."

At the time of the Mohawks' occupancy of these three new towns, they had lived along our river far more than a century. In that long time, the position of the clans seems always to have been the same. The Turtle Clan occupied the lower or eastern position, the Bear Clan the middle castle or castles and the Wolf Clan the upper or western position. The upper or Wolf Clan castle, up to the raid of 1693, seems to have been the largest Mohawk town and to have been considered the Mohawk tribal capital.

In the building of the new Mohawk towns on the south shore just prior to 1700, a new arrangement was made. The Bears took the upper or western castle, which became the largest and principal Mohawk castle. The Wolves had the lower or eastern

castle, while the once great Caughnawagas took the middle position. These changes of arrangement were probably caused by the varying losses sustained by the three Mohawk clans in the great French invasion of 1693, which so severely crippled the might of the Caniengas. The three south side Mohawk towns, which the Mohawks now occupied—Iconderoga, Tarajorees and Canajoharie—were their final locations in the Valley and two were occupied for three-quarters of a century, or until the Mohawks left for Oswego to side with the English, at the beginning of the Revolution. These Mohawk castles played an important part in the great French war. Their story is told on later pages.

The Canajoharie castle of the Mohawks formed the most western location of a main town of the Mohawks along our river, during their occupancy of the Valley. Although the Mohawks usually had three chief towns or castles, they also always had some smaller groups of cabins. The sites of these, of course, are not known as well as those of their main castles, with which we are generally familiar. At the time of the location of the Mohawks in their three new south side clan towns, in 1700, they had other smaller settlements along the Mohawk and one or more on the Schoharie. Besides these more or less permanent abodes, our Caniengas (Mohawks) had fishing, hunting and farming cabins at various points. As we have previously noted, prior to 1700, the Mohawks' favorite fishing place was at the mouth of the Tawasentha, or the Normanskill at its junction with the Hudson below present Albany. Their favorite hunting grounds were in the Saratoga neighborhood.

When the upper castle of the Wolf Clan was located at Teonnontogen, at present Sprakers, 1642-1666, and at the later Teonnontogen or Tionondogue, near present Wagner's Hollow (1667-1693), the main trail to the west then left the Valley trails over the present Dutchtown road, at present Fort Plain, and ran over the hills along the Mohawk-Susquehanna divide to the Oneida Castle and thence on to the Onondaga, Cayuga and Seneca castles. This was the Iroquois Trail prior to 1700 and was the one followed by Van den Bogaert in 1634, and most subsequent travelers through the Mohawk Valley. There were minor trails which ran through the Valley westward to present Utica and Rome, following both sides of the Mohawk River. After the Bear Clan of the Mohawks located at present Indian Castle the main Valley trail continued westward to this location which was about 55 miles west of Schenectady and about 70 miles west of Albany along the Mohawk River trail. Although the hill route west was

still followed, the river trails were now more used and later the south side river path became the main route west to the British forts at the Carrying Place at present Rome. It is probable that this southside road at first was passable only for men on foot, horsemen, packhorse trains and carts. It was later that the road was made passable for wagons. The river continued to be the great freight route throughout the Eighteenth Century.

The closing year of the Seventeenth Century was important to the inhabitants of Schenectady for it marked the coming of the second regular pastor to the Schenectady Reformed Dutch Church who was Dominie Barnhardus Freeman or Freerman, his name having both spellings.

Dominie Freeman was a native of Gilhuis in the county of Benthem, Holland, and was a man of mature age when he came to Schenectady. On the 28th of July, 1700, he reached Schenectady and began his work as pastor of the Nether Dutch Church and also as missionary among the Mohawks.

Governor Bellomont had promised the Mohawks a minister and he accordingly sent them Dominie Freeman, whom Governor Bellemont describes as "a very good sort of man." Freeman remained at Schenectady for five years and ministered successfully to both the Dutch-speaking Americans of Schenectady and the Iroquois-speaking "brethren" of the Mohawk castles. In a letter to Bellomont dated January 6th, 1701, the Dominie says that he had converted ten of the Mohawks and that there were then thirty-six Christians out of the one hundred Mohawk adults. He does not specify but he probably refers to the Lower Mohawk castle only. Dominie Lydius of Albany also gave religious instruction to the Mohawks and other Iroquois and Hilletje Van Slyck, the famous Indian interpreter, who was the wife of Pieter Van Olinda of Schenectady, was assigned to Lydius as an interpreter to aid him in his work among the Iroquois. State Street, Albany, at one time bore the name "Lydius Street" in honor of this Dutch Dominie. He is still remembered with a Lydius Street in Fort Plain, named not in honor of Lydius but from a miniature resemblance to Lydius (now State) Street in Albany.

The blockhouse, at the corner of Church and State streets, had been used as a church building since the rebuilding of the town after 1690, and this was probably the first church used by Dominie Freeman until the erection of the second Dutch Church in 1703. Freeman did important work in Schenectady and the Mohawk country, of which Pearson writes as follows:

"In the five years spent at Schenectady, Do. Freeman became

well versed in the Indian tongue, so as not only to preach but to write it. In this he was assisted by the Provincial interpreter, Lawrens Claes (Van der Volgen), a member of his church. And, so attached were the natives to him, that five years after he left Schenectady, they petitioned Governor Hunter for his reappointment, 'and that he live (with us) at our castle and not at Schenectady nor Albany.'

"Probably his was the first attempt to translate the church service or portions of the Holy Scriptures into the language of the Mohawks. In addition to the morning and evening prayers, Do. Freeman translated 'the whole of the Gospel of St. Matthew, the first three chapters of Genesis, several chapters of Exodus, a few of the Psalms, many portions of the Scriptures relating to the birth, passion, resurrection and ascension of our Lord, and several chapters of the first Epistle of the Corinthians. * * *' "

Dominie Freeman's translations of the Gospel into the Mohawk language were printed in New York in 1714, by Rev. William Andrews, a missionary sent to New York by the English "Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts."

The first ministers of the Schenectady church received a salary of £100 (about $250 in today's currency) besides "house and garden rent free, pasturage for two cows and a horse, and sixty cords of wood delivered at the parsonage." Dominie Freeman's salary began from the day he left Holland and his expenses for the voyage had to be met by the Schenectady church, which was done with difficulty. Freeman was promised a salary of £60 for his missionary work among the Mohawks as well as £15 for expenses and a salary of £25 for Van der Volgen, his interpreter and assistant. Freeman had difficulty in collecting for these missionary services. The foregoing salary figures seem small today, but they were quite liberal for their time and Dominie Freeman was probably regarded as one of the well-to-do men of the little town. Freeman's later services and the building of the second Schenectady Nether Dutch Church are described in the following chapter, which deals with Queen Anne's war and the opening years of the Eighteenth Century in Schenectady and the Mohawk Valley.

CHAPTER 29.

MOHAWK VALLEY AND SCHENECTADY—1701-1713.

QUEEN ANNE'S WAR—BUILDING OF THE SECOND REFORMED DUTCH CHURCH OF SCHENECTADY, 1703—BUILDING OF QUEEN ANNE'S FORT AT SCHENECTADY, 1704—FIVE MOHAWK CHIEFS ACCOMPANY COLONEL PETER SCHUYLER TO LONDON—COLONEL NICHOLSON'S EXPEDITION AGAINST CANADA STOPPED BY FAILURE OF THE BRITISH-AMERICAN NAVAL EXPEDITION, 1711—BUILDING OF FORT HUNTER, 1711—SCHENECTADY CEASES TO BE THE FRONTIER OUTPOST OF THE PROVINCE OF NEW YORK—PALATINES SETTLE ALONG THE SCHOHARIE, 1712.

The best interests of the Province of New York suffered a severe blow in the death of Lord Bellomont in March, 1701. He had proved one of the best of our Colonial executives. When Bellomont died, Lieutenant-Governor Nanfan was in the Barbadoes, and the vacancy and the question as to who should be Acting-Governor started the old quarrel anew between the aristocratic and the democratic parties, represented by the Leislerians and the anti-Leislerians, in reality the Whig and Tory divisions of a later day. Nanfan returned to New York in May and there was a lull in this political quarrel, which, in reality, extended from Leisler's accession in 1689, to the beginning of the Revolutionary war in 1775, a period of 86 years during which there were but few lulls in this age-old conflict between liberty and privilege.

On July 10, 1701, a most important council was held at Albany between the Iroquois and Lieutenant-Governor Nanfan. The Five Nations claimed a great tract of land on the north and south shores of Lakes Ontario and Erie, by right of conquest from the Hurons. Nanfan describes this tract as 800 miles long and 400 miles broad. Its transfer was designed to forestall French claims but, of course, New France looked with derision upon such pretensions and transactions, particularly as they affected Canadian territory. England gave $4,000 for presents for the Indians and $12,500 for strengthening the Albany and Schenectady forts and for the fort in the Onondaga country, which the jealousy of the Albany merchants prevented building.

In 1701, the Schenectady Reformed Dutch Church society petitioned Lieutenant-Governor Nanfan for permission to circulate a subscription paper in the Province, in order to secure funds

INDIAN STATUE

QUEEN ANNE'S CHAPEL PARSONAGE AT FORT HUNTER

This ancient house, built in 1711 is the sole remaining structure, connected with British Colonial Fort Hunter and the adjoining Queen Anne's Chapel, which was a mission chapel for the adjoining Lower Castle of the Mohawks. This parsonage stands nearly a mile from the site of the Chapel.

for building a new church. The subscription was granted and the appeal met with a ready response.

Robert Livingston, in 1701, petitioned the Board of Trade for a removal of the restrictions on the Indian trade which confined it to the City of Albany. Livingston wished such transactions to be thrown open to all people and all communities. Such action would have boomed business at Schenectady which was a natural Indian trading place, being at the foot of Mohawk River navigation. Schenectady was greatly hampered and its growth retarded by the narrow Provincial policy which gave a virtual monopoly of the Indian trade to the Albany merchants and which imposed severe penalties for trading with the Indians at Schenectady, where nevertheless it was carried on clandestinely. Livingston had been secretary of the City of Albany but, as he was a notoriously selfish and self-seeking person, his petition was not actuated by any broad or liberal policy but probably because he was not then one of the trading ring at Albany. The trade restrictions thus favoring Albany over Schenectady continued until 1727, when a suit in court ended this favoritism and the people of the town on the Mohawk then could trade openly rather than covertly.

August 4, 1701, a great peace council was held in Montreal between the Iroquois, the French and the western Indians, where the Iroquois pledged neutrality between the French and the English. The Confederates, including the Mohawks, continued neutral during the greater part of the war between England and France which began in 1702. Their position in this regard helped to keep the Province free from invasion during the War of the Spanish Succession, known in America as Queen Anne's war. However, several futile blows were directed against New France through New York, during the long war which now ensued.

Louis XIV had acknowledged William as king of England by the treaty of Ryswick, in 1689. When James II died in France in 1701, Louis proclaimed James, a son of the late king, as the rightful monarch of England. The English Parliament had settled the Crown on Queen Anne, a daughter of James, as King William was without heirs. The English nation also objected to the act of Louis in placing his grandson, Philip of Aragon, on the Spanish throne. The death of William III, in March, 1702, marked the passing of one of England's greatest rulers, as well as the beginning of war, once more between England and France. Queen Anne ascended the throne and the triple alliance between England, Holland and the German Empire, against France, was

now renewed. As usual the conflict extended to the English and French colonies in America. New York, because of Iroquois neutrality, suffered but little, while New England was severely ravaged by the French and their Indian allies.

From the ending of King William's war in 1698, to the beginning of the Old French war, in 1744, the Province of New York, had a half-century of fruitful peace from which it greatly profited. This was particularly true of the Albany-Schenectady district which had always been the first to suffer in war, because of its exposed position on the frontier between New France and New York. This period was of great value in thus building up a strong border section which was subsequently a great and deciding factor in the French wars as well as in the Revolution.

In 1702 Queen Anne appointed her uncle, Sir Edward Hyde, to be Governor of New York. The Leisler party then controlled the Province but, with Hyde's accession, the anti-Leislerians or the aristocratic party came into power. Hyde was a son of Lord Clarenden and was called Lord Cornbury by courtesy. He was as worthless as Bellomont was good. "He was a libertine and knave who cursed the Province with his presence and misrule about seven years. He was a bigot and persecuted all denominations of Christians outside of the Church of England. He embezzled the public money and, on all occasions, was the persistent enemy of popular freedom and common justice."—(Lossing). It was such misrule by the many incompetent English colonial officials,—often petty political favorites like the despised Cornbury—which prepared the minds of the people of New York for the eventual idea of complete national independence.

In 1702, the Reformed churches of Kings County attempted to gain the consent of Governor Cornbury to the transfer of Dominie Freeman from Schenectady to Long Island. Evidently the worthy Schenectady dominie had allied himself with the people's party because Cornbury wrote, in reply to this request, that "Mr. Bar. ffreeman has misbehaved himself, by promoting and encouraging the unhappy division among the people of this province." Cornbury evidently wanted such a sturdy opponent of misgovernment kept as far away as possible and so had him retained at the frontier post of Schenectady, greatly to the advantage of its people and district. In 1703, the elders and deacons of Schenectady petitioned Governor Cornbury that "Midwout (Flatbush), the Bay, New Utreght and Brockland (Brooklyn)" be prevented from taking Dominie Freeman from Schenectady. This petition was signed by Claes Wirbessen (Lawrense Vander

Volgen), elder; Daniel Jansen (Van Antwerpen) deacon; Johannes Glen, deacon; Isack Swits, elder; Jan Vrooman, elder; Claes Van Patten, deacon. The petition was "rejected" in council.

The first church of 1684 had been burned in the massacre of 1690. After that, when the town was rebuilt, such church services as were held in Schenectady, were conducted in the blockhouse at the corner of Church and State streets, which is referred to, in a deed of 1692, as "'t blok huys (te weten de kerche)," the translation, from the Dutch, being "the blockhouse designed for a church." This place was too small and unfit for use as a church according to the petition of the church officials for permission to raise funds for a new church building, which had been granted by Lieutenant-Governor Nanfan in 1701. The coming of Dominie Freeman had doubtless stimulated the building of this second church which was completed about 1703.

The second Schenectady Reformed Dutch Church was erected upon the site of the first one, at the junction of Church, Water and State streets. It measured 56 feet north and south, and 46 feet, east and west. The Church burial ground adjoined the building on the west and was 15 by 56 feet. Rev. Thomas Barclay speaks of the church as "convenient and well built."

In the summer of 1705, Rev. Barnhardus Freeman accepted the call of the Kings County churches and left Schenectady, much to the sorrow of his flock and of the Mohawks, to both of whom he had much endeared himself.

In the ten years, from 1705 until 1715, the Schenectady church was without a regular minister, being supplied by the dominies of Albany and other towns. Pearson says "Between the years 1705 and 1715, Dominies Johannes Lydius and Petrus Van Driesen of Albany, Petrus Vas of Kingston, and Gualterus Du Bois of New York, made 24 visits to Schenectady, baptizing 152 children, of whom 19 were Indians. In all this time, the records show but one new member added to the church." Rev. Thomas Barclay, chaplain of the fort at Albany, also preached occasionally at Schenectady, in the Dutch Church, where he had the Dutch families, the few English and the soldiers of the garrison as a congregation.

In 1703, the population of Albany County (including Schenectady township) was 2,273. It had been 2,016 in 1689 and had fallen to 1,459 in 1697, at the end of the disastrous King William's war. Most of this population was gathered in a region within Schenectady in 1690 had been one of the most dreadful features.

France and the American Colonies, in which the massacre of thirty miles of Albany. This district had taken but five years to repair the damage of the first terrible conflict between New

One of the earliest patents of land in the Mohawk Valley west of Schenectady township was that issued to Geraldus Cambefort, (also spelled Camfort and Comfort) in 1703. Cambefort lived in Schenectady prior to 1690. He bought land from the Mohawks "boven Kaquarrione" (Kinquariones) and in 1703, was granted a patent for the same. This farmland lay between Kinquariones and Cranesville. In 1707 Cambefort sold the land to Karel Hansen Toll, who conveyed it to his son-in-law, Johannes Van Eps. The famous Van Eps River and Turnpike tavern was built on this land, just west of the rocky point of Kinquariones. In 1924, this with other land was known as the Van Epps-Patterson farm. The Van Epps homestead was then still in the possession of the family after an ownership of over two centuries. In 1706, another patent for land in the present town of Amsterdam, Montgomery County, was granted to Ebenezer Wilson and John Abeel.

In 1704, the blockhouses of the Schenectady stockade were abandoned and a new fort was erected at the east angle of the palisade. This was called "Queen's New Fort," from Queen Anne, then reigning in England. Later it became the "Old Fort," to the people of Schenectady and many traditions and legends of early Schenectady cluster about this old-time fortification. It is generally referred to today as "Queen's Fort." A statue of an Indian warrior marks the site of this third fortification built at Schenectady.

As first built, Queen's New Fort was a double or triple stockade, 100 feet square, with bastions or blockhouses at the angles. The fort was reconstructed in a more substantial manner in 1735, then being rebuilt on a stone foundation.

At the time of the construction of Queen's Fort, in 1704, the western stockade of Schenectady was removed to the banks of the Binnekill, so that the land lying between present Washington Street and the shores of this channel of the Mohawk, was brought within the new palisaded limits of the town.

At the time Queen's Fort was built in Schenectady, a new fort was built at Canastagioene (Niskayuna) by Maas Rykse Van Vranken, for which he presented a bill for £12. The lower Mohawk in 1704 was defended by three forts, at Schenectady, Niskayuna and Half Moon (Waterford), with a garrison of twenty men at each fort.

At some time, during Queen Anne's war, the log farmhouse of Hendrick Frey at present Palatine Bridge was palisaded, fortified and strengthened and occupied by an English garrison. "Frey's" was the most western settlement along the Mohawk and Fort Frey now became the most western outpost during this long war of twelve years which, however, did not seriously affect our Valley.

New York was relieved of the malodorous Cornbury, when John, Lord Lovelace, was appointed governor in 1708. He found the Province strongly democratic in its political sympathies, the "vices of the late governor had disciplined them to the exercise of resistance to oppression and to aspire to self-government, and secured to them the exercise of rights which might have been postponed for many years." (Lossing.) In the political alignment of the time, Schenectady seems to have been generally democratic or Whig in its attitude, while Albany influences frequently placed that city in the camp of the aristocrats or Tory party. When it came to the final lineup, at the beginning of the Revolution, the majority of the people of both towns sided with the patriots. The Dutch heritage of liberty of the people of Albany and Schenectady made this section one of the leaders of liberty in the Colonies.

What Holland Dutch settlement was to the lower Mohawk Valley, in the latter half of the Seventeenth Century, Palatine German settlement of the Schoharie and middle and western Mohawk Valleys was in the first quarter of the Eighteenth Century. The Palatines were rendered homeless and destitute by the many wars caused by the ambition and vanity of Louis XIV. Their country was the Palatinate of the Rhine and it shares with Belgium the distinction of being "the cockpit of Europe." Driven from their Rhineland homes by a devastating warfare which mercilessly killed and burned, the Palatines moved down the Rhine and found refuge in Holland, the one safe haven then for the persecuted and oppressed in all Europe. From the Netherlands, many of these German refugees gradually emigrated to England. This migration continued in increasing numbers until the English found these destitute immigrants becoming a considerable burden, as they had to be provided for. Plans were accordingly made for settling these Palatine Protestants in the Province of New York, and permanent settlements were eventually made by them on the Hudson and in the Schoharie and Mohawk Valleys. From these places, many Palatines found their way to Pennsylvania, where they became the "Pennsylvania Dutch." The first

Palatine settlement in the American Colonies was made at Newburgh on the Hudson, in the year 1708. This was also the first German settlement in New York State. Fifty-five Palatines, under the leadership of the Rev. Joshua Kockerthal, located on the Quassaick Creek where they remained until 1747, when the majority of them moved away. The city of Newburgh probably takes its name from the fact that the rulers of the Lower Palatinate of the Rhine were then of the house of Neuberg. The main population elements of the Eighteenth Century Colonial Mohawk Valley (including the Schoharie) were Holland Dutch and Palatine German and the details of their coming to America are of the greatest importance to our story. While the language of our Valley Palatines was German their characteristics were not generally typical of the German people of today and their racial stock was undoubtedly somewhat mixed, due to their location on the ancient borderland between Gaul and Germany.

In 1709, the influence of the governors of New York and Pennsylvania had already induced many of the Five Nations to abandon their attitude of neutrality and ally themselves with the English. English forts were planned at Lake George and Crown Point and posts were built on Wood Creek, which formed the water connection between the head of Lake Champlain and the Hudson River. An invasion of Canada by land and sea was planned in this year, in which the people of New York engaged with enthusiasm. The Assembly appointed commissioners to procure the necessary war materials and issued bills of credit to cover the expenditures. These bills were New York's first paper money. Colonel Schuyler had secured the friendship of most of the Five Nations, who were engaged to make canoes for this invasion. A number of batteaux and over 100 canoes were built. It is said that 600 Iroquois were employed in this work and that the Albany officials supported 1,000 of their wives and children at that place during this period. An army of 1,600 men was raised by the provinces of New York and New Jersey which mobilized at Albany. Colonel Francis Nicholson, who was New York's lieutenant-governor under Andros, was commander-in-chief of this army, which was the largest yet raised in the American Colonies for the conquest of France. Nicholson led his men from Albany in June and reached the head of Lake Champlain early in August, where the force halted to await tidings of the fleet which was to be sent from England to coöperate with the army in the assault on Montreal and Quebec. The expedition was doomed to the failure which attended all attempts to conquer

Canada, through New York, up to the final successful expedition under Amherst, which passed through the Mohawk Valley in 1760.

After promising New York the support of a royal fleet for the reduction of Quebec, the English government, as usual, failed to support her overseas dominions, although the conquest of New France was the most important matter confronting the English people. New England raised an army for the assault of Quebec which waited at Boston all summer. Instead of striking a vital blow at France in her American stronghold, England's rulers sent her fleet to Portugal. When the American and British troops at Lake Champlain (including the militia of Albany and Schenectady) received the disheartening news they reluctantly gave up their plan of conquest and returned to Albany and thence to their respective stations. An expedition which promised much had again fizzled, due to the stupidity of the English government and the people of New York were again embittered against their overseas rulers. At almost any time, since the English conquest of New York in 1664, the English government could have conquered Canada, by a well-directed land and sea campaign. A jealous attitude toward the growing strength and importance of the American Colonies probably influenced the English rulers to withhold the decisive blows which would have won for them a new empire. England's military and naval bungling, combined with the greed and incompetence of many of her governors, and their stupid disregard for the rights of the people—all of these factors added to the later policy of "taxation without representation" influenced the minds of the American people, through the long years of Colonial government and misgovernment, to gradually turn to independence as the only solution of their troubles. The Stamp Act and other obnoxious pre-Revolutionary legislation were the final causes of the break with England but the beginning of the break dated far back and was accentuated by a multitude of contributory causes, among which the bungling of such expeditions as that of 1709 were factors of vital influence. These futile expeditions gave the Colonists experience in the raising and handling of troops without which the Revolution would have been impossible.

The Five Nations, as previously mentioned had made a treaty with the French in 1701, by which they pledged neutrality between the French and the English, which policy they maintained up to the latter years of Queen Anne's war. Their attitude toward the English cause had become somewhat lukewarm on account of

GLEN-SANDERS HOUSE, SCOTIA, 1713

Built of stone (now stuccoed) by Capt. Johannes Glen, in 1713, largely of the materials of the first house erected by Alexander Glen, close to the river in 1658, when the Glen farm was bought of the Mohawks. The homestead had been in the possession of the Glen-Sanders family for 266 years in 1924. This is a record family occupancy for the Mohawk Valley and one of the longest in the United States. The Glen-Sanders house stands on the west side of Mohawk Avenue close to the Great Western Gateway Bridge and is a Colonial guardian of the eastern gateway of the Long House of the Mohawks which we are now about to enter, and which ends at the American Corner in Rome. See "Scotia, the Glen-Sanders House," pp. 155-186 in "More Colonial Homesteads," by Marion Harland. Photo by courtesy General Electric Company.

GLEN-SANDERS HOUSE DINING HALL

The round dining table stood in the old Alexander Glen house of 1658. When Schenectady was burned and its people massacred in 1690, the French officers crossed the river and took breakfast on the round dining table shown in the picture. Note the double Dutch door at the back of the room. Photo by courtesy of the General Electric Company.

this policy of aloofness, for which the neglect of the English government was also largely responsible. The Provincial government now decided to renew the old close alliance between the Five Nations and the English by the unusual method of taking some of the leading Iroquois chieftains on a trip to England, hoping to so impress them with the might and glory of old England that they would once more hold fast to the chain of friendship with their ancient allies. It is a curious fact that the Five Nations and especially the Mohawks, seem to have always had more sympathy and understanding with Americans of Hollander stock than with those of English birth and ancestry. A study of the psychology of the three peoples mentioned would give a key to the situation, but it is a subject too extended for consideration here. Likewise, the Mohawks seem to have accepted the Reformed Dutch religion of the Holland Dutch settlers much more readily than any other. There was a mutual understanding between our Mohawks and the Holland Dutch of Schenectady and Albany, which is one of the most curious facts of American history and one of the most decisive factors in deciding the destinies of America. Sir William Johnson inherited the good will existing between the Mohawks and the English which had been generated by Van Curler, Schuyler and a number of lesser people of Albany and Schenectady. Governor Lovelace selected Colonel Peter Schuyler of Albany to conduct the Iroquois chiefs to London, because of the friendship and respect in which Schuyler was held by the Mohawks and other tribes of the Five Nations. They called him "Broeder Quider" (Brother Peter), as "Quider" was as near as the Indians could come to the pronunciation of Peter. The Iroquois said of Schuyler that "he never told a lie and he always thought before he spoke."

While Nicholson's ill-fated Canadian expedition was in preparation, an invitation was extended to the chiefs of the Five Nations to make the trip to London. It was accepted only by the Mohawks whose closeness to Albany and Schenectady had kept them more in alliance with the English than was the case with the Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas and Senecas. The more remote position of these four Confederate tribes laid them open to the crafty diplomacy of New France, which was always at work among them, through French agents, traders and priests. This Canadian diplomacy, however, was constantly combated by the agents the English sent out from Albany.

The five Mohawk chiefs selected by our Valley Iroquois consisted of King Hendrick, Brant and three others. Brant was

the father of the famous Joseph Brant, Mohawk war chief of the Revolution. The five chiefs agreed to make the trip on the condition that Colonel Schuyler accompany them. Schuyler and his Mohawks sailed for London in December, 1709. The British government paid the expenses of this savage embassy, which was a great success from every point of view, with the exception of the death of one of the Mohawks on the voyage to England. Queen Anne presented the Mohawk chieftains with resplendent court costumes and received the party several times at court. She offered knighthood to Schuyler, but, with the spirit of true American democracy, he courteously declined the honor. Hendrick had his portrait painted in his court costume, and his likeness is one of the most interesting features of this historically important mission.

The visit of these Iroquois warriors to England produced an immense amount of interest among the English people, particularly in the great city of London. "Multitudes followed the dusky monarchs wherever they went. Their portraits soon appeared in the print-shops. The queen caused them to be covered with scarlet mantles edged with gold. They were feasted at banquets; witnessed military reviews; saw a part of the mighty British navy; in a word, they were shown the glories of the kingdom and were deeply impressed by the evidences of British power. They were conveyed to the palace of St. James to stand before the queen and they gave belts of wampum and signed their totems to documents as pledges of their friendship and fidelity." (Lossing.)

Schuyler's mission was crowned with success. The English ministers were aroused from their apathy and listlessness concerning the safety of the American Colonies and the English public was generally interested in America. It was accomplished by the somewhat theatrical procedure of a constant display of the far-famed Mohawks before a public which had generally but little appreciation of the land of their cousins beyond the Atlantic. This novel method of arousing public interest succeeded where more dignified ones would have utterly failed. It was good advertising and stamps Schuyler as a good advertiser. The new British ministry now authorized a campaign for the purpose of conquering Canada. Henry, Lord Bolingbroke, the Secretary of State, planned a naval expedition for 1711, which was to move against Quebec in coöperation with a land force of American militia which as usual, was to move from Albany against Montreal. The naval expedition is said to have been a scheme of the English ministers, Bolingbroke, Moore and Harcourt, to cheat the British treasury

out of £20,000, which was a goodly amount of graft for those days. However, the indications are that this grand military and naval coup was planned and engineered by a lot of incompetents and court favorites in order to compete with Marlborough. The invasion was planned on the same lines as those of 1691 and 1709 and was equally a failure.

The four Mohawk chiefs who returned with Schuyler in 1710, so impressed the Five Nations that the great majority became once again pro-English in their feelings. Queen Anne sent medals to all the Five Nations. French agents threatened the Oneidas and Onondagas with destruction if they sided with the English and those tribes now asked for the building of an English fort in their countries. They also begged for the ending of the liquor traffic among them which, they said, was destroying their people.

The Mohawk Valley continued to be spared the horrors of war and, in general, its people continued their peaceful pursuits and the resettling of lands abandoned during King William's war. By 1710, the Schenectady district had more than regained what it had lost in the distastrous decade from 1689 to 1698. New settlers came into the lower Mohawk Valley and the lands westward to present Amsterdam, sixteen miles west of Schenectady, were occupied and cultivated prior to 1710. At that time, doubtless other pioneers were awaiting the ending of hostilities, in order to move westward into "the Maquas country," there to establish themselves upon fertile flatlands bought of the now weakened tribe. All of the settlements in the lower Mohawk Valley, from the outlet of the river at Waterford to the Willigen below present Amsterdam, were then located on or close to the river flats.

Rev. Thomas Barclay, who was the chaplain for the English fort at Albany, preached occasionally at Schenectady as previously mentioned. Under date of September 26, 1710, he wrote the "Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts" as follows:

"At Schenectady I preach once a month, where there is a garrison of forty soldiers, besides about sixteen English and about one hundred Dutch families. They are all of them my constant hearers. I have this summer got an English school erected amongst them, and, in a short time, I hope their children will be fit for catechising. Schenectady is a village situated upon a pleasant river, twenty English miles above Albany, and the first castle of the Mohawks is twenty-four miles above Schenectady. In

this village there has been no Dutch minister these five years and there is no probability of any being settled among them. There is a convenient and well-built church, which they freely give me the use of. I have taken the pains to show them the agreement of the articles of our church with theirs. I hope in some time to bring them not only to be constant hearers but communicants."

June 14, 1710, marked the arrival of the greatest number of Palatine Germans which reached the shores of the Province of New York. The passage from England was a long and severe one and 470 died on the voyage. The remaining 3,000 who landed formed the largest body of immigrants to reach the shores of America up to that date, and, probably, prior to the Revolution. These Palatines were settled on the east shore of the Hudson near present Germantown, and, on the west shore of that river, near present Saugerties. The Palatines who settled on the Schoharie and at Stone Arabia, in 1712, came from this large immigration. For many years the Palatines observed June 14th as the day on which they arrived in the land of civil and religious freedom. Despite the attitude of contempt, in which they were often held by members of the aristocratic party, the newly-arrived Palatines formed a powerful bulwark of Protestantism and democracy within the Province of New York. With the Palatines came the new Governor of New York, Robert Hunter, a Scotchman.

In September, 1710, a fleet with militia left Boston in connection with an English fleet bearing troops. This expedition sailed for Port Royal, Acadia, which the combined American and British forces captured from the French. The name of Port Royal was changed to Annapolis in honor of Queen Anne, and Acadia became Nova Scotia.

Meanwhile preparations had gone forward for the invasion of Canada in 1711. Admiral Sir Hovenden Walker commanded a fleet of warships, transports and storeships, which bore marines and redcoats or regulars (under General "Jack" Hill, a court favorite) to the port of Boston early in the summer of 1711. On the 10th of August, Walker's fleet left Boston with 7,000 regulars and Colonial American militiamen, bound for Quebec. New York, New Jersey and Connecticut had raised a militia army of 3,400 Americans who mobilized at Albany where they were joined by 600 warriors of the Five Nations. The army of 4,000, under command of Nicholson, marched from Albany for Lake Champlain. Never had an American invasion of Canada been better planned or started with such prospect of success. The combined force was greater than any which ever had been organized in the

Colonies and the army which marched forth from Albany to the projected conquest of hated New France, must have seemed a host indeed to the Americans and Iroquois, who had previously gone forth in bands of a few hundreds. The forces under General Hill and Colonel Nicholson were overwhelmingly superior to those of Canada. The expedition was doomed to the usual failure and, as usual, through no fault of the American participants, who, as usual, constituted a majority of the military forces. Another element of friction between the Americans and their English commanders was the utter refusal of the latter to heed the advice of the Americans, who were generally informed as to the physical conditions of these military and naval expeditions. Not only were American officers rated inferior in rank to the British commanders of the same grade, but their advice and experience were studiously ignored. A disaster, similar to the later ones at Forts Duquesne and Ticonderoga on land, was now staged by the incompetent Walker on the sea. "Walker lost eight of his transports and nearly one thousand men among the rocks at the mouth of the St. Lawrence River."

Admiral Walker and General Hill now abandoned their campaign, in the most cowardly fashion, and sailed with the British troops back to England, while the American force sailed for Boston. The Americans on Lake Champlain, received tidings of this disaster, instead of the expected order to advance. Nicholson and his Americans raged at this bitter news. For the third time, the militia of New York had gathered, at great expense and trouble; had suffered hardship and privation with a ready spirit, in order to finally extinguish the French menace at their north and thus give an opportunity for civilized development. These Americans of New York had been aided by their countrymen from other Colonies. Three times they had pushed on to Lake Champlain, ready for the further long and strenuous voyage or march to the St. Lawrence. Three times they had been compelled to turn back without striking a blow, because of the failure of the water expeditions in the St. Lawrence—the first as a result of an American's incompetence and the last two times because of the neglect of England and the stupidity of her commanders. It is small wonder that the American people finally decided to manage their own naval and military, as well as civil affairs.

The Albany County militia, including that from the Schenectady district, was engaged in Nicholson's expedition.

For years the Five Nations had asked for forts in their country to aid them in repelling the attacks of the French and their

Indian allies. They had been promised such fortifications many times by the Provincial government, always without material result. At last a beginning was made in a scheme of defense for the Iroquois country by the building of Fort Hunter, in 1711-1712, at the junction of the Mohawk and Schoharie rivers at the site of the lower Mohawk castle of Iconderoga, 21 miles west of Schenectady.

The building of Fort Hunter, as well as the later forts constructed along the Schenectady-Oswego water route, had most important results aside from the military program and the policy of Indian protection involved. The building of Indian forts to protect the Iroquois castles proved more injurious to the national and tribal interests of the confederated Five Nations than the prior Provincial policy of neglect. The trader, the land grabber, the liquor seller came to the fort or its neighborhood, as well as the English redcoats. Following them came the real element of danger to the Indians—the farmer looking for land on which to permanently settle, cut down the forest and change the wilderness into the fruitful farmlands of a civilized community. Left alone to battle with their enemies, the Iroquois were in great danger, but the menace to their existence was far greater, when the protecting soldiers they desired had finally arrived. In fact, the decadence of Iroquois power can be approximately dated from the construction of Fort Hunter in 1711. Prior to this historically important event, the Mohawks were virtually undisturbed in their control of the Mohawk and Schoharie Valleys west of the Schenectady district settlements, which extended to about the eastern limits of the present city of Amsterdam. The only permanent settler, in the Valley farther west, was Hendrick Frey at present Palatine Bridge. Following Fort Hunter's building, the westward settlement of the Mohawk Valley progressed rapidly, and the Mohawks were soon despoiled of a great part of their Valley lands. The tribe now was greatly diminished in numbers and power by the long wars in which they had been engaged, and which had been largely instrumental in the protection of the Province of New York from invasion by the French and Canadian Indians. Our Valley Caniengas were no longer a bar to the white settlement of our Valley, as they had been during the seventeenth century.

The contract for the erection of Fort Hunter was signed by Governor Hunter on October 11, 1711. The fortification was 150 feet square with a wall twelve feet high made of logs a foot square and pinned together at the corners. Within this enclosure there

was a two-story blockhouse with double loop holes and a chapel twenty-four feet square and one story high. The work was to be completed by the following July for £1,000. Garret Symonce, Barent Vrooman, Hendrick Vrooman, John Wemp, and Arent Van Petten of Schenectady, took the contract to do the work.

The church was built of stone and was called Queen Anne's Chapel, being furnished by the queen shortly after its completion and provided by her with a communion service of silver. Attached to it was a glebe of 300 acres of good farm land on which a two-story stone parsonage was built. The fort, church and parsonage were completed in 1712. Rev. Thomas Barclay, chaplain of the Albany fort, was the first chaplain of Queen Anne's chapel of Fort Hunter.

Fort Hunter was placed under command of Lieut. John Scott, who bought a large tract of land of the Mohawks. He secured a patent for this land, consisting of 1,500 acres, extending west from Aurieskill along the south bank of the Mohawk. Scott's son secured a patent, on June 23, 1725, for 1,100 acres of land lying west of his father's land and extending westward to the site of the present village of Fultonville. Others were then also engaged in securing lands from the Mohawks and the parcelling out of the rich Mohawk flats and the wilderness, which stretched northward and southward from the river's banks now proceeded rapidly.

In 1712, the Palatines made their first settlements along the Mohawk and Schoharie rivers. Peter Vrooman, of Schenectady, was the first Dutch pioneer of the Schoharie Valley, so far as known. He moved from Schenectady thence about 1715 and settled at a point called Vrooman's near present Schoharie village. The Palatines were much displeased with the situation they were in on the Hudson, where they were employed in producing tar and ship stores for the British navy. They were farmers and wanted land to develop. In 1712, a great part of them removed to Albany and from there sent scouts into the Mohawk and Schoharie valleys to buy lands of the Indians if they found the lands desirable. The Palatine scouts returned with favorable reports and the German pilgrims made an exodus from Albany to their promised land. The greater part of these Palatines went into the Schoharie, while a few families moved over into the present Stone Arabia section and made the first Palatine settlement along the Mohawk. The Palatine settlements of the Mohawk and Schoharie valleys were as important historically as the Holland Dutch settlements at Schenectady and along the lower Mohawk River section, and they are, therefore, given a detailed description in the following chapter.

Another step in the westward settlement of the Mohawk Valley was the taking up of a considerable tract of land by two brothers named Hansen in the present town of Mohawk, Montgomery County. The Hansens secured a patent for this land in 1713 and they are the first known settlers of the township of Mohawk. They were of Holland Dutch extraction, as were most of the early settlers of this township.

The construction of Fort Hunter had the important effect of opening a wagon road from Albany clear through to the new fort, a distance of nearly 40 miles. The road extended over 21 miles west of Schenectady and about 45 miles along the south shore of the river, westward from its mouth at Cohoes. Such a beginning gave the south shore highway a start along the Mohawk which made it the main route westward for nearly ninety years.

If Fort Hunter had been built upon the north shore of the Mohawk, doubtless the north side highway would have been the one to take precedence throughout the eighteenth century. The garrison of the fort, together with the people naturally attracted hither, added to the Mohawk population of the lower castle, made Fort Hunter a considerable population center. Schenectady now was no longer the western frontier outpost of New York, after a career as such of half a century. The border had been pushed westward another twenty miles and the course of American empire, halted by twenty years of warfare, again took up its westward way—along the Mohawk River.

In 1713, the Tuscaroras, an Iroquois tribe, joined the confederacy of the Iroquois. After this accession the Five Nations became the Six Nations, although the Tuscaroras occupied a less powerful position than the five other Iroquois tribes. The Tuscaroras had attempted the extermination of the white settlers of North Carolina, but were severely beaten. The remnant of the tribe settled south of the Oneidas who gave them lands. Some of the Tuscaroras together with the greater part of the Oneidas sided with the Americans in the Revolutionary war.

The building of one of the most famous houses of the Mohawk Valley marks the ending of this chapter and the interesting period which it covers. This is the Glen-Sanders house, built by Capt. Johannes Sanders Glen at Scotia in 1724. Glen's father, Alexander Lindsay Glen, was, so far as we know, the first white settler in the Mohawk Valley and his first house, built in 1658, was the first house constructed in the Valley by a white man, of which we have any record. The first Glen house was built of stone close to the river's bank and it was a strong defense for the time. In

1724 it had stood for over half a century and would probably be in existence today, had it not been for the fact that the Mohawk had been eating away its northern bank until the first Glen house threatened to tumble into the stream. Captain Glen then built the present large stone house a short distance to the northward of the first one. This Glen-Sanders house is one of the most interesting and important of the historic old stone houses of the Mohawk. In fact, the history of the Glen-Sanders homestead covers the entire story of the white man along the Mohawk, embracing as it does the period from the settlement of Alexander Lindsay Glen in 1658, until the present writing in 1924—266 years of occupancy by one family, which is probably equalled by few other American families. Capt. Johannes Sanderse Glen was born in 1648 and was the youngest son of Alexander Lindsay Glen. He married Annatie, daughter of Jan Peek, for his first wife. On her death, after 1691, Captain Glen married Diwer, daughter of Evert Wendel of Albany. Captain Glen had eight children by his first wife, two of them being boys named Jacob and Abraham. Captain Jacob bought his brother's interest in the estate, after the death of his father, Capt. Johannes Sanderse Glen, in 1731. The house and estate passed to Debora, only child of Captain Jacob. She married Johannes Sanderse of Albany, and hence the name, Glen-Sanders house. The house has today great interest aside from its importance as the site of first settlement by a white man in the Mohawk Valley. It is built of much of the older materials of the original stone house of 1658, including a characteristic double Dutch door at the end of the dining hall. An ancient round mahogany table stands in this hall, which was the very one from which French officers ate breakfast, on the morning of February 9, 1690, after their bloody night's work at Schenectady. There is much else of interest connected with this old mansion, which has suffered but little from the devastation of "alterations and improvements." A farm of 900 acres or more was connected with the Glen-Sanders house. Of all the families associated with the first settlement and early development of the Mohawk Valley none bore a more important part than the Glens. After the death of Arent Van Curler in 1677, Alexander Lindsay Glen became the leading citizen of Schenectady and his son, Capt. John Sanderse Glen, succeeded to his father's position. From the Glen settlement at Scotia in 1658, to the death of Capt. Johannes Glen in 1731—a period of 73 years—the Glens, father and son, were important factors in the making of the history of the Mohawk Valley.

About the only evil which marked the accession of King William to the English throne was the beginning of an active slave trade in the Colonies. In 1709, New York City had its slave market at the foot of Wall Street. The traffic in slaves extended to Albany and Schenectady. Their numbers were small at first but increased until they were numerous along the Mohawk at the outbreak of the Revolution. Although they were generally kindly treated, they were held in absolute bondage and their masters were forbidden by law to set them free. Slavery continued in the Province and the State of New York, until it was abolished in 1827, although many slaveholders had freed their negroes before that date. Nearly all the large plantations along the Mohawk, had slaves, some numbering a score or more. They generally lived in log cabins adjoining their master's home. Mr. C. P. Sanders, owner of the Glen-Sanders house, in 1922, informed the writer that the slave quarters of the Glen-Sanders house consisted of a large stone building attached to the main structure. With the abolition of slavery, this part was removed, so that the house has stood practically as it is today for nearly a century.

The negro slaves of Colonial days along the Mohawk form a picturesque element of our history. They were generally well-behaved and generally well treated. It is a remarkable fact that the old slave population has largely died out along the Mohawk River.

In 1713, the Schenectady Dutch Church received a license from Governor Hunter to call a new minister. The church consistory then communicated with William Bancker, of Amsterdam, Holland (brother of Gerrit Bancker, one of the original Schenectady patentees), and Rev. Matthias Winterwyck of Dalphin, Holland. These negotiations resulted in Dominie Thomas Brouwer coming to Schenectady in 1714. Dominie Brouwer was a native of the province of Overyssell. He received a salary of £90, "a dwelling free of rent, fire wood at the door, a large garden and free pasture for two cows and a horse." The later history of the church belongs in succeeding chapters.

In 1714, the population of Schenectady township was 591, of whom probably 400 were in the village of Schenectady. It had taken twenty-five years to repair the damage caused by the massacre and burning of the town in 1690. Including the lower Mohawk Valley, the Palatines on the Schoharie and at Stone Arabia and the Holland Dutch in Maquaas' Land, the population of the Mohawk Valley must have been about 1,700 in 1714.

After the failure of the Canadian invasion of 1711, hostilities

between the American Colonies and New France were suspended. Peace was finally concluded by the treaty of Utrecht, April 11, 1713. From 1713 to 1744, peace reigned between Canada and the Province of New York. These thirty years formed a fruitful period of settlement, building and civilization along the Mohawk. In this regard it forms one of the most important periods of our Valley history and one in which our Valley can be said to have assumed much of its present character, in a rudimentary way.

CHAPTER 30.

A REVIEW OF SCHENECTADY AND THE MOHAWK VALLEY—1711

AT THE TIME OF THE BUILDING OF FORT HUNTER—CLOSE OF QUEEN ANNE'S WAR—ROADS DWINDLE INTO PATHS—SCARCE TWO THOUSAND PEOPLE ALONG OUR RIVER—SCHENECTADY PEOPLE CLOSELY RELATED.

Up to the coming of the Palatines to the Schoharie and the Mohawk valleys and the building of Fort Hunter, in 1711, the white population of the Mohawk Valley in its lower settled section was Holland Dutch by a great majority. There were a few British families of English, Irish and Scotch ancestry, but the Dutch ruled the roost. As the reader of course knows, the Hollanders were an entirely different people from the Germans of whom we carelessly speak as "Dutch." References to Dutch, in this volume, means the people from Holland or the Netherlands, or their American-born descendants. Already the people of the English Colonies considered themselves somewhat in a national sense and the names America and Americans were already in use, and this in spite of the violent jealousies which often rent the Colonies—jealousies arising from the fact that the Colonists were merely human beings with whom jealousy and vanity are generally overruling passions. Therefore, the name "American" is frequently used in this book as expressing something which otherwise cannot be clearly defined. It was this Americanism, of the Americans of the Colonies, which already was a cause of friction between British officials and military commanders, whose domineering methods and manners were most offensive to the free-born Americans. Do not look for the causes of the Revolution only in the Stamp Act and similar obnoxious English legislation. Its beginnings go much farther back than that. The cleavage between America and England was a matter of national character and was already marked, at the end of Queen Anne's war in 1713, the year which brings this chapter to an end. The Colonists were then already Americans and the English colonies then constituted America in the making.

When Queen Anne's war came to a close in America in 1713 Schenectady was an American town with a history of a half

century behind her—a half century which may be regarded as the most important period in the making of America. For that early day, Schenectady was an old American settlement. Albany, which dated its birth from Coriaestensen's trading post of Fort Nassau in 1614, was the second oldest permanent settlement in America, following New York by only a year. Jamestown, the first American settlement was already a ruin, from its burning in Bacon's rebellion. Both Schenectady and Albany were now assuming the character of old, well built, busy, thriving, American cities—cities not in size but in character. The early log and frame houses, cabins and barns were now often replaced by substantial dwellings of brick or stone and the large barns and farm buildings indicated the development of a rich agricultural section, which made Albany the national wheat market during the eighteenth century. The rough edges of the frontier had been somewhat smoothed by civilization. The wilderness, however, still ruled—it frowned down upon the settlements and the farmlands from all sides, and its prized beavers still formed the coin of the realm—when they had been converted into peltries.

The trade which came down the great waterway of the Mohawk still went to Albany as it had done for the last century. Schenectady was still bound by trade restrictions and the many Indians who hung about the town could trade and barter only under cover. Nevertheless Schenectady grew and developed in spite of the reign of privileges and greed at Albany. There were no richer farmlands in all the Colonies than those which lay along the Mohawk and the fortunate Holland Dutch farmer, who owned a piece of the Mohawk flats, was rightfully adjudged a person of wealth and property. Moreover land was difficult to obtain in the Province of New York—much more so than in other Colonies. Here the original soil was either held by the Indians or it had been largely parcelled out among governmental favorites in large patents or it was held by a few patroons, who affected the manners and the dress of the landed aristocracy of England. The land question which confronted the farmer who wished to come to New York was a most serious one. It prevented many worthy men from settling here and it drove away others, who found conditions better in Connecticut and New Jersey. The patents and patroonships were subjects of adverse comment by the Whigs of New York even at this early date.

In spite of the fetters of trade, the rule of aristocratic English governors, the corrupt land deals and the devastation of war, Schenectady, in 1711, bore the marks of a future great city

and the smiling farmlands and the substantial homes of the lower Mohawk River section already suggested the greater Mohawk Valley which was to come. It was but the tiny sapling of the later great tree, but it was the same tree, nevertheless.

In the summer of 1711, there was no settlement west of the Schoharie River, with the exception of that of Frey in the eastern part of the Mohawk Indian district of Canajoharie (at present Palatine Bridge). The little stockaded town on the river's bank held undisputed sway over the white man's settlements of the lower Mohawk Valley. Its crumbling palisades walled in a little group of fifty houses, a small church and a fort with frowning cannon. In the twenty years following the massacre, new houses had also been built outside the stockade, along the Albany road. To the south this path ran to the city, fifteen miles away, while, to the eastward, the river road followed the Mohawk's bends to Niskayuna and onward to Waterford and Cohoes at the Mohawk's Sprouts, where the Hudson and the Mohawk mingled their nearly equal waters. Westward from Old Dorp, the cultivated flats stretched along the Mohawk for nearly fifteen miles, past Yantapooshaberg, Touareuna and the rocky crag of Kinquariones, to the Willow Flat below present Amsterdam. The stone, frame and log houses of the farmers stood amidst luxuriant gardens and thriving orchards. Along the rough roads on each river shore, the Dutchman and the Iroquois peacefully passed on their errands up and down the Valley, while on the river's waters, the Mohawk's elm-bark canoe laden with furs, and the farmer's scow, piled with bags of grain moved eastward to the market town of Schenectady. For forty miles the river was a white man's community; but it was only a ribbon of civilization, for everywhere back from the River flatlands, stretched the mighty, all-encompassing forest, which gave its character not only to the landscape but to the lives of the people themselves.

From the extreme western farms of this borderland of civilization, the river roads dwindled into Indian paths, which ran westward through the Valley forests and past the river hills to the Mohawk town of Iconderoga. Here stood the stockaded lower Mohawk castle on the bank of the Schoharie where that stream joins the Mohawk. Westward the paths followed the Mohawk to "Frey's" opposite the mouth of the Canajoharie and to Tarajorees where the middle town of the Mohawks stood upon the brow of Prospect Hill in the present village of Fort Plain. The path on the north shore dwindled but the southern one followed a clear course to the great upper Mohawk Canajoharie castle

at the mouth of the Nowadaga, the site now being known as Indian Castle. From there this Iroquois trail continued over the hills to the lands of the Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas and Senecas. On the flats near their towns, the Mohawks raised their corn, beans and squash. The activities which went on within their castles were many and varied, although much less than before the white man began supplying their wants with manufactured articles. Instead of the stone tools of earlier days the Mohawks now had axes, steel knives and saws. Their bark long houses were now replaced by log cabins and even small frame houses. The illustrations of the wonderful Iroquois groups, in the State Museum at Albany, vividly show the changes in Mohawk habits and life, which took place during the eventful seventeenth century.

It was a sadly depleted and weakened Iroquois tribe which now gathered about the fires of the three Canienga castles. Where they had formerly numbered three thousand or more, there were now scarcely a thousand Mohawks along our river. Their original five hundred warriors were reduced to less than one hundred and fifty. They had saved America for the English but they were well nigh destroyed in fighting the white man's battles.

Although the Valley Hollanders were the "Brethren" of our Mohawks, they doubtless felt relieved at the sight of their lessened numbers, while the land grabbers, with their jugs and kegs of rum, viewed the weakened nation with all the usual zest of the human vulture at the sight of easy prey.

And so we see the Mohawk Valley of the early eighteenth century and the building of Fort Hunter and the coming of the Palatines. There were scarce two thousand human beings then along our river. Perhaps there were seven or eight hundred white people in the lower Valley, while the Mohawks of the middle Valley may have numbered a scant thousand. A new day, however, was dawning in which the borders of the wilderness were to be pushed back from the Mohawk's shores and the population was to be greatly increased and extended over a considerable part of the Mohawk watershed.

Schenectady had risen from her ashes and was now second only to Albany in importance, among all the settlements of the upper Hudson Valley and of the great county of Albany. "A busy little place it was, with its manufactures of sewant, and its boat building and its boys and girls acting as interpreters, the canoes at 'han del tyde'—June, July and August—resting on the

quiet waters, and the young men, in the winter, setting off with trinkets, blankets and fire water, to deal in the Indian trade. The streets of the Martyrs, and of the Traders, of Front, Ferry, Church and Niskayuna were then in existence and, along them, stood neat little houses, patterned after the Albany style, a story or a story and a half in height, gable end to the street, adorned wtih sheet iron weather cocks, dates often inscribed in iron anchors upon the baked steenen. Here, on the porches as at Albany, the families often gathered at the eventide. Here were the swelling ovens at the kitchen rear and the double doors shut at the bottom so the toddlers couldn't get out and the light could get in. A scow ran from the foot of Ferry Street. State Street was 'Souder Hoek' and 'Launt Hauck' was the Land Gate, while 'Calvyres Wastyea' (Calves' Pasture) lay between Front Street and the river."

The Dutch life of this American frontier town of that far-off day was kindly and pleasant. The speech of Holland was the language of the Dutch settlements of the lower Mohawk and its farmsteads. The Schenectady Holland Dutch dames of that day were picturesque figures "in their best homespun or it might be silk, and in high heeled slippers and blue and white gored hose. They wore short skirts, high caps and bodices with work baskets fastened to their belts and scissors also suspended therefrom."—(Diefendorf).

The majority of the Schenectady people were closely related and the town had something of the character of a large family or clan. The original Schenectady pioneers had come from Albany and the people of the two towns were united, to a large extent by marriage and family connections, much as they were separated by the jealousies of trade and the restrictions which were imposed upon our pioneer river village. This relationship of the settlers extended throughout the Lower Mohawk and the Albany districts. Indeed this present Capitol City section may be said to have been originally peopled by one large family—the clan of Albany Dutchmen. The importance of the small population of the day must not be underestimated. Battles which decided the destinies of the world were then fought by bands of a few hundred white and red men and the beginnings of a great civilization were given direction by scantily peopled neighborhoods of a few scores of early American families. These beginnings of civilization along the upper Hudson and the Mohawk, were also vastly important because they eventually developed into the world's most important highway and waterway. The

commerce and trade, then following the Mohawk-Oswego route, formed the nucleus of the present vast inland commerce of the United States, for our river and its Valley formed the "Gateway to the West" then as now.

The "Dutchman's Family" is a subject of frequent amusing satire on the part of early writers. Its size was proverbial and the Dutch cradle not only peopled a wilderness but it furnished the army which held the New York frontier during the Revolution, with a very considerable aid from the Palatine rock-a-by. Outside of the Palatine immigration there was a comparatively small influx of immigrants into the Colonies, from King William's accession in 1688 to the start of the vast inpouring which began in the middle of the nineteenth century. In that century and a half of time America was made by the American people themselves and American character and institutions were formed. The American cradle peopled the land, with little outside assistance and it could have continued to do so, had it not been for the fatuous "economic" ideas as applied to raw unassorted human material which were generated by the growth of materialism in a land originally dedicated to idealism.

But, to return to our Dutch cradle—it kept the Province of New York under Dutch influence and turned the tide against English Toryism during the Revolution. Indeed "the hand that rocks the cradle rules the World."

CHAPTER 31.

MIGRATION OF PALATINES TO AMERICA.

MIGRATIONS OF 1708-1709-1710-1712 TO AMERICA AND NEW YORK STATE—RESIDENCE IN LONDON—ASSISTANCE OF QUEEN ANNE AND THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT—SETTLEMENT IN IRELAND, NORTH CAROLINA, VIRGINIA AND NEW JERSEY—FIRST LOCATION IN THE PROVINCE OF NEW YORK AT NEWBURGH, IN 1709—GREAT MIGRATION OF 3,000 PALATINES TO NEW YORK IN 1710, AND LOCATION ON THE HUDSON RIVER.

The settlement of the Palatines, along the Mohawk and Schoharie rivers in 1712, was a direct outcome of the Reformation. Benton says: "The outbreak of the Reformation in 1517, under the conduct of Martin Luther, an Augustinian friar and professor of theology in the University of Wittenberg, Saxony, is the first great event to which our attention is directed; that being the epoch from which we can trace the causes that drove the Palatines of the Lower Rhine to seek a home in the then Province of New York, nearly two hundred years afterwards."

The Palatines, who settled in the Mohawk watershed, were mainly from the Lower Palatinate of the Rhine, whose princes early adopted the Reformed religion, some being Calvinists and others followers of Luther. During the two centuries following the beginning of the Reformation, the people of the Lower Rhine Palatinate were mainly Protestants, generally changing from Calvinists to Lutheran, and vice versa, according to the religious leanings of the reigning prince. In considering the horrors of the religious wars which followed the Reformation, it must be remembered that religious and political issues were often entangled in a manner most confusing to the present-day reader who is unacquainted with their many ramifications. The intention of this History of the Mohawk Valley is to keep its story free from the bitterness of these historic religious issues, wars and hatreds, and to tell the story of the Palatines as truly as can be gathered from the records.

Benton's "Herkimer County and the Upper Mohawk Valley" concisely tells the story of the ravages of the religious and political wars in the Palatinate, which were the causes of emigration from the Rhineland to Holland and England and thence to America.

"There were, perhaps, two motives that induced the people of the Palatinate to look to England for succor, at the commencement of the eighteenth century. Frederick, then Prince Palatine, who had married Elizabeth, daughter of James I, King of England, was in 1619, elected king of the states of Bohemia; but, in the year following, he was signally defeated at the battle of Weisenberg by the Emperor of Germany, driven into exile and all his estates were confiscated. This was during the thirty years' religious war in Germany. By the treaty of Westphalia, the eldest son of the banished Frederick was restored to his patrimonial estates of the Lower Palatinate. This prince was cousin to Anne, daughter of James II, who ascended the British throne in 1702, on the death of William III. The Palatinate was occupied by the imperial armies in 1623, when the magnificent library of Heidelburg was seized and presented to the Pope of Rome. It was restored in 1815.

"The Lower Palatinate was invaded by the French in 1689, many of its towns burnt and the country devastated, while the defenseless inhabitants, who begged for mercy on their knees, were stripped naked and driven into the fields, then covered with snow, where many of them perished. One historian, in speaking of the cruelties committed by the French on this occasion, states that 'the Elector beheld, from his castle at Manheim, two cities and twenty-five towns in flames, and where lust and rapine walked hand in hand with fire and sword.' Thus, for nearly seventy-five years, was this fair country, described as one of the most beautiful in Germany, the theater of wars, and the scene of rapine, ravages and desolations, until the remnant of the population could no longer find a hiding place in the fatherland. The Catholic rulers of France, for a time, sided with the Protestant League in Germany during the Thirty Years War, and soon afterwards cut the throats of their Huguenot subjects at home.

"The continental wars of Europe, at the close of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth centuries, seem to have been promoted very much by religious considerations. The see of Rome was determined to 'crush out' heresy, and exerted all its spiritual and temporal powers to accomplish it, and well did the Catholic powers and princes of Europe second the papal injunctions, except when reasons of state intervened to prevent. The majority of Europe adhered to the Romish faith.

"From the proximity of the Lower Palatinate to France and the Netherlands, it is probable that it received accessions of population from both of these countries during the religious wars; and

Manheim, a strong and well-built city at that day, was, in the year 1576, appointed as the place of retreat for the families of the reformed religion, at that time driven from the Spanish Netherlands, which considerably enriched this electorate. A historian of the last century describes the people of the Palatinate as 'the most civilized and polite of any in Germany; extremely open and hospitable to strangers, and generally well informed.' "

Historians of the Mohawk Valley have often failed to record the close connection between the imperial quarrels of the French Louis and the Holland Dutch William with the settlement of the Palatines in the Mohawk Valley. We have seen the devastation and horrors produced by the French and their Indians in the Province of New York and the Mohawk Valley during King William's war (1689-1698)—notably in the burning and massacre at Schenectady in 1690. Greater ravages of this same great war, in the Rhine Palatinate three thousand miles overseas, produced the Palatine exodus from that desolated country and the ultimate location of these people on the Hudson, Schoharie and Mohawk rivers and within the boundaries of Pennsylvania, where they became the original "Pennsylvania Dutch." The early settlement of the Atlantic coast of the United States was the natural result of religious wars and persecution following the great religious movements and upheavals of the Reformation. These mighty movements of history tended to make the British colonies in America strongly Protestant in feeling, with the exception of the province of Maryland, which, similarly, was founded as a refuge of English Catholics.

Louis XIV had long coveted the rich lands of the Rhine Palatinate. When Charles, The Elector Palatine, died in 1685, Louis figured that his opportunity had come to grasp this country. He denied the right of Philip William of Neuberg to the succession and demanded the Palatinate for his brother Philip, in right of his wife, the sister of the dead Palatine. The demand roused all the German princes in opposition and the League of Augsburg was formed against Louis. The accession of William, Prince of Orange and Stadtholder of the Netherlands, to the throne of England, following the bloodless revolution against James II, was another cause of the disasters which overtook the Palatinate and caused the exodus of a great part of its people. Says Cobb, "The war raged for nine years and in the Palatinate with unparalleled ferocity. Louis, anticipating the action of the allies, sent 50,000 men into the Palatinate under General Montclas. History accredits to Madame de Maintenon an insatiable rage against the

Palatine and his people for the asylum afforded to the Huguenots and to her intrigues and persuasions that Louvois urged upon the king that 'the Palatinate should be made a desert.'" A policy of extermination was agreed upon and mercilessly put into effect. Macaulay says:

"The French commander announced to nearly one-half million of human beings that he granted them three days of grace, and that within that time they must shift for themselves. Soon the roads and fields, which then lay deep in snow, were blackened by innumerable men, women and children, flying from their homes. Many died of cold and hunger, but enough survived to fill the streets of all the cities of Europe with lean and squalid beggars, who had once been thriving farmers and shopkeepers."

The desolation wrought by the armies of the "Great Louis" on the Palatinate shores of the Rhine was nearly as dreadful and complete as the swath cut over two centuries later by the armies of another "war-lord"—that of the devastating hosts of William of Germany in their march through Belgium into Northern France.

Thousands of the Palatines fled into Northern Germany and Holland. It is probable that the latter country had a considerable influence upon the Palatines who went thither, just as prior immigration of Flemings into the Palatinate must have influenced the blood of its people and have produced similarities of thought as well as religion, which we note when Hollander and Palatine met later on the banks of the Mohawk and Schoharie.

Queen Anne's War, which raged from 1701 to 1713, was the immediate cause of the migration of the Palatines from their Rhineland homes to America. Marshal Villars led a French army into the little state, in 1707, which again burned and ravaged this fair land. Following this invasion, the exodus began which brought many of the Palatines to America and to final homes along the Mohawk and Schoharie rivers.

Historical controversy has claimed this matter of Palatine immigration to America and involved it in fruitless argument. It has been claimed that land agents, working among the Palatines, had induced them to migrate to America. The Palatine immigrants admitted this to be the case but claimed that the devastations of the French and the exposed position of the Palatinate and the constant danger of such incursions, had prompted them to lend a ready ear to the representatives of American Colonial land speculators. Whatever the cause may have been a large number of Palatines moved over into England, where they

eventually became a burden upon the English people. There is no record of any of these land speculators having profited by the Palatine immigration.

The first settlement of Palatines or any other Germans in America was a small party of Lutherans who fled to Holland in 1705 and who came to America, in 1707, and located in Morris County, New Jersey.

In the spring of 1708, Rev. Joshua Kockerthal addressed a petition to the London Board of Trade, on behalf of himself and other poor Lutherans, from the Palatinate, asking that they be sent to America as settlers. They formed a company of Palatines who had come to London early in the year. Before this party embarked for America, they were joined by fourteen others, making their number fifty-five in all. Kockerthal's company sailed from England with the new governor, Lord Lovelace, in the autumn of 1708. These Palatines were settled on Quassaick Creek in the present city of Newburgh. The name of the city is a memorial to this first Palatine immigration into New York inasmuch as the prince of the Lower Palatinate was of the House of Neuberg. The Newburgh region was granted to the Palatines in 1719, under the name of the German patent. This was the first considerable German settlement in America and occurred ninety-five years after the Hollanders made their first permanent location on the Hudson, at present New York City.

The Rev. Joshua Kockerthal was a man of strong character and a leader of his people in all their later settlements on the Hudson River. After locating this first company at Newburgh, he returned to England and was instrumental in bringing out the second large expedition of 1710, which was that from among whose members came the Palatine pioneers of the Schoharie and the Mohawk valleys.

The winter of 1708-9 was a most severe one in the Palatinate, which, combined with the ravages of Queen Anne's war and the constant fear of further invasion, started an exodus from every part of the little principality. As Conrad Weiser later described it: "A migrating epidemic seized upon the stricken people and, as a wave, thirty thousand Germans washed along the shores of England." "Both for charity's sake and in their own defense, the people of Rotterdam speeded them over the channel into England, where their swarming numbers put to the proof, not only the ingenuity of the government to provide for their future destination, but also their ability to provide for their pressing and immediate needs." The Palatines began to arrive in London in

May, 1709, and they came to the number of 13,000 by the end of October. The Crown and the English people, although naturally perturbed by such an influx, met the situation in true hearty English fashion. The people were lodged in army tents, warehouses, barns, empty houses and four houses were erected in the west of London for these people which are yet called the Palatine Houses. Queen Anne took a kindly interest in these pilgrims and furnished much toward their support from her private purse. Cobb says that "It is estimated that the sums expended by the government and contributed by the people of England, for the support and final establishment of the Palatines in Ireland and America aggregated the enormous amount of £135,000."

The good treatment accorded Kockerthal and his companions in America evidently appealed to the Palatines and they hoped and asked to be sent thither. Kockerthal also asked the English government to have them sent to New York. The first shipment of these people was made to Munster in Ireland, where 3,800 people were settled. Their descendants are numbered among the most substantial citizens of Ireland. Seven hundred were later sent to the Carolinas, where they became a strong element in the early Colonial population. They made their first settlement at the junction of the Neuse and Trent rivers, which they called New Berne, in honor of the two Swiss land proprietors, DeGraffenried and Michell. About 600 Swiss accompanied this migration. Governor Spotswood, of Virginia, also settled a small body of the Palatines at a place he called Germanna on the Rapidan, at about this time.

We now come to the great Palatine migration to America in 1710, the one which brought these pioneers to our Valley and the first great movement of Germans to the New World. This was the largest immigration of any people in one body to the Western Hemisphere in Colonial days. Strange to say the coming of the Palatines to the Mohawk and Schoharie rivers is closely associated with the history of the Mohawk Indians and it was a Mohawk Indian chief who presented the Palatines with the land along the Schoharie, which became henceforth the "promised land" of at least a portion of these destitute Germans, then subsisting on the bounty of the English people.

We have previously noted the visit of Colonel Peter Schuyler and Colonel Nicholson to London, in 1709, accompanied by five Mohawk chieftains. Mention has also been made herein of the interest excited by the journey of these noted red men to the British metropolis, which was promoted for the purpose of awak-

ening the English government and the English people to the importance of the dominion overseas and to the need of its defense from French aggression. In a large way, the mission of Schuyler and Nicholson was successful.

While the New York Provincial and Mohawk embassy was in London its members came in contact with the Palatines who were much in evidence. The Mohawks went everywhere in London to see the sights, with which they were immensely impressed. "In their walks in the outskirts of London, they saw the unenviable condition of the houseless and homeless Germans; and one of them, unsolicited, and voluntarily, presented the Queen a tract of his land in Schoharie, N. Y., for the use and benefit of the distressed Germans." (Rupps, "Berks Co.," p. 189.) Weiser says that "five chiefs of the Mohawk Indians saw and pitied the wretched condition of the people, and offered to open to the perishing mass their hunting grounds beyond the sea." In reference to this gift of land by the Mohawk chief, Cobb, in his "Story of the Palatines," says: "Certainly, the larger portion of these three thousand emigrants left London with Schoharie as the synonym of their hope and were not satisfied until they looked on its level meadows and lordly hills."

Within two days after the Palatine contingent was sent to Ireland the Board of Trade suggested, to Queen Anne, that as many of the Palatines as possible be transported to and settled on the Hudson River at the expense of the government, that they should be supported for one year, supplied with all needed tools and granted lands for their support. Governor Lovelace had died and Colonel Robert Hunter was selected as his successor in the Province of New York. Hunter was an ambitious Scotchman who had married the wealthy Lady Hay. He was made a brigadier-general at the time of his appointment as governor of New York. On November 30, 1709, he proposed to the Lords of Trade that three thousand Palatines be sent with him to New York, to be there employed in the production of naval stores. He later proposed that the Palatines "be servants to the Crown for a certain term, or at least 'till they have repaid the expense the Crown is at in settling them at work and subsisting them whilst they can not subsist themselves."

In line with this letter, the Board of Trade recommended to Queen Anne, that the Palatines be settled in the region of "the Mohaques and Hudson's rivers," there to be engaged in the arduous labor of producing turpentine, tar, rosin and pitch and similar products which were dignified by the name of "Naval Stores."

The Board specially indicated "a Tract of land lying on Mohaques River, fifty miles by four, and a Tract lying upon a Creek which runs into said River, between twenty-four and thirty miles in length, of which your Majesty has possession." The report advises the government to settle the Palatines upon these tracts in a body or in separate settlements, each family to be granted forty acres "after they shall have repaid the government." The report, including the suggestion that these Germans be employed in the making of "Naval Stores," was approved by the Queen. The situation of the prospective land along the Mohawk River and its tributary, the Schoharie, is important to notice, because it enters into later difficulties between the Palatines and the New York Provincial authorities. The Queen had come into the possession of the lands in question through the vacating of several extravagant grants by act of the New York legislature in 1698, by which several enormous patents given by Governor Fletcher were made void. One of these was a patent which gave the entire Schoharie Valley to Colonel Nicholas Bayard, who later appears in the story of the Palatines.

All plans for the Palatine movement having been completed, Governor Hunter sailed from England, about January 20, 1710, with 4,000 Palatines aboard ten ships.

The voyage of the Palatines to America was much longer than usual, the Governors ship taking nearly five months to cross the Atlantic. Disease broke out among the passengers on the overcrowded ships and 470 Palatines died during the voyage while many of those who finally arrived in New York harbor, were in a deplorable and sickly condition. One of the boats was shipwrecked on the eastern end of Long Island, but all of its people and most of its cargo were saved. This event was distorted, as to the facts, through the passage of the years, and became the theme of Whittier's poem, "The Palatine".

The first ship to arrive in New York was the Lyon. The city authorities were alarmed at the sickness prevalent among the immigrants and therefore quarantined them on Nutten Island, now known as Governor's Island. Here the Palatines were located during their stay in New York harbor and huts were built for them. The little city of New York then numbered less than five thousand people and it offered no accommodations for such a large body of newcomers. The Attorney-General made several appointments of leading Palatines as justices to assist in the civil government of the island and its people. Among them was John Conrad Weiser, the son of a magistrate of Great Anspach in the

Duchy of Wurtemberg. He was the father of Conrad Weiser, then a boy of twelve years, who later became the leading figure among the Palatine Germans of America.

The Palatines remained five months at Nutten Island, while Governor Hunter's surveyors were mapping the lands on the Mohawk and the Schoharie. During this time the Governor issued an order apprenticing many children of the German immigrants, "which may be set down as the first of the oppressive actions of the government towards those people." The Palatines were greatly exercised at this act and, in a statement of grievances made several years later, they recite that "He took away our children from us without and against our consent." Among these apprentices was John Peter Zenger, whose father had died at sea, who was apprenticed to William Bradford, the printer of New York. Zenger later on appears as the champion of the freedom of the press in one of the many popular conflicts with Royal authority in the Province.

The surveyors sent to survey the prospective lands for settlement by the Palatines were so inefficient that their report was prejudicial to the location of the German immigrants along these streams. These surveyors may have been influenced by Bayard and Livingston, under whose influence Governor Hunter came, as well as that of the aristocratic or Tory party. Bayard, at this time, was evidently hopeful that he might realize something from his former grant of the great Schoharie Valley, which the Palatines now wished to enter. Hunter's acquaintance with Bayard and Livingston may have prompted him to change his prior attitude toward the location of the Palatines along the Mohawk and Schoharie and to turn such settlement to the possible profit of Livingston. Hunter's honesty is not questioned but he probably was influenced by his rich and powerful Provincial friends. Henceforth, Hunter was unalterably opposed to the location of the Palatines on the Schoharie.

Governor Hunter now turned to Robert Livingston, who had large holdings of land along the Hudson, the largest estate in the Province next to Rensselaerwyck. About October 3d, Hunter bought 6,000 acres of land from Livingston. Here the greater part of the Palatines were located, on the east side of the Hudson River, while some were settled on an 800 acre tract on the west side of the Hudson near Sawyer's Creek. The East Camp of the Palatines is now known as Germantown, while the west shore settlement is known as West Camp. The original villages numbered five, three on the east shore and two on the west. Rhine-

beck also takes its name from this Palatine settlement, many of its people having descended from these pioneers. About five hundred Palatines remained in New York City, mostly widows, women and children, when the main body located on the Hudson.

The Manor of Livingston was acquired by Robert Livingston, through patent from Governor Dongan in 1686, and was confirmed in 1714 by Governor Hunter. The Manor extended sixteen miles along the Hudson River and twenty-four miles eastward to the Massachusetts line.

It is mainly from the Palatine German settlements on the east bank of the Hudson, located in the present town of Germantown, Columbia County, that the Palatines came who settled in the Mohawk and Schoharie valleys. No serious attempt was made to force the settlers on the west shore of the Hudson to make "Naval Stores". They were left to clear the land and establish homes and farms, where their descendants reside to this day. The "Naval Store" enterprise on the east shore seemed doomed from the start. After getting rid of a great part of its Palatine German population, by emigration to Ireland and America, the Lords of Trade and the English government seem to have lost all interest in the Palatines or the enterprises in which they were engaged. Indeed, there was a marked change of feeling concerning them in London after the Germans had departed, a feeling which is reflected in the historical consideration of the Palatines, like many other historical schisms.

The East Camp of the Palatines on the Hudson contained about 1,200 people. These pioneers came there in the fall of 1710 and their first work was to build shelters for the winter, during which they suffered greatly from the cold, largely because of an insufficient supply of clothing furnished by the government and because of the short and poor rations which they received. The people were bitter and discontented from the first. They looked upon their detention at Livingston Manor as nothing short of slavery and were ever anxious to go to the Schoharie lands which, they said, "the Queen had given them." One of them is related to have said that "We came to America to establish our families and to secure lands for our children on which they may be able to support themselves after we die." They wanted to settle on farms and they did not want to make "Naval Stores".

In 1711, calls were made for volunteers for the Montreal expedition against the French and three companies of militia were raised in the East Camp, consisting of 105 men, one company of which was commanded by John Conrad Weiser. The names of

the Palatine volunteers include Hen. Hoffman, Warner Dirchest, Fred. Bellinger, Hen. Wederwachs, Frantz Finck, Martin Dillenback, Jacob Webber, William Nellis, George Dachsteder, Christian Bauch, Mich. Ittick, Melch. Folts, Niclaus Loux, Hartman Windecker, Hans Hen. Zeller, Jno. Wm. Finck, Jno. Hen. Arendorff, Johan Schneider, Henry Feling, Joh. Jost Petry, Lud. W. Schmit. The foregoing names, or their modernized forms are those of many of the best American families of the Mohawk Valley of today.

The desire of the Palatines for the fulfilment of the promise to settle them along the Schoharie and their natural desire to farm rather than make "tarr" brought on a state of mutiny in the settlement. Governor Hunter came with a company of British soldiers and disarmed the settlers, who constantly demanded the Schoharie lands which had been promised them by Queen Anne. In addition to these grievances, the Provincial government took the cost of tar barrels and the salaries of agents out of the funds provided for the food of the Palatine settlers. During the summer, the people worked steadily at tar making, but their discontent was increasing although concealed from the government overseers. Additional troops were brought to the Manor and the conditions under which the Palatines worked were little short of slavery. A second winter, that of 1711-12, was passed at Livingston Manor, without sufficient food or clothing.

In 1712, Governor Hunter abandoned the great "Naval Stores" enterprise and the Palatines were left to shift for themselves, but were forbidden to leave the provinces of New York or New Jersey. The project had ruined Hunter. He had spent £20,000 in the venture besides £8,000 furnished by the Lords of Trade. Hunter was never repaid for his outlay for the Palatines and his connection with the tar making enterprise was unjustly made the cause of harsh criticism of him by his enemies. Hunter's administration covered a period of intense political bitterness in the Province.

The failure of Hunter's scheme to use the Palatines for the work of the British navy, rather than for their own advantage, had an important result in the subsequent settlement of these pioneers in the Schoharie and Mohawk valleys.

CHAPTER 32.

THE SCHOHARIE VALLEY.

DESCRIPTION OF THE BEAUTIFUL REGION OF THE WATERSHED OF THE MOHAWK RIVER, IN WHICH THE PALATINES SETTLED IN 1712—ORIGIN OF THE NAME SCHOHARIE.

The Schoharie Valley, in which the Palatine Germans settled in 1712, forms one of the most beautiful and interesting regions of the Mohawk Valley. While it constitutes a large part of the Mohawk watershed, the Schoharie River region has marked characteristics of its own and a geographical situation and a topography which make it quite a distinct region, as compared with the rest of the Mohawk Valley. The Schoharie Valley, with the exception of the northern ten miles of its river section, lies in the Catskill region. The other parts of the basin of the Mohawk are first, one comprising a great shale and limestone belt, paralleling the Mohawk River, which forms what is known as the Mohawk Valley Province in the modern geological histories of the State; second, the northerly part of our Valley which lies in the Adirondack country. These two districts merge in part, while the Schoharie Valley is a markedly separate section. Its broad flats and abrupt hills along the Schoharie River, form a valley region with a beauty all its own, while its upper basin has the rugged mountain picturesqueness of the wild Catskill region in which it lies.

Prior to the Appalachian revolution at the end of the Coal period, the Schoharie of that far-off day, flowed southward into the ocean. During the Devonic period, this sea had periods of advance and recession along the southern part of present Schoharie County, where the first known trees then waved their fern leaves above the shores of that primeval ocean. In 1869, at Gilboa, Schoharie County, the first of the world's tree trunks were uncovered by a great flood in the Schoharie River. These, with later additions, form one of the most important geological collections in the World and are now part of an interesting re-creation of the flora of Devonic times, on exhibition in the State Museum in the Education Building at Albany.

When the great Appalachian chain of mountains was up-

Photo by Author.

THE SCHOHARIE RIVER

Taken from the bridge across the Schoharie at Central Bridge.

heaved, from Georgia to the shores of the St. Lawrence, the southern outlet of the Schoharie was blocked by this mountain mass, the uplift sloped the land northward and the stream then became the Mohawk's greatest tributary. The Schoharie has a course of seventy miles or more, from its source near Haine's Falls in Greene County, about ten miles from the Hudson, to its outlet into the Mohawk at Fort Hunter. It is the third largest stream in the Hudson watershed, the Mohawk and the Walkill outranking it. The valley of the Schoharie comprises 920 miles of the 3,485 square miles in the Mohawk watershed, and it thus forms about 27 per cent., or a little more than one-quarter of the total area of the Mohawk Valley.

The greater part of both Schoharie and Greene counties lies within the watershed of the Mohawk, inasmuch as the Schoharie is that river's greatest tributary.

In the upper course of the Schoharie at the present time, are a number of Catskill mountain summer resorts and, in this same section, the waters of the Schoharie are impounded as part of the water supply of the city of New York. The Schoharie Valley region forms one of the State's richest agricultural sections and it retains more of its old-time character than that part of the Mohawk Valley situated along its great highways of transportation.

The chief tributaries of the Schoharie are Fox's Creek and the Cobleskill. On the banks of the latter stream, Howe's Cave is situated. It is one of the natural wonders in a State rich in beauty and unique landscape and geological features.

Historically, the Schoharie Valley is closely associated with the Mohawk River region. Like the latter, the Schoharie was first settled by Holland Dutch and Palatine Germans and, similarly, Schenectady and Albany were its outlets and trading points. The Colonial and Revolutionary histories of the two river regions are also linked together and the two sections were defended as one frontier by the Revolutionary American Army of the North. The settlement of the interesting and fertile valley of the Schoharie by the Palatine Germans in the year 1712, is the first link between the histories of the Mohawk and Schoharie because some Palatines are reputed to have come into Stone Arabia, at the same time. From this time forward, the story of the two rivers and their people merge into one, just as the two streams join and flow on together, at their junction at Fort Hunter.

It is appropriate to give here some account of the geography of this beautiful region, which was a veritable "land of promise" to its Palatine German pioneers. This, and the description of the

Schoharie Indians, are taken from the writings of Brown and Simms, who continue to be the main authorities on this subject. Simms' "Schoharie County and Border Wars of New York" and his "Frontiersmen of New York" constitute a veritable mine of historical material concerning the Colonial and Revolutionary Mohawk Valley, which includes that of the Schoharie.

Simms' account of the origin of the meaning of "Schoharie" is generally accepted. He says: "The word Schoharie, or the word from which that was derived, when originated, not only signified 'flood wood' but a certain body of flood-wood. At a distance of about half a mile above the bridge, which crosses the Schoharie in the present town of Middleburgh, two small streams run into the river directly opposite each other. The one on the west side, coming from a northwest course, was formerly called the Line kill, being the northern boundary line of the first Vrooman patent—which instrument embraced that part of the town of Fulton, now called Vrooman's Land. The other stream is called Stony Creek, and runs into the Schoharie from a southeast course. John M. Brown, Esq., in a pamphlet history of Schoharie published in 1823, attributes to this stream, which he calls the Little Schoharie, the origin of the latter word. The two streams mentioned, falling into the Schoharie at that place, produced in the latter a counter current, which caused a lodgment of driftwood, at every high water, directly above. The banks of the river there were, no doubt, studded, at that period, with heavy growing timber, which served as abutments for the formation of a natural bridge. * * * At the time the Indians located in the valley, who were the owners of the soil when the Germans and Dutch first settled there, tradition says there were thousands of loads of wood in the wooden pyramid. How far it extended on the flats on either side is uncertain, they being at that place uncommonly wide; but across the river, it is said to have been higher than a house of ordinary dimensions, and to have served the natives the purposes of a bridge, who, when crossing, could not see the water through it."

This "Schoharie" was called To-wos-scho-hor, by the Schoharie Indians, the name referring to the natural bridge of driftwood. The word is evidently of Mohawk origin.

Of the Indians inhabiting the Schoharie Valley, Simms wrote (in 1845) as follows: "The Mohegans settled near the mouth of the Little Schoharie kill, in the present town of Middleburgh, and were living separate from the main body of the tribe, long after Conrad Weiser and his German brethren located in their immediate vicinity. One good reason for this was that they spoke

a different language from the principal part of the tribe. They also had a small castle near the present residence of Henry Mattice. * * * Besides the village of the Mohegans already located, the Schoharie tribe had several others, one of which was on the farm formerly owned by Alexander Vrooman—on the west side of the river. Nearly opposite that, on the other side of the river, they had another; and a distance of several miles farther up the valley, on the farm of the late Peter P. Snyder, a third. At each of the former, they had a small castle and, at the latter where they dwelt many years after the two northern villages were abandoned, they had a burying ground. Those villages were all within four miles of the present Court House. Within the recollection of some now living [in 1845] twenty-one wigwams [cabins] were yet standing upon the Snyder farm and a few old apple trees, still [1845] to be seen there, are supposed to have been planted by the natives. Near this orchard, many burials are said to have been made at this place of sepulture; nor, indeed, were the manes of nature's children without companions to share the potage taken along at their death, as a portion of the consecrated ground was set apart for the defunct slaves of the early Germans.

"The fifth and most important village of the tribe, where dwelt Kharighondontee and his principal chiefs, was in Vrooman's Land, where they had a strong castle and a place of burial. This castle [as it stood prior to the Revolution] was built by John Becker, who received from Sir William Johnson, as the agent for the British government, eight pounds for its erection. It was built at the commencement of the French war and constructed of hewn timber. The Indians held some four hundred acres of land around it, which they leased for several years. Contiguous to this castle, along both sides of the river, could have been counted at one time seventy huts; and relics of savage ingenuity are often now [1845] plowed up near its site. An angle of land, occasioned by a bend in the river on which this castle stood, was called the 'Wilder Hook' by the Dutch, who settled near it, and signified the 'Indian's Corner'. Among the old people in that vicinity, it is still known by the same name.

"The Indians gave names to most of the mountains and prominent hills in the county, among which were the following: On the west side of the river, directly opposite the brick church in Middleburgh, is a mountain rising several hundred feet and covered with timber of a stunted growth. The traveler will readily notice this as being the highest of the surrounding peaks which hem in the valley for a considerable distance on either side. This

mountain the Indians called Ou-con-ge-na, which signifies "Rattlesnake Mountain," or "Mountain of Snakes." It was literally covered with rattlesnakes in former times. The next peak above, on the same side of the river, which has a very bold termination toward the Valley, they called O-nis-ta-gra-wa and spoke it as though written O-nis-ta-graw-waugh. It signifies the "Corn Mountain." Between that and the river, was the Wilder Hook, at which place the flats are well adapted to the cultivation of Indian corn. It was this consideration which gave to the mountain its significant name. The next hill above the Onistagrawa, now known as Spring Hill, the Indians called To-wok-now-ra; its signification is unknown. [Oucongena is 2060 ft. sea elevation and 1440 above the Schoharie. Onistagrawa is 2080 ft. sea elevation and 1450 ft. above the Schoharie.]

"At Middleburgh, two valleys meet; the one through which the Schoharie wends its way, and the one through which the Little Schoharie kill runs some distance before it empties into the former. Consequently, on the southeast side of the river as it there courses, the mountain ridge which confines the river to its limits on the eastern side, suddenly terminates and again appears east of Middleburgh village. The termination of the hill alluded to, which lies southeast of the Onistagrawa and distant perhaps two miles, was called by the Mohegans, who dwelt at its base, Mo-hegon-ter, and signified "Falling Off," or "Termination of the Mohegan Hill." It served not only to designate the locality and preserve the name of the Connecticut Indians, but, like many of their words which have a twofold meaning, it denoted a hill terminating at a valley. A fraction of the Stockbridge tribe of Indians, who emigrated from Massachusetts, also dwelt near the Mohegans."

Mohegonter rises 1286 ft. above the sea and 625 feet above the Schoharie. The continuing height, south of the Little Schoharie is 2140 ft. above the sea and 1470 ft. above the Schoharie River.

Simms estimates that all the Schoharie Indians could muster 300 warriors and, from that figure, concludes that the total Indian population along the Schoharie, was 2,200, an estimate which is probably somewhat too high.

Concerning Indian trails in the Schoharie, Simms says:

"Brown enumerates the five following footpaths as being in use by the Schoharie Indians, when the whites first settled among them. The first began at Catskill and followed the kill of that name up to its source at the Vlaie, from whence it continued down

to Middleburgh. Over a part of this path now [1845] runs the Loonenburg turnpike. The second began at Albany and led over the Helleberg, down Fox's Creek valley and terminated in Schoharie. By this path the Germans traveled who first settled Schoharie. The Old Road, as now called, from thence to Albany, follows very nearly the route of that path. The third commenced at Galock's dorf and led to Schenectada, through Duanesburgh. By this path, the Dutch, who first settled in Vrooman's Land, proceeded from Schenectada. This path was much used for several years by the Schoharie Germans, who went to the ancient city, with grists upon their back, to get milling done. The fourth led from Kneiskern's dorf down the Schoharie, from thence through the towns of Charleston and Glen to Cadaughrity and ended at Fort Hunter. This path was much traveled by the natives, who went from the Mohawk to the Susquehanna valley. The fifth led from Kneiskern's dorf northwest to Canajoharie. This path, says Brown, was much traveled by the early Germans, who often went to visit relatives at the German Flats. It continued in full use, he adds, until after the year 1762, at which time Sir William Johnson reviewed a brigade of militia, of which he was general, near the upper Indian castle of the Mohawks. Besides those enumerated, the Indians must have had other paths, perhaps of less notoriety, leading in different directions from Schoharie. One traversed not a little by the Indian hunter, led directly up the Schoharie to near its source, and from thence to the Susquehanna and Genesee valleys; while another, of some importance to the hunter, must have led up the Cobleskill to its source and, from thence, to Otsego Lake."

The foregoing gives some noteworthy features of the Schoharie Valley to which the Palatines came in 1712. Subsequent chapters cover their settlements along the Schoharie and Mohawk rivers.

CHAPTER 33.

PALATINES SETTLE SCHOHARIE—1712.

SETTLEMENT ON THE SCHOHARIE RIVER AND AT STONE ARABIA—WEISER'S DORF AT PRESENT MIDDLEBURGH; HARTMAN'S DORF—BRUNNEN DORF AT PRESENT SCHOHARIE—THE KARIGHONDONTE TRIBE OF INDIANS SUPPLY THE STARVING SETTLERS WITH CORN—1713, ONE HUNDRED PALATINE FAMILIES FROM EAST CAMP ON THE HUDSON, ARRIVE—EARLY DWELLINGS—THE SCHOHARIE VALLEY A PART OF THE MOHAWK WATERSHED AND CONNECTED BOTH GEOGRAPHICALLY AND HISTORICALLY WITH THE STORY OF THE MOHAWK VALLEY—PALATINE NAMES.

The settlement of the Palatines in the Schoharie and Mohawk valleys took place in the fall of 1712, when the first exodus occurred from the banks of the Hudson to the pleasant flats along the Schoharie and the fertile uplands of Stone Arabia north of the Mohawk. The settlement of the Palatines in the watershed of the Mohawk in 1712, is an event of the first historical importance in the history of the Valley and second only to the location of Holland Dutch at Schenectady in 1661. The Palatines settled the upper Mohawk and a great part of the Schoharie valleys. Although at first there seems to have been considerable racial antipathy to these newcomers on the part of the Holland Dutch and British settlers, these Rhineland Germans were later accepted as good American citizens and there then followed many intermarriages of the Dutch, Palatine, Scotch, English and Irish settlers of the Valley. The Palatines formed a strong patriot element in the Mohawk Valley during the Revolution and it was an army composed mainly of men of this blood who fought under General Herkimer at the decisive and bloody battle of Oriskany, where the liberties of America and the destinies of the World were decided. The Palatine strain, frequently mixed with Dutch and British blood, forms one of the best elements of present-day American citizenship along the Mohawk and Schoharie. Its names are at the forefront in the lists of our intellectual and business leaders and they shine among the heroes who have fought for America, from the wilderness marches of the Great French war down to the great days when Americans of Palatine descent, who formed part of the 27th Division, broke through the greatest redoubt of all history—the Hindenburg Line—in the World war.

When Hunter's capital ran out, which had financed the great tar manufacturing enterprise at the East Camp of the Palatines on the Hudson, its people looked upon the order to cease work as a release from a condition approaching slavery. They at once sent seven of their principal men to Schoharie "to visit the valley, examine its land, deal with the Indians and find the best route for the people to take thither." This Palatine embassy was received in the most friendly manner by the Schoharie Indians.

Brown's "Sketch of Schoharie County" says that the first settler of the Schoharie Valley was a Canadian Indian named Karighondonte, who was married to a Mohawk squaw. Here he gathered a tribe, three hundred Indians from the Mohawks, Mohicans, Tuscaroras, and Delawares. The Schoharie Valley was part of the Mohawk domain and Karighondonte and his people were doubtless vassals of the Mohawk nation. The Schoharies lived on the Schoharie flats, which they later turned over to the Palatines. Simms describes these flats, saying that they "began on the Little Schoharie Creek, in the present town of Middleburgh, at the high water mark of the Schoharie River, and at an oak stump burned hollow—which stump is said to have served the Mohawk and Stockbridge Indians as a corn-mill—and ran down the river to the north, on both sides, a distance of ten miles, and contained about twenty thousand acres. By the side of the stump was erected a pile of stones, still standing after 1800. Upon the stump were cut the figures of a turtle and a snake, the sign of Karighondonte tribe, as a seal of the contract."

The seven Palatines, headed by the elder Weiser, went to Albany and secured an Indian guide who led them over the Helderbergs and down the valley of Fox Creek to its junction with the Schoharie in one of the most beautiful and fertile parts of this picturesque valley. Cobb says:

"It is a deep valley, where the copious dews, from April to October, make a constant and luxurious verdure. The hills on either side, here sloping gently upward, and there standing in bold bulk of precipitous rock, seemed to promise bulwarks of defense and protection from further foes. The broad alluvial flats prophesied plenty on the farms that were to be, while the river, like a broad silver ribbon, wound its way among the level meadows, its full and quiet flood an image of contented peace." The Palatine delegates were most hospitably received by the Schoharies. When they asked for land that they might settle there, the Karighondontes readily granted their request, saying that "they had formerly given this land to Queen Anne for them."

There is a tradition that several Palatines, at the same time, went westward along the Mohawk and examined the upland of Stone Arabia as a place of prospective Palatine settlement.

Following the return of the explorers to East Camp, a number of the Palatine settlers prepared to immediately depart for "Schorie", the promised land. The exodus to Schoharie was made in two companies at different times. The first party consisted of fifty families who went north to Albany, where they were cared for by the much maligned burghers of that, even then, ancient Dutch city. From there the Palatines made the toilsome journey through the wilderness over the Helderberg trail, to Schoharie. Hardly had they recovered from the fatigue of their journey, when they received orders from the governor "not to goe upon the land." The newcomers, however, could not obey this latest disheartening mandate as they were without any other place of refuge. They, therefore, decided to remain.

At the same time the Palatine Germans located along the Schoharie, tradition tells us that several Palatine families left the main body there and journeyed on to the Mohawk over the Canajoharie trail and located north of the river at Stone Arabia. This has been denied, because of lack of records covering the subject. All probabilities point to a settlement of Palatines at Stone Arabia coeval with that on the Schoharie. The traditions handed down by the old Palatine families of Stone Arabia indicate a settlement there about 1712, and the Stone Arabia Lutheran Church dates its organization from 1711. This latter date probably is derived from the date given by Simms, which is a year too early.

Regarding the settlement of Palatine Germans at Stone Arabia in 1712, Simms writes as follows regarding the scouts sent out by the Palatines from East Camp on the Hudson River. "On their arrival at that Dutch city [Albany] they sent several individuals of their number into the Mohawk and Schoharie valleys, to spy out a good location for their permanent settlement." Simms says that the report of the land scouts was for the Schoharie as against the Mohawk Valley, a decision which may have been influenced by the fact that the Schoharie flats, like most of those along the Mohawk were largely treeless while the Stone Arabia lands were wooded and necessitated the hard work of clearing the lands before they could be farmed. Another argument in favor of the Schoharie Valley probably was that it was unoccupied by white men, while the lower course of the Mohawk then was well settled for the year 1712. Simms further says: "As the German settlements along the Mohawk were commenced about the

same time with those of Schoharie, it is not improbable that the relatives of the messengers sent up that river awaited their return at Albany and, on their bringing a favorable report of the country, removed thither." These Stone Arabia Palatine pioneers were "squatters," in the eyes of the law, as were also those of the Schoharie.

The Palatine migration from the Hudson River to the Schoharie took less than half the people there located. About 600 migrated while about 700 or more remained on the east and west banks of the Hudson. The main points of Palatine settlement in the Province of New York, were at the following present-day locations. New York City; Newburgh, Germantown, Rhinebeck, Saugerties and West Camp, on the Hudson; the Schoharie River section from Middleburgh north to the Cobleskill; along the Mohawk at Stone Arabia and German Flats (the western river section of Herkimer County). Palatine descendants are found at all these points and the men of Palatine as well as of Holland Dutch blood are found generally throughout the Mohawk Valley today.

Along the Schoharie, the Palatines located in several villages which were called "dorps" or "dorfs," the latter word being the one generally used along the Schoharie. The meaning of the Palatine German word "dorf" is a compact town of farmers, who till the adjacent lands. "Flekken" is a Palatine German word used to describe a larger village than a "dorf" but less than a "stadt" which stood for a city of varying size. The English words, "hamlet", "village" and "city" correspond in a general way to the meaning of these German words.

The Palatines first located along about ten miles of the Schoharie's course extending from Middleburgh, on the south, to the Cobleskill, on the north, the latter point being about fifteen miles, air line distance, south of the Mohawk River at Fort Hunter. The most southerly large village or "dorf", was Weiser's dorf, at present Middleburgh. The largest and middle village was Hartman's dorf, about two miles north. The third and most northerly village was Brunnen dorf on the site of present Schoharie village, or Schoharie Court House as it was formerly generally called. Besides these three main villages the German pioneers had four smaller dorfs, which made a total number of seven settlements within a limit of ten miles. Brunnen dorf, meaning "the village of springs", was later called Fountain town, when English began to be used in the Schoharie Valley. This name was finally superseded by the name Schoharie or Schoharie Court House, which became the central point of the Schoharie settlements.

The first Palatine mill was built on Fox Creek, which saved the Palatine farmers of the Schoharie the long journey to the most accessible mill at Schenectady, which was the natural outlet to this region along the upper valley of the Normanskill, a stream which has had great historical importance. The Palatines gathered at Fox dorf, for Sunday church services. The Old Stone Church (Reformed) was built in 1772, on the sightly bluff dividing the courses of the Schoharie and Fox Creek.

The Palatine pioneers suffered great hardships during their first (1712-1713) winter along the Schoharie. The Karighondontes gave the newcomers maize from their scanty winter stores and, had it not been for these kindly Indians, probably many of the settlers would have died of starvation. Young Weiser wrote, concerning this period of privation: "They broke ground enough (in the Spring) to plant corn enough for the next year. But this year our hunger was hardly endurable. Many of our feasts were of wild potatoes (oehmanada) and ground beans (otagraquam)." Their Indian friends and neighbors showed the settlers how and where to find these and other edible roots.

About one hundred families of Palatines, from the East Camp on the Hudson, joined the first comers on the Schoharie in March, 1713. The old Palatine narrative says: "in March (1713) did the remainder of the people (tho treated by the Governor as Pharaoh treated the Israelites) proceed on their journey, and, by God's Assistance, travell'd in fourtnight with sledges thro the snow, which there covered the ground above 3 feet deep, cold and hunger, Joyn'd their friends and countrymen in the promised land of 'Schorie.' ".

Simms describes, in detail, the Palatine settlements on the Schoharie as follows:

"Having arrived in safety, the Germans settled along the Schoharie on the land provided by the Queen, in several villages or dorfs, as they called them, under the direction of the seven individuals, who acted at the camps as their captains or commissaries. Prudence, no doubt, dictated the necessity of settling near together, that they might be the better prepared to anticipate any hostile movement of their Indian neighbors. Weiser's dorf (so called after Conrad Weiser the founder), was the most southern village and occupied part of the present site of the village of Middleburgh. The dorf contained some forty dwellings. They were small, rude huts, built of logs and earth and covered with bark, grass, etc. They were built on both sides of a street, which ran nearly east and west and may have been called Weiser Street.

"Hartman's dorf was the next settlement down the river, and about two miles north of Weiser's dorf. This was the only one of the settlements called after the Christian name of its founder or patron; his name having been Hartman Winteker [Windecker]. This flekken (if the largest village in seven merited the name), is said to have contained sixty-five dwellings, similar in construction to those spoken of in the dorf above. The Germans, as is the [1845] custom of their descendants, built their ovens detached from their dwellings, and thirteen are said to have answered all the good housewives of Hartman's dorf, the purposes of baking. Like the former, this village was built along one street." No trace of this original largest village of the Palatine Germans along the Schoharie now exists.

"The next village north was in the vicinity of the court house and was called Brunnen dorf or Bruna dorf, which signified 'the town of springs'. There are several springs in the vicinity and a living one, which [1845] issues from beneath the rocks a little distance southeast from the court house, supplies most of the villagers with excellent water. The principal or most influential man among the first settlers of this place was John Lawyer. Some of his descendants, as also those of some of the Shaeffers and Ingolds, who were among the first settlers, still reside near the location of their ancestors.

"The next settlement was in the vicinity of the present [1845] residence of Doctor C. H. Van Dyck, about a mile north of Bruna dorf and consisted of Johannes George Smidt (or Smith in English) with a few followers of the people, for whom he had acted as commissioner at the camps. Smith is said to have had the best house in Smith's dorf, which was thatched with straw [and which he conducted as a tavern]. I am not certain that any of his clan are now [1845] represented in that section. It is probable, however, that the Snyders who [1845] reside there may be descended from the first settlers.

"Fox's dorf was next to Smith's north and took its name from William Fox, its leading man. He settled about a mile from Smith, in the vicinity of Fox's Creek, so called after him. The Snyders, Beckers, Zimmers, Balls and Weidman's, now [1845] residing along and near that stream, are regular descendants of the first settlers.

"Elias Garlock, with a few faithful followers who, doubtless, adhered to him on account of his great wisdom, which remains to be shown, located about two miles farther down the river, near the present [1845] residence of Jacob Vrooman. This was called

Garlock's dorf. The Deitzes, Manns, and Sternberghs were among the first settlers at Garlock's dorf, whose descendants still [1845] occupy the grounds.

"The last and most northerly settlement was called Kneiskern's dorf, after John Peter Kneiskern, its leading man. It was two or three miles from the last mentioned settlement, and was made along the east side of the river opposite the mouth of the Cobel's kill. The Kneiskerns, Stubrachs, Enderses, Sidneys, Berghs and Houcks, residing in that vicinity, are descendants of the original settlers. This and Bruna dorf are the only ones of the seven settlements in which the descendants of the earliest men or founders dwell at the present [1845] day. The sectional names of Kneiskern's and Hartman's dorf are still in use, while the other five have sunk into oblivion.

"Among the first settlers at these seven dorfs, were some whose descendants still [1845] reside in the county, their first location, in but few instances, being now traceable. It is presumed many of them settled at the two most important and southern villages. The Keysers, Boucks, Rickards, Rightmyers, Warners, Weavers, Zimmers, Mattices, Zehs, Bellingers, Borsts, Schoolcrafts, Kryslers, Casselmans, Newkirks, Earharts, Browns, Settles and Merckleys, were doubtless among the first settlers."

Simms gives the date of German immigration into the Schoharie Valley as 1711, which has been widely copied, but Cobb's date of 1712 is doubtless the correct one. Simms estimates the number of the Palatines who first settled along the Schoharie at between five and seven hundred.

The succeeding chapter relates to the history and life of the Palatine Germans along the Schoharie, from their settlement in 1712 until the dispersal of about two-thirds of their number and exodus of these Palatines to sections along the Mohawk River, at Stone Arabia and German Flats, 1720-1725, as well as to Berks County, Pennsylvania. These latter emigrants formed the original Pennsylvania Dutch, which have always, since that time, been such a large and influential element in the Commonwealth founded by William Penn.

* * *

The following lists of Palatine names will be of interest to all who cherish the history of the Mohawk Valley and that of the Schoharie, the chief tributary of the Mohawk. Like the earlier lists herein given of the first Holland Dutch settlers along the Mohawk, the following names will be found to be generally repre-

sented in the old American families resident in many parts of the watershed of the Mohawk River.

The names are those listed in the Stone Arabia and German Flats (Burnetsfield) patents, in "Simms' Schoharie County" and in Cobb's "Story of the Palatines". A few of these names were never represented in the Mohawk Valley, but belong to other centers of Palatine immigration in America. Some were once represented here but have since disappeared from our Valley. It is interesting to note how many of the names of these early pioneers are still numerous among us. Together with the early Holland Dutch and British stocks they still form a large element of the population of the Mohawk Valley. As all our pioneer American stock has generally intermarried, the older families of the Valley form one large family, which should certainly help to give the Mohawk Valley a community of interests.

Among the names listed are a number which have the same forms in Holland Dutch names. This may be due to listing Hollanders, who dwelt in Palatine neighborhoods as Palatines or such names may exist in both languages, as they probably do. It is impossible at this late date to "unscramble" them and give each its national identity. Such Dutch examples are Banker, Brink, Snyder, Swart, Keyser, etc. Several names of typical English form are also present among these Palatine names.

In these lists of Palatine names, the modern form is given with the older style in parentheses. It must be remembered that there was much laxity in the spelling of names two centuries ago, the same individual often spelling his name in various ways. General Nicholas Herkimer, the son of a Palatine, was a great offender in this regard. Clerks, officials, muster roll clerks, official secretaries and others are also responsible for many of the old misspellings of names. These old-time clerks frequently took the names down as they heard them, without any undue care as to their exact spelling. The same thing is true of Indian names, which were variously spelled by various spellers. The reader of today, when all these matters are more exactly covered, frequently wonders at the wide variety of name spellings. The foregoing offers something of an explanation of the cause, which has always been a source of misery to the historian.

All German names in the Mohawk Valley are not necessarily names derived from the Palatine immigration, even of families resident here from before the Revolution. The same is true of Holland Dutch names. A number of Hollanders came here from overseas, between the Schenectady settlement and the beginning

of the Revolution, and so all Low Dutch names do not necessarily date back to the first Dutch settlement of the Mohawk Valley.

These lists do not pretend to include all names of Palatine pioneers in the Mohawk Valley, including its subdivision, the Schoharie.

Among the Palatine names of Schoharie County are the following:

Lawyer, Hartman, Weiser, Smith (Smidt, Schmit), Fox (Fuchs), Snyder, Becker, Zimmer, Ball, Weiden, Dietz, Mann, Sternberg, Kneiskern, Stubrach, Enders, Sidney, Bergh, Houck, Keyser, Bouck, Rickard, Rightmyer, Warner, Weaver, Mattice, Zeh, Bellinger, Borst, Schoolcraft, Krysler, Casselman, Newkirk, Earhart, Brown, Settle, Merckley, Garlock, Windecker (Winteker), Moore, Walrath, Young (Jung), Scheff.

The Palatine names in the Stone Arabia Patent of 1723, are as follows:

Shaul (Schell), Gremps (Cremse) Garlock (Garlack), Dillenbeck, Emiger, Fox (Vocks), Lawyer, Fink, Feink, Dygert (Diegert), Piper, (Peiper), Seeber (Seibert), Casselman, England (Ingolt), Erhart (Erchart), Nellis (Nelse).

The Palatine names, in the Burnetsfield (German Flats) Patent of 1725, follow:

Beerman, Bowman, Dacksteder, Edick (Edich, Edigh), Herkimer, (Erghemar), Fuller (Feller), Filmer (Felmore), Folts (Fols), Fox, Heger, Helmer, Harter (Herter), Hess, Casler (Keslaer), Kast, Koons, Korsing, Koues, Lant, Moyer (Mayor), Miller, Orendorf, Pearce (Pears), Bell (Pell), Bellinger (Pellinger), Petrie (Petri), Poenradt, Real (Reele), Rickard (Rickert), Shoemaker, Smith, Speis, Spoon, Starin (Staring), Demuth (Temouth), Veldelent, Weaver (Wever), Woolever (Welleven).

Palatine names now found in the Mohawk Valley are here appended, together with some once here which have died out and a few others. The great majority of these names, however, are characteristic of the Mohawk Valley and are numerously represented among us today.

Hoffman, Weber, Bush, Bauch, Weatherwax (Wederwachs), Loucks (Loux), Zoller (Zeller), Arendorf, Alter, Diefendorf, Devendorf, Snyder (Schneider), Failing (Feling), Becker, Fralick, Eckert, Emerick, Conrad, Christian, Hartranft, Snell (Schnell), Myers, Myer, Meyer, Dedrick, Dunckel, Wortman, Bronner, Lintner (Lichtner), Allbright (Albrecht), Appell, Acker, Bower, Decker, Ehle (Ehl, Uhl), Young (Jung), Neahr, Hager, Bergman, Angell (Angle), Shaver, Schaeffer, Schaffer, Coon (Kuhn),

Winter, Link, Bouck, Bernard, Allendorf, Christler, Wagner, Neff, Funk, Stickler, Gertner, Shults (Schultz), Wolf, Wolfe, Shoemaker, Schoonmaker, Baer, Wanamaker (Wannermaker), Newkirk, Cline, Klein, Plank, Signer, Bronk, Bronck, Brink, Dill, Gentner, Genter, Shufelt, Keim, Dillinger, Benker, Sellinger, Swartz, Swart, Michaels, Keener, Timmerman, Zimmerman, Siegler, Zollicoffer, Heister, Muhlenberg, Keller.

CHAPTER 34.

EARLY DAYS OF THE SCHOHARIE SETTLEMENT—1712-1723.

LIFE OF THE PIONEERS—NICHOLAS BAYARD DRIVEN AWAY—SEVEN PARTNERS SECURE SCHOHARIE LANDS CLAIMED BY PALATINES—MURDER OF TRUAX—SHERIFF ADAMS OF ALBANY COUNTY MOBBED AND NEARLY KILLED—DELEGATES SENT TO ENGLAND FAIL IN THEIR MISSION—WEISER AND HIS FRIENDS LEAVE SCHOHARIE FOR PENNSYLVANIA—EMIGRATION TO THE MOHAWK RIVER—DUTCH SETTLE ON THE SCHOHARIE.

The Palatine settlers entered upon the life of typical American pioneers, when they located along the Schoharie River. As the conditions which entered into their daily life were similar to those which confronted all the frontiersmen of the Mohawk Valley, some description of their pioneer life is well worth inclusion here.

The Schoharie Palatines, at first, lived almost as simply and in as primitive a manner as their Indian neighbors. Probably the greater part of the household goods of these pioneers was carried on their backs, when they made the Schoharie migration, although they had hand-drawn sleds to make the winter trip. They had no horses at first. Their baggage consisted mainly of axes, tools, firearms, pots and pans, blankets and clothing—only the absolute necessities with which to begin life in the wilderness. They made log cabins, banked with earth and thatched with straw, and cut blocks of wood, which served as chairs and tables.

Within one week after the arrival of the Palatines in the Schoharie Valley, four children were born—Catharine Mattice, Elizabeth Lawyer, Wilhelmus Bouck and Johannes Earhart.

In the absence of plows, they broke the ground with broad hoes. The Indians showed them how to plant and cultivate corn, beans and squash, which were the main foods raised by the red men. At first they pounded their corn in a hollow stump after the Indian fashion. They also hulled it with lye. The first wheat is said to have been sowed in Schoharie in the fall of 1713, by Lambert Sternberg of Garlock's dorf. Simms says: "As Schenectada was nearer the Schoharie settlements than Albany, for such necessaries as they required the first few years, they visited the former place [Schenectady] the more frequently. Those who

possessed the means, bought wheat there at two shilling a spint (a peck), or six shillings a skipple (three pecks), had it ground and returned home with it on their backs, by a lonely Indian foot path through a heavy forest. It was thus that Sternberg carried the first skipple of wheat ever taken to Schoharie in the berry. He resided near the present [1845] residence of Henry Sternberg, a descendant of his." Sternberg's wheat was sown within the enclosure of a dilapidated stockade which had been an Indian castle, located on the west side of the river. This palisade enclosed more than an acre of ground. "It was planted within this yard because it was a warm, rich piece of ground, with little grass on it and being enclosed, would remove the danger of having the crop destroyed in the fall or spring by deer, which were numerous in the surrounding mountains. This wheat, which rooted remarkably well in the fall, stood so thin, from having been scattered over so much ground, that it was hoed in the spring like a patch of corn; and well was the husbandman rewarded for his labor. Every berry sent forth several stalks, every stalk sustained a drooping head, and every head teemed with numerous berries. When ripe, it was gathered with the greatest care; not a single head was lost and, when threshed, the one yielded eighty-three skipples. In these (1845) days, when the weevil scarcely allows three, to say nothing of the eighty, bushels to one, this statement would, perhaps, be looked upon as incredible, were not all the circumstances known. Many procured seed from Sternberg and it was not long before the settlers raised wheat enough for their own consumption.

"For several years, they had most of their grain floured at Schenectada. They usually went there in parties of fifteen or twenty at a time, to be better able to defend themselves against wild beasts, which were numerous between the two places. Often there were as many women as men in these journeys, and, as they had to encamp in the woods at least one night, the women frequently displayed, when in danger, as much coolness and bravery as their liege lords. A skipple (three pecks) was the quantity usually borne by each individual but the stronger often carried more. Not unfrequently, they left Schoharie, to go to the mill, on the morning of one day, and were home on the morning of the next, performing a journey, of between forty and fifty miles, in twenty-four hours or less bearing the ordinary burden, but, at such times, they traveled most of the night without encamping. It is said that women were not unfrequently among those who performed the journey in the shortest time—preparing a break-

fast for their families from the flour they had brought on the morning after they left home. Where is the matron now to be found in the whole valley of the Schoharie, who would perform such a journey in such a plight?

"As may be supposed, many of the first settlers in Schoharie were related. Hence has arisen that weighty political argument sometimes heard 'he belongs to the cousin family'.

"Owing to the industry and economy of the colonists and the richness of the soil, want soon began to flee their dwellings and plenty to enter; and, as their clothes began to wax old, they manufactured others from dressed buckskins, which they obtained from the Indians. A file of those men, clad in buckskin, with caps of fox or wolfskin, all of their own manufacture, must have presented a formidable appearance. It is not certain but the domestic economy of the male was carried into the female department and that, here and there, a ruddy maiden concealed her charming proportions beneath a habit of deerskin.

"It is said that physicians accompanied the first Germans to Schoharie and that, for many years, ministers or missionaries, under pay from the British government, labored in the different German settlements in the country. They visited the people, married those whose peace of mind Cupid had destroyed, preached to and exhorted all. Their audiences usually occupied some convenient barn in the summer season and the larger dwellings in the winter.

"The want of horses and cattle, at first, was much felt by the settlements. By whom cattle, swine and sheep were first introduced, I have been unable to learn. The first of the horse kind they possessed was an old gray mare. She was purchased at Schenectada for a small sum by nine individuals of Weiser's dorf, and, it is said, they kept her moving."

The Schoharie settlers did not hold their lands in common. Each pioneer had lands staked out for his individual or family use and ownership. Each settler thrived by his own industry and hardihood or languished by reason of his incapacity or weakness.

The Palatines had not been long among them when the Schoharie Indians had their first taste of the white man's trickery. In the first or second summer, after the first white settlers arrived, the Schoharies challenged them to a foot race, to be run by a red and a white champion, for a substantial purse, that put up by the Indians being a bundle of valuable skins. The race was over a half mile course to the most southern dwelling of Weiser's dorf. Conrad Weiser's son was selected to run for the Germans. The

race was even right up to near the finishing point, where young Weiser pushed the Indian runner against the house, so that he fell and lost the race. The Indians were furious at this foul play and refused to pay the purse at first. Young Weiser protested that it was an accident and the red men finally gave up their furs. The incident aroused suspicion and bad feeling between the Germans and their Indian benefactors, which took some time to pass away. This was the first of a series of events which embroiled these Palatine Germans with the Indians, individuals and officials, and which put the Schoharie Germans in such disfavor that the eventual migration of many of them is not a matter of wonder. The Indians later made an attack on the German settlers, which may have been prompted by revenge for Weiser's trick. Little damage was done and both parties became reconciled.

As has been previously noted, Governor Fletcher had granted the entire Schoharie Valley to Colonel Nicholas Bayard. This with other extravagant land grants of this corrupt governor, had been revoked by act of the New York Assembly in 1698. However, Bayard, who was as tenacious a self-seeker as was Livingston, evidently still hoped to make good his claim to the beautiful valley of the Schoharie. Accordingly, shortly after the settlement of the Palatines, Bayard appeared on the scene and published a notice "to every householder, who would make known the boundaries of land taken by him that he would give a deed in the name of the Sovereign." Considering that Bayard's grant had been legally revoked, Bayard's action would have been ridiculous had it not been sinister. He probably hoped to maintain some legal right or control over his former great Patent by securing the signatures of some of the Palatines to papers involving the small portion of the watershed of the Schoharie in which they had settled. Naturally, the Palatines knew that Bayard no longer owned their lands and they, consequently, refused to treat with him. They drove him away and, fearing for his life, he took refuge in the inn of Han Jerry Smith in Smith's dorf, which was the first hotel in the Schoharie Valley. Of this episode, Simms writes: "Consequently, early the next morning, the nature of the resolve having been made known the evening before, the honest burghers of Schoharie, armed with guns and pitchforks, with many of the softer sex in whom dwelt the love of liberty, armed with broad hoes, clubs and other missiles, surrounded the hotel of Smith and demanded the person of Bayard, dead or alive." Smith refused to surrender Bayard and the Palatines then began a siege of the inn. Sixty shots were fired by the set-

tlers through the roof of the tavern, while Bayard occasionally fired his pistols. By a miracle Bayard escaped injury and, when night came on and his assailants withdrew, the colonel left the battered tavern and escaped to Schenectady. From there he sent a message to Schoharie, "offering to give to such as should appear there with a single ear of corn, acknowledge him as royal agent, and name the bounds of it (their land) a free deed and lasting title." The Palatines took no notice of this offer and Bayard then went to Albany and sold his "interests" in the Schoharie lands to five partners, Myndert Schuyler, Peter Van Brugh, Robert Livingston, Jr., John Schuyler and Henry Wileman.

The Palatines have been severely criticised for their attack on Bayard by those who do not know all the facts concerning the promise to settle these people along the Schoharie and Mohawk rivers and the many disappointments and harassments they had suffered. Their attempt to kill Bayard was brutal but there was considerable excuse or provocation for it.

Adam Vrooman of Schenectady secured a grant of land in 1714, embracing most of what is now the township of Middleburgh, which he had previously bought (in 1711) of the Karighondonte tribe. Vrooman had made himself famous nearly twenty-five years earlier by his brave defense of his home, during the Schenectady massacre, when he exacted a promise from the French officers to spare his life if he would cease firing on them. He was not a man to be easily intimidated. Peter Vrooman, son of Adam, located on these lands and his settlement is recorded in "a bold, high and rocky headland called Vrooman's Nose, jutting out into the Flat and dominating the valley for miles, both south and north." (Cobb.)

The Palatines resented Vrooman's patent and his coming and they immediately began to persecute and annoy him. They drove their horses over his cultivated fields and pulled down the stones of a house he was building, of which Vrooman bitterly complained to Governor Hunter.

Without legal title to their land, the Palatines now attempted to secure their holdings by the only means in their power—a purchase from the Karighondonte tribe of Schoharie Indians. For $300 the settlers "bought" from the red men the lands on which they were then located. This transaction was ignored by the Provincial authorities.

The five Albany men who bought out Bayard's interests in the Schoharie Valley, became known as the Five Partners. They secured a patent for the Schoharie lands from Governor Hunter

on November 3, 1714. Simms says: "This patent began at the northern limits of the Vrooman patent, on the west side of the river, and the little Schoharie kill on the opposite side and ran from thence north; taking in a strip on both sides of the river, at times mounting the hills and at others leaving a piece of flats, until it nearly reached the present Montgomery County line. It curved some and the intention was to embrace all the flats in that distance. Patent was taken for ten thousand acres. Lewis Morris, Jr., and Andrus Coeman [Coeyman], who were employed by the purchasers to survey and divide the land, finding the flats along Fox's Creek and a large piece at Kneiskern's dorf near the mouth of Cobel's kill, were not included in that patent, lost no time in securing them. Those several patents often ran into each other and, in some instances were so far apart as to leave a gore between them. The patent taken to secure the remainder of the flat at Kneiskern's dorf, began at a spring on the west side of the river near the bridge which now crosses that stream above Schoharie Court House, and also ran to or near the Montgomery County line. Between that and the first patent secured, which was intended to embrace all the flats, was left a very valuable gore, which Augustus Van Cortlandt afterwards secured. Finding much difficulty in dividing their lands, they so often intersected, the first five purchasers and their surveyors, Morris and Coeman, whose right in the Schoharie soil was proportionately valuable, agreed to make a joint stock of the three patents. Since that time they have been distinguished as the lands of the Seven Partners. Patents and deeds, granted at subsequent dates, for lands adjoining those of the Seven Partners, were, in some instances, bounded in such a manner as to infringe on the latter or leave gores between them. As may be supposed, evils were thus originated which proved a source of bickering and litigation for many years. Suits for partition were brought successively in Schoharie County in 1819-25-26-28 and 29, at which time they were finally adjusted. The latest difficulties are said to have existed between the people of Duanesburg and Schoharie.

"After the Seven Partners secured their title to the Schoharie flats, they called on the Germans who dwelt upon them, either to take lease of, to purchase, or to quit them altogether. To neither of these terms would they accede, declaring that Queen Anne had given them the lands and that they desired no better title. The reader will bear in mind that these people had no lawyers among them, except by name, on their arrival—that they lived, in a measure, isolated from those who could instruct them—

that they spoke a language different from that in which the laws of the country were written, which laws they were strangers to; and that they placed implicit confidence in the promise of 'the good Queen,' that they should have the lands free; and he will be less surprised at their stubbornness. * * * Their great difficulty proceeded from their ignorance of the utility and manner of granting deeds."

Adam Vrooman of Schenectady, in 1714, secured his patent of 1,500 acres of the richest land on the Schoharie for his son Peter Vrooman, who was the first of the many later Dutch settlers in the Schoharie Valley. Simms says: "He had a house erected previous to his moving there and other conveniences for living. The first summer, he employed several hands, planted considerable corn, and fenced in some of his land. In the following autumn, he returned, with his wife and children, to Schenectada to spend the winter, leaving a hired man by the name of Truax and two blacks, Morter and Mary, to take care of the property, of which he left considerable. Not long after Vrooman returned to Schenectada, Truax was most brutally murdered."

The German neighbors of Vrooman envied his rich lands. One of them named Moore conceived the idea that if Vrooman's farmhand was murdered that Vrooman would be afraid to return to his Schoharie home. It is supposed that Moore and Morter, the negro, cut Truax's throat, while he was asleep. At first there was no suspicion against Moore. Vrooman came from Schenectady, with officers and the negro slaves were taken to Albany where they were tried and executed, being burned alive. Moore kept out of sight and later fled to Pennsylvania.

When the Seven Partners of Albany found that the Schoharie Germans would not pay any attention to their demands that they lease or purchase the lands they occupied, they sent Sheriff Adams of Albany to arrest some of the "trespassers"—for the Palatine pioneers were squatters in the eyes of the law. Adams first stopped at Weiser's dorf. Here he was set upon by a mob led by a woman named Magdalene Zeh. She knocked Adams down by a blow from her fist. Then he was ridden on a rail through the settlements to a point on a bridge over Mill Creek, about seven miles from the starting point of the mob. Here Adams was thrown to the ground and the Zeh woman beat the official with a stake, breaking two of his ribs and blinding one of his eyes. After committing some unspeakable indecencies on the unconscious sheriff, the woman led her mob of Germans home, leaving their victim supposedly dead on the highway. This act of murderous

brutality probably did the Palatines more harm than any other of the unwise, illegal and criminal incidents mentioned. There is no doubt but that the law-abiding element was in the majority, but the foolish and brutal minority did unforgivable harm to the entire settlement. The leaders of the Palatines made a grave mistake to allow such mob violence, which could only end in disaster. These Germans had just cause for grievance against the authorities, but they thought, unwisely, that they could intimidate the Provincial officials and thus keep them off the lands, once promised them by the British government, but to which they had no legal title whatever.

Adams, the victim of the brutality of a vicious German woman and her ignorant, bloodthirsty mob, slowly revived and eventually, after three days, got to within seven miles of Albany, from whence he was taken into the city in a wagon by some passersby who discovered the wounded man. After this outburst of violence, the Schoharie Germans kept away from Albany for fear of punishment. As time wore on, evidently thinking that other people were as forgetful as they had mistakenly thought them timid, some of the Schoharie people began to come into the city of Albany. Finally, when a number of these German settlers came to Albany for their supply of salt, Sheriff Adams and a posse arrested them and threw them into prison. Among those put in the city dungeon was Conrad Weiser, Jr., who had tricked the Indians in the footrace. When the news reached Schoharie, the settlers held a meeting. John Newkirk drew up a petition of grievances, etc., and Conrad Weiser, one Casselman and another unnamed person were delegated to lay it "at the feet of King George, praying, at the time for his future protection against their enemies, the Albanians."

The Palatines imprisoned at Albany begged for release and agreed to lease or purchase their lands from the Seven Partners. They were then let free and allowed to depart for their homes.

In 1717, soon after these proceedings, Governor Hunter came to Albany and sent for three deputies from the Schoharie to come and confer with him. An argument on the question of the Schoharie lands followed, without any result. The Governor ordered the Palatine delegates to lease or buy of the Seven Partners, otherwise they were forbidden to plow or plant their lands. The settlers broke this order to keep themselves from starvation.

Conrad Weiser had fled from the Schoharie to Pennsylvania, upon the coming of Governor Hunter, who had threatened to hang him if Weiser could be apprehended. Weiser, Walrath and

Scheff were the deputies who finally went and embarked in a ship from Philadelphia, in order to bring the cause of the Schoharie Palatines before the English government. The ill luck which seems to have attended all the movements of these people was still at work and the ship in which the three deputies sailed was captured by pirates almost immediately after it issued from the Capes. They robbed the ship and its passengers and left the three German delegates without a copper. Weiser and his companions reached London penniless. Their petition was submitted to the government and referred to the Lords of Trade, by whom it was received with disfavor. Without friends and without funds, the three Palatine deputies were finally thrown into the debtor's prison. At length money arrived from their friends in Schoharie and they were liberated.

Scheff quarreled with Weiser and addressed an independent petition to the Board of Trade, in which he said that there are "about 160 families and about 1,000 souls at Schoharie. * * * They had built huts, houses and mills, improved the ground and had made a road about 24 miles to Albany." Weiser remained in London until 1723, without accomplishing anything of advantage to his people at home.

A census of the Palatine Germans in New York Province was taken in 1718. It did not include the widows and orphans for some reason. Aside from these, there were 1,601 Palatines in the entire province, with 680 on the Schoharie. Including everybody, there were probably at least 800 Palatine Germans along the Schoharie in 1718.

When Governor Burnett came to New York in 1720, he was directed to "settle those among the Palatines, who behave themselves with due submission to His Majesty's authority and are destitute of means of subsistence, upon such convenient lands as are not already disposed of." This instruction preceded and initiated the Stone Arabia and the Burnetsfield patents, as well as the granting of patents to some of the Schoharie Palatines. In 1722, several Schoharie German settlers obtained patents for lands along the Mohawk, in which year it is probable that several Germans from the Schoharie removed to the Mohawk west of the Noses. In 1722, Governor Burnett gave sixty Schoharie Palatine families permission to buy lands from the Indians between Fort Hunter and Canada Creek, evidently meaning West Canada Creek. This was probably the beginning of the important settlements of Stone Arabia and German Flats, and of the Fort Plain, St. Johnsville, Danube and Manheim neighborhoods. Governor

Burnett had a very disparaging opinion of the Palatines, and wrote, concerning their troubles that "This is managed by a few cunning persons, who lead the rest as they please, who are for the generality a laborious and honest, but headstrong and ignorant people."

Palatine immigrants had begun to enter Pennsylvania in 1717. In 1722 an Indian council was held at Albany, which was attended by Governor Burnett of New York and Governor Keith of Pennsylvania. Keith, hearing of the troubles of the Schoharie Palatines, offered them refuge in Pennsylvania. Fifteen heads of Schoharie families thereupon sent a petition to the governor and assembly of Pennsylvania, asking to be allowed to settle in that commonwealth. And now came the second great migration of the Schoharie Palatines. They probably, in all, then numbered nine hundred or more people. About one-third removed to Pennsylvania, settling principally in Berks, Lebanon and Lehigh counties. The leader of this party was Conrad Weiser, who led sixty families up the Schoharie to the portage to the Susquehanna. Arriving at this stream, the party made canoes, in which part of the band sailed down the river, while others drove their livestock along the banks. Most of this company came from Weiser's and Hartman's dorfs.

Another party of about the same number—300—migrated to the Mohawk where a number of Palatines had been settled since 1712. The Mohawk immigrants were under the leadership of Elias Garlock, the Schoharie justice of the peace and founder of Garlock's dorf.

Another third of the people chose to remain in their pleasant situation along the Schoharie, so that probably three hundred or more Palatines continued to make that picturesque valley their home. The places of the departed Germans were soon taken by other incomers, many of whom were of Holland Dutch birth or extraction, like Peter Vrooman, the first Dutch settler in the Schoharie Valley. These Dutchmen came from the Albany and Schenectady neighborhods, and, by the time of the Revolution, they formed a large element of the Schoharie population. There was also some influx of British settlers—English, Irish and Scotch. The Schoharie lands were too rich to go long untenanted. The Palatines who remained and the newcomers as well bought or leased their lands or secured new patents or grants of lands.

Regardless of the varying opinions concerning Weiser, peace and contentment reigned in the valley of the Schoharie after his departure. Concerning this matter, Simms very aptly writes:

"After the removal of Weiser and others from Schoharie, the difficulties, to which the ignorance and suspicions of the people had subjected them, were soon quieted and they once more became a happy community. They were careful afterwards to secure legal titles to their lands and, thereby, remove the danger of troubles in future, from a cause which had already tended greatly to decrease their numbers and harass their feelings."

The story of the Palatines now shifts from the Schoharie to the Mohawk Valley and their important settlements there, at and between, Stone Arabia and German Flats.

CHAPTER 35.

SETTLEMENT OF STONE ARABIA AND GERMAN FLATS, 1723-1725.

PALATINES SETTLE AT STONE ARABIA AND GERMAN FLATS—STONE ARABIA AND BURNETSFIELD PATENTS AND PATENTEES—SPELLING OF NAMES.

The most important royal grants of lands in the Mohawk Valley, were the Schenectady Patent of 1684, the Stone Arabia Patent of 1723, and the Burnetsfield or German Flats Patent of 1725. These were notable patents, not because of the great extent of the lands they allotted, but for the reason that they were grants not to Provincial favorites or politicians, but to companies of actual settlers who located along the Mohawk River, cleared the land, cultivated the soil and built homes. The bands of pioneers who took up these tracts consisted of about one hundred persons in each case. Although this is a comparatively small number, compared with some other settlements in America, yet each one of the three locations was important in itself, and collectively, as regards the Valley. The numbers were also large for the time and the place and the settlements were most important as regards our history. The founding of Schenectady, Schoharie, Stone Arabia, German Flats and later Cherry Valley brought Dutch, Palatine and Scotch populations into our Valley, which were naturally democratic in their tendencies. Thus, they later became strong Whig and patriot centers and bulwarks of the cause of American independence on a frontier more exposed to attack than any other in the Thirteen British Colonies. Had these settlements been made by pioneers of Tory tendencies, the history of our country might have been decidedly different. It was men of this stock, from the middle and upper settlements of the Mohawk Valley, who stopped St. Leger at Oriskany and there broke up Burgoyne's well concerted plans, so that victory could be won by the brave American warriors at Saratoga. From these facts, it can be readily seen that these three patents and the settlements made under them have an important bearing on American history.

So far as the author knows, there are no records concerning

STONE ARABIA PATENT, 1723

This map shows the location of the great tract of 18,000 acres granted the Palatine Germans in 1723. The creek on the right is the Cayadutta, mistakenly labeled the "Canada Creech," also the Alexander, De Peyster and Van Slyck and the Schuyler's patents.

the Palatine Germans who settled in Stone Arabia in 1712, at the time a much greater number of these people located on the Schoharie. It is very probable that such settlement was made at Stone Arabia in the year mentioned. Both Simms and Frothingham are agreed upon that point and both of these men talked with the sons of pioneer Palatines of Stone Arabia. These first settlers on the Palatine hills were technically "squatters" in the eyes of the law, just as were their brethren in Schoharie. They did not receive legal title to their lands until the granting of the Stone Arabia Patent of 1723. Between the coming of the Palatine Germans into the Valley of the Mohawk in 1712 and the issuance of the Stone Arabia Patent in 1723, there were probably other settlements of these people in the section between Stone Arabia and German Flats—the latter in the beginning probably on the sites of present Herkimer and Fort Herkimer. Such settlers at first bought lands of the Indians, trusting to receive later grants for them or to be able to purchase from other patentees. We do not know all the first settlers of the Mohawk Valley but that white pioneers were moving into the Middle and Upper Valley, at the time in question, is quite certain.

The order of the settlements of the Middle and Upper Mohawk Valley (that west of the Noses) is as follows: Heinrich Frey and family, at present Palatine Bridge, 1689; Palatine Germans at present Stone Arabia, 1712; Captain Harmanus Van Slyck, between Palatine Bridge and Nelliston, 1716; Palatine Germans at present German Flats, 1720-25. The district in between the two latter places was scatteringly settled at about the same time.

The Stone Arabia patent was granted, October 19th, 1723, to twenty-seven Palatines, who with their families, numbered 127 persons. The tract conveyed by this patent contained 12,700 acres and was divided into twenty-eight equal parts. Fifty-one lots of fifty acres each were laid out on the track and each twenty-eighth part consisted of one or more of these lots, together with a portion of the undivided land, except that two of the patentees, Lodowick Casselman and Gerhart Shaeffer took their entire twenty-eights from the undivided portion. Bartholomew Picard took, with his four lots, enough of the undivided land to make two twenty-eighths of the grant. With these exceptions, each patentee's portion included enough of the undivided land to make one twenty-eighth of the grant when added to his lot or lots, these lots being set out and granted in severalty as follows:

Lots Nos. 1 and 47 to Warner Digert; lots Nos. 2, 44, 8 and 48 to Bartholomew Picard; lots Nos. 3 and 36 to Johannes Schell;

lots Nos. 4 and 17 to Jacob Schell; lots Nos. 5 and 25 to Johannes Cremse; lots Nos. 6 and 46 to Johannes Emiger; lot No. 7 to Wm. Vocks; lots Nos. 9 and 24 to John Christian Garlack; lots Nos. 10 and 19 to Mardan Dillenbeck; lots Nos. 11 and 14 to Adam Emiger; lots Nos. 12 and 41 to John Lawyer; lots Nos. 13 and 38 to Andries Feink; lots Nos. 15 and 45 to Hendrick Frey; lots Nos. 16 and 40 to Theobald Garlack; lots Nos. 18 and 28 to Sufferimas Diegert; lots Nos. 20 and 34 to Wm. Coppernoll; lots Nos. 21 and 37 to Andries Peiper; lots Nos. 22 and 50 to Mardan Seibert; lots Nos. 23 and 39 to Hans Deterick Casselman; lots Nos. 26 and 33 to Christian Fink; lots Nos. 27 and 49 to Johannes Ingolt; lots Nos. 29 and 51 to Elias Garlack; lots Nos. 30 and 43 to Simon Erchart; lots Nos. 31 and 35 to John Joost Schell; lots Nos. 32 and 42 to William Nelse.

The foregoing names are generally differently spelled at present but, like many similar instances, the above spellings may be the errors of the clerk who wrote the document. Similar errors in names may be similarly caused in the Burnetsfield (German Flats) patent of 1725. All the foregoing Stone Arabia patentees were Palatine Germans, with the exception of Frey, a Swiss and Coppernoll a Hollander.

Among the patentees will be noted Elias Garlock, founder of Garlock's dorf on the Schoharie at the time of the settlement there in 1712. As previously mentioned he was the Schoharie Valley justice and a leading man of that community. Simms says "Elias Garlock, the founder of Garlock's dorf, removed to the Mohawk, accompanied by several of his neighbors. Some of the party had relatives or friends there who located at the time the Schoharie settlements were begun, which induced them to remove thither. They settled in and about Canajoharie, at Stone Arabia, or upon the German Flats." Garlock seems to have been the leader of the Schoharie Palatines, who wished to locate on the Mohawk rather than remain in the Schoharie Valley or go to Pennsylvania with Weiser.

The present-day forms of the names of the Stone Arabia patentees follows, with the patent spelling in parentheses: Pickard (Picard), Shaul (Schell), Gremps (Cremse), Emiger, Fox (Vocks), Garlock (Garlack), Lawyer, Dillenbeck, Fink (Feink), Frey, Dygert (Digert, Diegert), Coppernoll, Piper (Peiper), Seeber (Seibert), Casselman, England (Ingolt), Ecker (Erchart), Nellis (Nelse).

The first years of the newcomers in Stone Arabia, must have been spent in the hard work of cutting off the great forest, clear-

ing the land, planting crops and building log houses and barns, and a log church in 1729 on the site of the Stone Arabia Lutheran Church. During this time, it is probable that some of these pioneers or their grown children located along the Mohawk River between the Stone Arabia section and the German Flats. The present Fort Plain section was settled by Palatine pioneers by the names of Crouse, Lipe and Seeber. The St. Johnsville village neighborhood and township was first settled by Palatine families by the names of Klock, Fox, Helmer, Timmerman (also spelled Zimmerman), Veeling, Woolrat (Walrath), Johnson. Probably, the last named was not a Palatine. There were Dutch and British settlers who came into the Middle Mohawk Valley in the early years of its settlement by the Palatine Germans.

The author has been unable to learn the pioneer settlers of the township of Danube in Herkimer County. The earliest settlers of the township of Manheim, Herkimer County are unknown but, probably by 1750, there was a considerable settlement there of Palatines and others by the names of Garter, Newman, Pickert, Van Slyck, Windecker, Cypher, Helmer, Uher, Attle, etc. At Little Falls a lone Palatine named Petri settled with his family and built a mill about 1725, which was the only family at "the Falls" until after the Revolution.

We now come to the settlement of the Palatines at the beautiful Mohawk River region in the Herkimer—Fort Herkimer section. After detailed mention of this important settlement, the history of the Palatine German locations along the Mohawk belongs to the general history of the Mohawk Valley. To those descendants of the Palatines, to whom the turbulent history of the early Palatine settlements on the Schoharie forms somewhat disagreeable reading, it is a pleasure to contemplate their record in their homes along the Mohawk River. Here they formed an industrious and peaceful element, which constituted a powerful support to the cause of American freedom in the later War for Independence. The migration of the Palatines from Schoharie to the Mohawk in 1722, together with those who landed in New York in 1722 and came to the Middle and Upper Mohawk Valley, made a great increase in the population and must have brought the population of the entire Mohawk Valley to above 2,000 in 1725. From that year onward, the population increase was more rapid until there were probably 20,000 people living in the watershed of the Mohawk River at the outbreak of the Revolution.

It is probable that some Palatines located at German Flats in 1720. It must be remembered that German Flats was a general

name which covered the flatlands on both sides of the Mohawk River in what is now Western Herkimer County, by which name this whole region west of the Little Falls was known up to the time of the Revolutionary war. It is a sectional name which covered an entire River region. Similarly, the immediate River valley, east of Little Falls to the Noses, was known as Canajoharie, at the same period. As is obvious, the name German Flats came from the location there of the Palatine German pioneers.

The third company of Palatines to land at New York, reached there in October, 1722. They came from Holland and touched at England on the voyage. This was the only shipload of Palatines which reached New York after the great immigration of 1710, all others having gone to Philadelphia for settlement in Pennsylvania. Cobb suggests that this one ship was driven out of its course and so landed its passengers at New York. On this boat were four people by the name of Erghemar (Herkimer). General Nicholas Herkimer, the hero of Oriskany, was a son of one of these Palatine arrivals of 1722, Johan Jost Herkimer, who soon came to German Flats, as subsequently noted. A number of other settlers there are supposed to have been immigrants of the 1722 Palatine ship. The Indian deed for the German Flats is dated July 9, 1722, and it is probable that a number of Palatines were located here then or soon thereafter and that, by the time the Burnetsfield Patent for these lands was granted in 1725, there was a German settlement here then well under way.

The "History of Herkimer County and the Upper Mohawk Valley", by Hon. Nathaniel S. Benton is the best authority on the Palatine settlements in present Herkimer County and the following is taken therefrom, regarding the Palatine settlement of German Flats and the Burnetsfield Patent of 1725:

"The precise time when the Palatines made their first lodgment in the county is not ascertained. It was not later than 1725. Some, who have speculated upon the subject, suppose they came up the Mohawk Valley as far as the Little Falls and to the Stone Ridge, as early as the year 1720. Their agents, sent to spy out the lands, may have traversed the Valley to the western bounds of the territory claimed by the Mohawk Indians as early as 1720, and, perhaps, before that period; but Governor Burnet had not fixed them, in the new settlement he had obtained for them of the Indians at a very easy purchase, as late as November, 1722, and he, that year, permitted some of them to purchase lands of the Indians 'on a creek called Canada Creek.' They secured the

carrying place at the lesser falls [Little Falls], as well as a long extent of wilderness country above by their Indian deed; and the license of the Colonial government to make the purchase, may have been considered, by both parties, an authorization for them to remove before the patent was made out, as it no doubt was a solemn, irrevocable public pledge that the lands would be granted by the crown as soon as they should be surveyed. On this hypothesis, it may be conjectured that settlements were made at or near the present site of the [Fort Herkimer] Stone Church, in the town of German Flats and at Herkimer village, as early as the years 1723-24, if not before. Owning the lands at the carrying place, it is not likely that point was long neglected or unimproved.

"Burnetsfield patent, so called in popular parlance, is a curious document and well worthy of some special notice. It was granted on the 30th of April, 1725. It recites that 'whereas our loving subjects, John Joost Patri and Coenradt Rickert, in behalf of themselves and other distressed Palatines, by their humble petition presented the 17th of January, 1722, to our trusty and well beloved William Burnet, Esq., Captain General and Governor in chief of the province of New York, in council have set forth that in accordance with the governor's license they had purchased 'of the native Indians in the Mohawk's country' the tract of land on both sides of the 'Mohawk's river' commencing at the 'first carrying place [Little Falls] being the easternmost bounds called by the natives Astourogen, running along on both sides of said river westerly unto a place called Gauondagaraon, on the upper end of it', being 'about twenty-four English miles along on both sides of the said river'. The Indian deed is dated July 9th, 1722. That the council advised the governor 'to grant to each of the said persons, man, woman and child, as are desirous to settle within the limits of said tract of land, the quantity of one hundred acres.'

"The grantees were to hold the land in free and common soccage, that being the usual tenure named in the colonial grants at this time, as of the manor of East Greenwich in the County of Kent, in Great Britain, subject to an annual quit-rent of two shillings and sixpence per hundred acres, and on condition that the grantees, their heirs and assigns, should, within three years from the date, plant, settle and effectively cultivate at least three acres of land of every fifty acres granted to them. This patent also contains the usual reservation of gold and silver mines, tim-

ber fit for the royal navy, and the right to enter upon the lands and take and carry away the same.

"Of the ninety-two persons named in the patent to whom lands were granted, twenty-two appear to be females, by the description, married, single or widowed. The paper does not disclose the number of families or the heads of families represented by males who settled on the tract, or how many one hundred acre lots went to any one family, husband, wife and children."

The form of all English royal grants in the province of New York is similar in that they are given "as of the manor of East Greenwich, in the County of Kent in Great Britain, etc." East Greenwich was a manor belonging to the Crown and this wording of our Colonial patents implied a personal ownership of the New York lands, vested in the King of England and not in the Kingdom of Great Britain.

The list of patentees, under the Burnetsfield patent for lands at German Flats, with the number of each lot, its location as to the north or south side of the river and occasional notes as to locations near present towns, etc., follows, the names being given in alphabetical order:

Mary Beerman, Lot No. 11, 100 acres, north, at Little Falls.

Johannes Beerman, two lots of 100 acres, each numbered 26, north.

Jacob Bowman, Lot No. 27, 100 acres, south.

Johan Adam Bowman, two Lots No. 14, each of 30 acres, north. (Note: All the 30 acre lots were set on what was called the Great Flats, in and near the present village of Herkimer. The 70 acre lots are described in the patent as woodland.)

Anna Dacksteder, wife of Jurgh Dacksteder, Lot No. 28, 100 acres, south.

Jurgh Dacksteder, Lot No. 18, 30 acres, north. Lot No. 18, 70 acres, north.

Elizabeth Edich, Lot No. 5, 100 acres, north.

Johan Michael Edigh, Lot No. 33, 100 acres, south.

Jacob Edich, Lot No. 21, 100 acres, south.

Michael Editch, Lot No. 20, 100 acres, south; Mohawk village.

Jurgh Ehrghemar, Lot No. 44, 100 acres, south.

Johan Jost Erghemar, Lot No. 36, 100 acres, south, east of present Fort Herkimer Church.

Madalana Erghemar, Lot No. 24, 70 acres, south, (and large island in the river).

Catharina Erghemar (wife of Johan Jost Erghemar), Lot No. 5, 100 acres, south.

Nicholas Feller, Lot No. 7, 30 acres, north. Lot No. 7, 70 acres, north.

Mary Feller, (wife of Nicholas Feller), Lot No. 16, 100 acres, south.

Coenradt Felmore, Lot No. 19, 100 acres, south; at Mohawk village.

Christina Felmore, Lot No. 18, 100 acres, south.

Jacob Fols, Lot No. 3, 100 acres, south.

Melgert Fols, Lot No. 2, 30 acres, north. Lot. No. 2, 70 acres, north.

Christopher Fox, Lot No. 26, 100 acres, south.

Henry Heger, Lot No. 8, 100 acres, north.

Elizabeth Helmer, (wife of Lendert Helmer), Lot No. 14, 100 acres, north.

Philip Helmer, Lot No. 25, 100 acres, north, east side of West Canada Creek.

Johan Adam Helmer, Lot No. 6, 30 acres, north. Lot No. 6, 70 acres, north.

Lendert Helmer, Lot No. 21, 30 acres, north. Lot No. 21, 70 acres, north.

Frederick Helmer, Lot No. 1, 100 acres, north.

Anna Margaret (wife of John Adam Helmer), Lot No. 12, 100 acres, south.

Apolone Herter, Lot No. 7, 100 acres, south.

Lowrens Herter, Lot No. 37, 100 acres, south.

Augustines Hess, Lot No. 10, 100 acres, north; at the Little Falls.

Johannes Hoss, Lot No. 31, 100 acres, south.

Johannes Keslaer, Lot No. 45, 100 acres, south.

Nicholas Keslaer, Lot No. 25, 100 acres, south.

Johan Jurgh Kast, Jr., Lot No. 5, 30 acres, north. Lot No. 5, 70 acres, north.

Johan Jurgh Kast, Lot No. 22, 30 acres, north. Lot No. 22, 70 acres, north.

Mary Catherine Koons, (widow), Lot No. 1, 30 acres, north. Lot No. 1, 70 acres, north.

Rudolph Korsing, Lot No. 29, 100 acres, south.

Belia Korsing (wife of Rudolph Korsing), Lot No. 13, 100 acres, south.

Lodowick Koues, Lot No. 2, 100 acres, south.

Anna Catherine Lant (widow), Lot No. 13, 30 acres, north. Lot No. 13, 70 acres, north.

Hendrick Mayor, Lot No. 11, 30 acres, north. Lot No. 11, 70 acres, north.

Anna Mayor, Lot No. 29, 100 acres, south; opposite Great Flats.

Conradt Orendros, Lot No. 40, 100 acres, south.

Hendrick Orendorf, Lot No. 39, 100 acres, south.

Catherine Pears, Lot No. 23, 100 acres, south; opposite Great Flats [Herkimer village].

Lodowick Pears, Lot No. 27, 90 acres, north, and one-quarter of an island.

Frederick Pell, Lot No. 15, 100 acres, north. On east side of West Canada Creek.

Anna Mary Pell, Lot No. 16, 100 acres, north. Same (meaning same location on east side of West Canada Creek.)

Johannes Pellinger, Lot No. 20, 30 acres, north. Lot No. 20, 70 acres, north.

Peter Pellinger, Lot No. 23, 30 acres, north. Lot No. 23, 70 acres, north.

Margaret Pellinger (wife of Peter Pellinger), Lot No. 4, 100 acres, north.

Frederick Pellinger, Lot No. 35, 100 acres, south.

Margaret Pellinger (wife of Johannes Pellinger), Lot No. 22, 100 acres, south; near Mohawk village.

Johan Joost Petri, Lot No. 8, 30 acres, north. Lot No. 8, 70 acres, north.

Gurtruydt Petri (wife of Johan Joost Petri), Lot No. 17, 86 acres, north; Stone Ridge, Herkimer village.

Mark Petri, Lot No. 15, 100 acres, south.

Johannes Poenradt, Lot No. 46, 100 acres, north.

Gurtruydt Poenradt, (wife of Johannes Poenradt), Lot No. 9, 100 acres, north.

Godfrey Reele, Lot No. 15, 30 acres, north. Lot No. 15, 70 acres, north.

Godfrey Reele, Jr., Lot No. 10, 100 acres, south.

Godfrey Reele, Lot No. 10, 100 acres, south; at Ilion village.

Lodowick Rickert, Lot No. 19, 30 acres, north. Lot No. 19, 70 acres, north.

Catharine Rickert, Lot No. 3, 100 acres, north.

Conradt Rickert, Lot No. 34, 100 acres, south.

Mark Rickert, Lot No. 6, 100 acres, south.

Rudolph Shoemaker, Lot. No. 17, 100 acres, south.

Thomas Shoemaker, Lot No. 12, 30 acres, north. Lot No. 12, 70 acres, north.

Adam Michael Smith, Lot No. 4, 30 acres, north. Lot No. 4, 70 acres, north.

Johan Jurgh Smith, Lot No. 9, 30 acres, north. Lot No. 9, 70 acres, north.

Ephraim Smith, Lot No. 9, 100 acres, south; at Ilion village.

Marte Smith, Lot No. 4, 100 acres, south.

Peter Speis, Lot No. 38, 100 acres, south.

Elizabeth Speis (wife of Peter Speis), Lot No. 8, 100 acres, south.

Hendrik Spoon, Lot No. 32, 100 acres, south.

Hendrik Spoon, Jr., Lot No. 7, 100 acres, north.

Mary Eva Staring (wife of John Adam Staring), Lot No. 13, 100 acres, north; at the Little Falls.

John Adam Staring, Lot No. 28, 94 acres, north, and three-quarters of an island.

Frederick Staring, Lot No. 24, 30 acres, north. Lot No. 24, 70 acres, north.

Johannes Velden Staring, Lot No. 6, 100 acres, north.

Nicholas Staring, Lot No. 42, 100 acres, south.

Joseph Staring, Lot No. 41, 100 acres, south.

John Velde Staring, Jr., Lot No. 1, 100 acres, south.

John Jost Temouth, Lot No. 12, 100 acres, north; at Little Falls.

Frederigh Temouth, Lot No. 17, 30 acres, north. Lot No. 17, 70 acres, north.

John Veldelent, Lot No. 3, 30 acres, north. Lot No. 3, 70 acres, north.

Anna Veldelent, Lot No. 2, 100 acres, north.

Jacob Wever, Lot No. 10, 30 acres, north. Lot No. 10, 70 acres, north.

Nicholas Wever, Lot No. 16, 30 acres, north. Lot No. 16, 70 acres, north.

Andries Wever, Lot No. 11, 100 acres, south.

Jacob Wever, Jr., Lot No. 15, 100 acres, south.

Nicholas Welleven, Lot No. 30, 100 acres, south; at Fort Herkimer Stone Church.

On the site of the present village of Herkimer was an outcrop of stone and, from this fact the place became known as Stone Ridge. Here, at the outlet of West Canada Creek, were the widest flats between Little Falls and the eastern slopes of present Dutch Hill, so that the Herkimer village section also was called Great Flat, from its earliest days. The patent gave some of the Palatine Germans 70 acre woodland lots elsewhere and small plots

of thirty acres, over this Great Flat, which brought together a considerable population, in a comparatively small area, from which fact, the Herkimer section was called Palatine village. As the lands were flats of the river and the settlers were Germans, the place became known as German Flats. This name was a designation, not only of the Herkimer village section, but of the entire section peopled by Germans, between Little Falls and their western settlements which extended nearly to the eastern boundaries of present Utica—and it continued in such use for over a century. Because of the patent issued by Governor William Burnet, the village and its section was also called Burnetsfield, which had a semi-official but not a general usage. The popular name was German Flats, for the village on the site of Herkimer and for the Upper Mohawk Valley region peopled by these Palatine Germans, during both Colonial and Revolutionary times.

The Palatine south shore river neighborhood and its center lay some two miles eastward of Herkimer. It was first known as Okwari or Kouari, a Mohawk word meaning "Bear", but was later called Herkimer's because of the trading post there located by Johan Jost Herkimer, father of General Nicholas Herkimer. The clerical error, which transposed the name of Herkimer from the south to the north shore of the Mohawk and that of German Flats from the north to the south side will be noted in the post-Revolutionary chapter dealing with the incorporation of Herkimer as a village in 1807.

In point of settlement Herkimer is the seventh oldest of our valley villages, the hamlet of Fort Herkimer also dating from the same year—1722. The settlement of Stone Arabia antedated Herkimer, but no village ensued from the Stone Arabia settlement, which, at first, seems to have also been larger than that of German Flats.

The oldest towns, in point of age, in the watershed of the Mohawk are the following: Scotia, 1658; Schenectady, 1661; Palatine Bridge, 1689; Fort Hunter, 1711; Schoharie, 1712; Middleburg, 1712; Herkimer and Fort Herkimer, 1722. The present sites of Fort Plain, St. Johnsville, Little Falls, Mohawk, Ilion and Frankfort were settled by Palatine Germans about 1725. Caughnawaga, (Fonda) was probably settled about the same time; Canajoharie about 1730; Johnstown, 1755. Cherry Valley, while not in the Mohawk Valley is a part of it historically. It was settled in 1740, and, in 1738, the first settlement at Amsterdam was made by Sir William Johnson.

The names of the first Palatine settlers of Herkimer were as

follows: Bowman, Dacksteder, Feller, (Fuller) Fols, (Folts), Helmer, Kast, Koons, Lant, Mayor (Moyer), Pellinger (Bellinger), Petri, Reele, Rickert (Rickard), Smith, Staring (Starin), Temouth (Demuth), Veldelent, Weaver.

The earliest events of importance in the history of the Palatine settlements of German Flats were probably the building of a grist mill on Spoon Creek, near present Fort Herkimer Church, the opening of a general store or Indian trading station by Johan Jost Herkimer, east of the Church, the building of log churches at both Fort Herkimer and Herkimer—all probably about the year 1723.

As previously stated, this chapter deals only with the settlement of Palatines along the Mohawk River, as their later history belongs to that of the Valley as a whole. Some mention of Johan Jost Herkimer is here in order as he became the leading citizen among the Palatines of the German Flats section and the father of General Herkimer. The English form of his name is John Joseph Herkimer.

Fort Herkimer takes its name from Johan Jost Herkimer. He came to America, landing in New York in 1722. With him came Catharina, his wife and it is reasonably certain that Jurgh and Magdalana Herkimer, who arrived with him, were his parents. They evidently died at a comparatively early period, leaving no other children besides Johan Jost, who inherited their lots. Tradition says that Johan Jost Herkimer carried a child on his back, from Schenectady to Fort Herkimer. This must have been Catharine, his eldest child. Nicholas, his eldest son and later General Herkimer, was born in his father's log house east of Fort Herkimer in 1728. A D. A. R. marker of 1912 locates the birthplace of this most famous of our Valley Revolutionary patriots.

Johan Jost Herkimer, the pioneer, was a man of tremendous physical strength. A family record (written by Major John Frey, a relative by marriage) says that, on Johan Jost's arrival at his future home in the wilderness, he asked permission of the Indians to there build a cabin. At first, the red men refused. A band of Mohawks, at the time, were endeavoring to carry a dugout canoe, from the forest where they had made it to the river. These dugouts were made from a log, by burning and scraping the charred wood. They frequently were large enough to hold a dozen or more warriors and were generally used to carry war, hunting, or fishing parties along the river at high water. They were the largest craft plying the waters of the Mohawk, in early days, and naturally, they were very heavy. Johan Jost watched the Indians

for a time as they made slow progress toward the river, with their heavy burden. Finally the stalwart Herkimer stepped forward and motioned all the red men to one end of the dugout, while he grasped the other prow. In this fashion the boat was soon brought to the river bank. Like all savages and all real men, the world over, the Indians were great admirers of the strong and the brave. The Mohawks clapped Herkimer on the back, called him "the Bear," and gladly gave him permission to build a log house and cultivate the land. From thenceforth, Herkimer, "the Bear," was a great favorite with the Mohawks, a fact which aided him greatly in his after life. Herkimer became a great landowner, trader, contractor, interpreter, and a carrier at the Little Falls and Wolf's Rift. He was the leading figure in the Colonial life of the German Flats settlements and chiefly instrumental in the construction of the Fort Herkimer Reformed Church, which bears his initials, as its builder on the north side of its ancient grey stone walls. The further activities of Johan Jost and his large family of children, enter into our story later on.

At last the Palatines had secured lands along the Mohawk where they could build homes for the future and gain subsistence and moderate wealth from the rich soil of its flats. Their settlement was the most advanced on the frontier of the Mohawk River, the most exposed to French and Indian attack in the Province. The sufferings of our Palatine ancestors in the Great French war and the brave part they played in the Revolution enter into later chapters of this history.

CHAPTER 36.

MOHAWK VALLEY HISTORY FROM 1713 TO 1744.

EVENTS AND LIFE IN THE VALLEY IN THE GREAT CONSTRUCTIVE PEACE PERIOD BETWEEN THE CLOSE OF QUEEN ANNE'S WAR AND THE BEGINNING OF KING GEORGE'S, OR THE OLD FRENCH WAR—1727, FREEDOM OF TRADE IN SCHENECTADY AND THE BEGINNING OF BATTEAUX TRAFFIC ON THE MOHAWK.

The period, from the ending of Queen Anne's war in 1714 to the beginning (in 1743) of the third French-British War in the Colonies, constituted a time of peace and progress in the Mohawk Valley. The latter conflict was variously called the Old French war and King George's war. This long interval, in the French and British conflict for American supremacy, was a most fruitful one for our Valley.

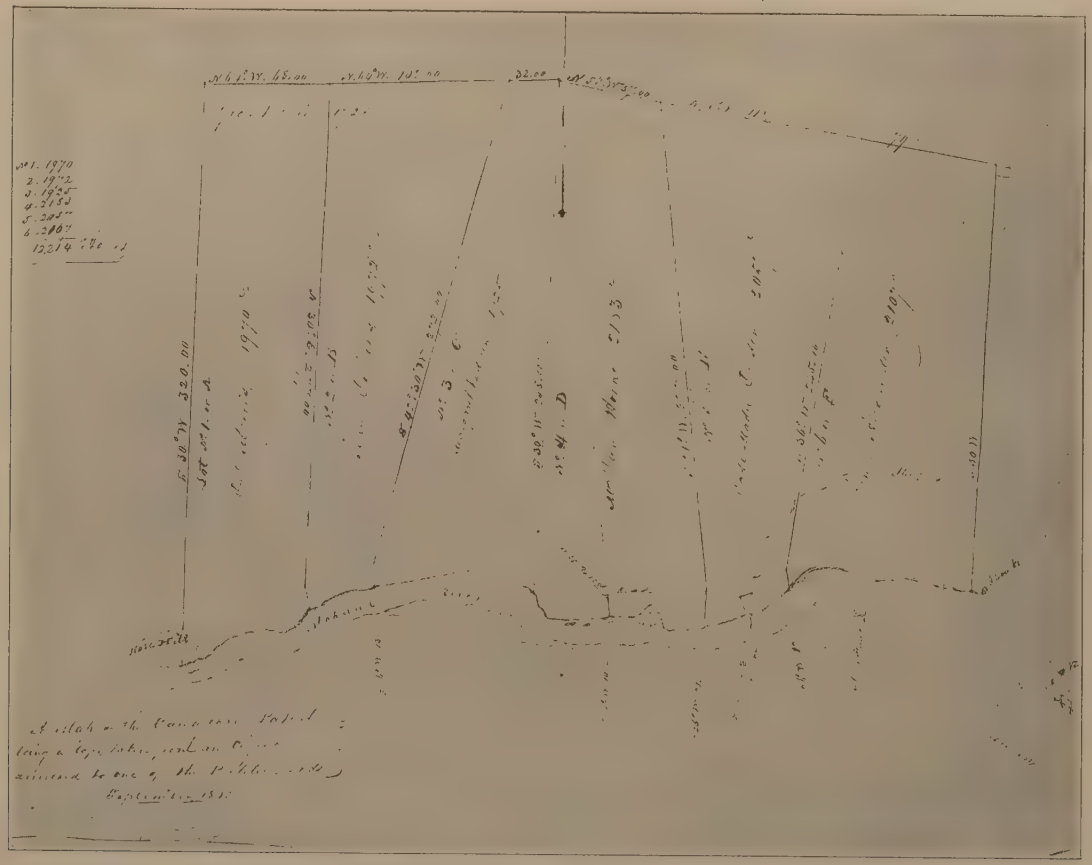
During this time, the river section was sparsely settled, at least, from the mouth of the Mohawk to its shores at present Frankfort—a distance of over ninety miles of the river's course. The eastern half of this was settled by Holland Dutch, while the western half was peopled by Palatine Germans. Other elements such as British and a few Huguenot French came in at this time.

In the same period, an important settlement of Scotch and Scotch-Irish was made at Cherry Valley just over the divide between the Mohawk and the Susquehanna valleys. This latter location geographically is not in the Mohawk watershed but its early history belongs entirely with that of the Mohawk Valley.

The Schoharie Valley section during this time suffered a loss of population by the emigration of two-thirds of its pioneers to the Mohawk River region and to Pennsylvania. However, this was made up by a natural increase of the population of Palatine Germans and an influx of Americans of Holland Dutch and British stocks.

The years from 1713 to 1744 marked the growth of civilized society along the Mohawk, and the development of a strong and numerous population, which materially helped toward English success in the great French war and which also constituted a vital factor in the War of Independence.

One of the most important events of the period, following the close of Queen Anne's war in 1713, was the migration of the



THE CANAJOHARIE PATENT OF 1723
From the collection of Mr. S. Ludlow Frey, Palatine Bridge.

Tuscaroras to the Oneida country, where they became the sixth nation of the Iroquois League. They were an Iroquois people who had migrated southward and settled in Carolina. They massacred over 130 white settlers in one day in 1711, but, in 1713, they were terribly defeated and 800 of them were sold as slaves.

The remainder of this strong tribe found refuge with the Iroquois. They were received into the League as "younger brothers," and henceforth the Five Nations were known as the Six Nations. The Tuscaroras were settled in the Oneida country south of the Oneida villages.

In 1715, the Six Nations attended a council, at Albany, at which Dekanissora, the Mohawk orator, returned "the unfortunate hatchet given him against Canada, and they must never give so poor a one again," referring to the war failures of New York in Queen Anne's war.

In 1715 and 1719, the New York Assembly passed acts for repairing the Schenectady fort and yet in 1720 both Fort Hunter and Fort Schenectady were said to have been dilapidated.

In 1715, Schenectady township had two companies of militia numbering 116 men. With very few exceptions, these militiamen were Holland Dutch or Americans of Dutch descent. Their roster follows, as taken from the old records:

"1st FOOT COMPANY OF SCHENy. 'D Leyst van Capt. Johs Sandersa Glen zyn Compenye.

"Capt. J. Sanderse Glen, Luyt Gerret Symer feedr [Veeder], Luyt Jan Wemp, Luyt Arent Brat, Luyt Barent Wemp, Corpr Evert V. Eps, Corpr theunis V. d Volge, Corpr Manus Vedder, Abm Glen, pieter Vrooman Jur, ghysbert V. Brakel, Helmus Veeder, Sohs teller Jur, Jacob Swits, Sanders Glen, Cornelis Van Dyck, Claes franse [V. D. Bogart], Jacob Schermerhorn, Jan Schermerhorn, Symon tol, Jan Dellemont, Andries V. Pette, Jan Marselus, Jacob V. Olinda, Johs Vedder, Cornelis Viele, Cornelis V. Slyck, David Marenus, Joh Peck, Jellis fonda, Jacobus Peck Jr, Abrm D. Graef, Pieter Danyelse [V. Antwerpen], philip philips, symon folkertse feeder [Veeder], Jacob Vrooman, pieter quinez, Jelles Van Vorst, Abrm Groot, Cornelis Singerlant, theunis Swart, Dirck Groot, Sweer Marselus, Jan baptist V. Eps, Arent Danyelse [V. Antwerpen], Barent Vrooman, Hendrick Vrooman Jr, Myndert Wimp, Jacob teller, Willem Marenus, Claas V. Putte jr, Jacob flipse [Philipse], Welm hael [Hall], Robert Ets [Yates], Nicolas Stensel, Arent Samuel brat, Symon Groot, Marte V. Slyck, Hendrick flipse [Philipse], Wilm Daes.

"Signed, John Sanderse Glen, Gerret Symonse (Veeder), Jan Wemp. In all sixty men."

"2d FOOT COMPANY OF SCHEN. D. Leyst van Capt. Harme van Slyck Companye ano. 1715.

"Capt. Harme V. Slyck, Luyt Hendrick Vrooman, Luyt Jacob Glen, Sergant Johs teller, Sergant Gerret V. Brakel, Sergant folcket Symonse [Veeder], Corpl Jacob V. Ghyselinge, Corpl Andries D. Graaf, Corpl Harme Vedder, Jan Barentse Wemp, Jan Vrooman Jr, Cornelus Van der Volge, Benyemen V. Vleck, Marte V. Venthuysen, Samuel Hagadorn, Willem teller, Wouter Vrooman, Jan Danyelse [V. Antwerpen], Esyas Swart, Joseph Clement, Arent Schermerhorn, Jacob Meebie, Myndert Van ghyselinge, Johs Marenus, flitoor pootman, Daniel tol, Bertolomew picker Jr., Johs Van Eps, Simon Swits, Arenout d Graef, Wilm Brouwer, Pieter mebie, Tyerck franse [V. D. Bogart], Philip Groot, ysack d Graaf, Philip Bosie, Johannes Vrooman, Abraham Meebe, Harme Vedder Jur, Jonetan Stevens, Arent Van Putte, Jacobus Veeder, Wouter Swart, Jeremy tickstoon, Sanders flipse [Philipse], Wilm Coppernol, Hendrick hagedorn, Pieter Vrooman, Harme flipse [Philipse], Robt Dyyer, Nicklas Stevens, Pieter Brouwer, pieter Clement, Adam Smith, John feerly.

"Signed Harme V. Slyck, hendrick Vrooman, Jacob Glen. In all 56 men."

The year 1715 is a most notable one in the Mohawk Valley, because one of its greatest citizens and a world famous historical figure then first saw the light of day. This infant was born in Smithtown, County Meath, Ireland. He was christened William Johnson, and when he grew to manhood he came across the seas to the Mohawk Valley where he became Indian commissioner for all the English colonies, a major general of militia, member of the governor's council and a baronet with one of the greatest landed estates in America.

In 1716, the Mohawks granted to Captain Harmanus Van Slyck of Schenectady, all the land bordering on the Mohawk River, from the Big Nose westward to the present eastern limits of Nelleston, a distance of about seven miles. This grant was made because of Van Slyck's Mohawk Indian relationship, his grandfather, Cornelis Antonise Van Slyck having married Otstoch, a Mohawk-French halfbreed squaw. The father of Captain Harmanus was Jacques Cornelise Van Slyck, who was born among the Mohawks and who later became a proprietor under the Schenectady patents of 1664. Captain Van Slyck settled on his lands and built a house and sawmill about one and one-half miles west

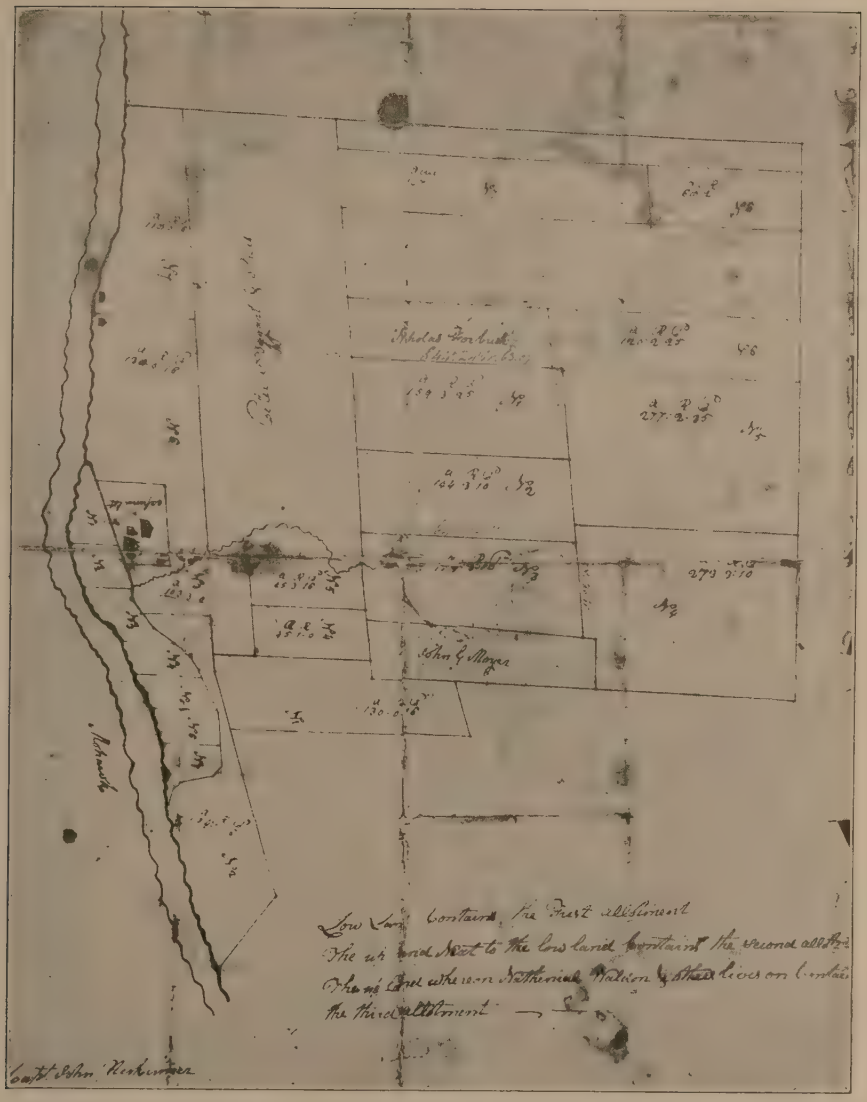
of present Palatine Bridge. At this time, Van Slyck may have been the most westerly settler along the river.

In 1716, Hendrick was deposed as a chief of the Mohawk tribe, probably due to politics in our nation of Caniengas or Flint People. Hendrick was then resident at the upper or Canajoharie castle. The people of this largest Mohawk village were often called Canajoharies, although they were Mohawks the same as the Indians of the lower castle at Fort Hunter. The people of Tarajories on Prospect Hill, constituted a village but not a castle, as their little town was not palisaded, as were the Upper and Lower castles. Hendrick was reinstated as a Mohawk chief in 1720.

In 1716, Vandreuil, the French governor of Canada, again started overtures to the Senecas to draw them from their friendship with the English. From this time, until the beginning of the third French-English war, there were constant intrigue and political and diplomatic activity between the French and English and the Six Nations. Council after council was held at Albany "to keep the chain of friendship bright." The English influence, during this period of peace, continued to remain stronger than the French, largely due to the fact that Albany furnished better trading facilities to the red men than Montreal, and to the influence of the Mohawks in the councils of the Six Nations.

The Albany authorities built two wooden buildings (15x75 ft.) to accommodate the many Indians who came to the councils. The Six Nations and the western Indians journeyed to the Albany councils by way of the Mohawk Indian trails and it was not infrequent for the red men to dine off one of the settlers' cattle. Complaints were made by the Mohawk River pioneers but the Indians replied in council by saying that if the Albany authorities supplied them with sufficient provisions then the cattle of the Mohawk River farmers would be untouched. The Indians and their councils were a cause of unending trouble to the Provincial authorities. They had to be constantly placated or there was danger of their allying themselves with the French, in which case border warfare would have been a constant menace.

In 1716, Philip Groat of Rotterdam, acquired from the Mohawks a strip of land in the eastern part of the present township of Amsterdam, Montgomery County. It embraced the present site of Cranesville. Groat set out in a sleigh from Schenectady, during the winter, to go to his new home. While crossing the Mohawk River, the horses and sleigh broke through the ice and Groat and a woman companion were drowned. The Widow Groat



MAP OF THE LINDSAY AND LIVINGSTON PATENT IN THE TOWN OF DANUBE

Three thousand acres granted to John Lindsay and Phillip Livingston. Lindsay was the founder of Cherry Valley; granted August 24, 1736. (From the collection of Mr. S. Ludlow Frey, Palatine Bridge.)

and three sons, Simon, Jacob and Lewis, made the settlement, together with some farm servants. In 1730, the Groat brothers erected a mill at present Cranesville.

In 1717, Peter Vrooman made a permanent settlement at Vroomans Land, on the grant obtained by his father, Adam Vrooman, in 1714, and where Vrooman's farm hand, Truax, had been murdered by Moore, a German, and Morter, a Vrooman family negro slave, in 1715. The Palatines thought that Vrooman would be intimidated by the murder, thus showing their ignorance of the brave and tenacious Dutch character. Peter Vrooman planted an apple orchard, which was still standing in 1845, after 130 years. Peter Vrooman was the first of the later numerous Dutch settlers in the Schoharie Valley. Dutch families by the name of Swart, Ecker, Zielley, Hagadorn, Feek and Becker soon followed Vrooman and located in his vicinity.

In 1719, the Mohawk chief Dekanissora reported at Albany that the French were building a fort at Niagara.

In 1720, Captain John Scott secured a patent for the lands extending from the Auries Kill to the line of the Yates and Fonda lands near present Fultonville.

In 1720, Simon Laraway built a grist mill on Mill Brook, a tributary of Fox Creek, near Schoharie village, which was the first mill in the Schoharie Valley. The Toll brick house in the town of Glenville, Schenectady County, is reputed to have been built in 1720.

In 1720, Hendrick was reinstated as a chief of the Mohawk Nation and henceforth he became the leader of our Valley Iroquois tribe. In a council held at Albany in that year, Hendrick strongly protested against the sale of liquor by white traders among the Mohawks, saying that rum was destroying his nation —a mere statement of fact.

Governor Burnet held a council at Albany with the Six Nations in September, 1721, at which a proposal was considered which was made by the Virginia Indians that the Potomac River and the high mountains to the westward should be the boundary of the hunting grounds between them and the Iroquois. The Six Nations agreed to this line. The demands for furs by English, Dutch and French traders during the century previous to this had greatly increased Indian warfare. To supply these unlimited demands the Indians soon exhausted the game on their own lands and then trespassed on the hunting grounds of neighboring tribes, which acts brought on bloody Indian wars.

As a result of this council, Peter Schuyler, Jr., and several

young men were sent to Irondequoit in the Seneca country there to trade for a year. They were to try to attract the trade of the Indians and of the French coureurs de bois. Both the young men of Albany and Schenectady frequently went on long trading expeditions into the Indian country, which, it is said, eventually made many of them more like Indians than white men in character. Some of these young men later did good service as Indian agents, scouts, and interpreters in the French and Indian and Revolutionary wars.

The years, 1722 and 1723 were important ones in the history of the Mohawk Valley. In 1722 the English built a trading post at Oswego, and in this and the following year, about 300 Palatines moved from Schoharie to the settlements of Stone Arabia and the German Flats, on or near the Mohawk River. Immigrants came into the Mohawk Valley from the Palatine German ships which arrived in New York City that year. By 1725, the population of the Mohawk Valley must have been about 2,500 white settlers. Of these we can estimate that 1,000 were Holland Dutch, 1,000 Palatine German, 500 of British stock. Adding a probable Mohawk Indian population of 1,000 to the white settlers would give a probable 1725 total of 3,500 people in the Mohawk watershed (inclusive of the Schoharie Valley), and covering the Mohawk River section from its mouth to present Frankfort, a distance of 92 miles.

Seventeen hundred twenty-three was also an eventful year for the Mohawk Valley, in that it marked the beginning of a fight against the trade monopoly of Albany, that brought freedom of trade in 1727, which had an important effect on business and transportation in Schenectady and the Mohawk Valley.

On June 15, 1723, Johannes Wendell and Robert Roseboom "informed against" Johannes Myndertse, a trader residing on the west corner of Mill Lane and State Street. He was charged with having "taken Indians with bever and peltry into his house." He was arrested and fined £10 and placed in the Albany "gaol" for refusing to pay the fine. Myndertse escaped from "gaol" and commenced a suit against the Albany Common Council for trespass and false imprisonment. Doubtless little heed was paid to the suit of the Schenectady trader. It dragged on until 1727, when it was decided in Myndertse's favor.

Albany's grasping monopoly of the Indian trade was broken and such business was now made open to all. Schenectady was free "from the authority of those hateful ordinances that had fettered its trade for more than fifty years." The brave and

militant Myndertse had taken another step in the direction of American liberty.

This decision had an important influence in stimulating business among the traders at Schenectady, and along the Mohawk, as well as upon river traffic. Formerly canoes had sufficed for the river trade but now a larger craft was needed to carry goods over the Mohawk. Albany traders now had goods frequently sent in bulk by sloop to Albany, from which place they were sent to Schenectady, and points even farther west, and distributed there by agents. As the Mohawk River highways were rough and that stream was the easiest freight route, a demand arose for larger water freight carriers than canoes and dugouts.

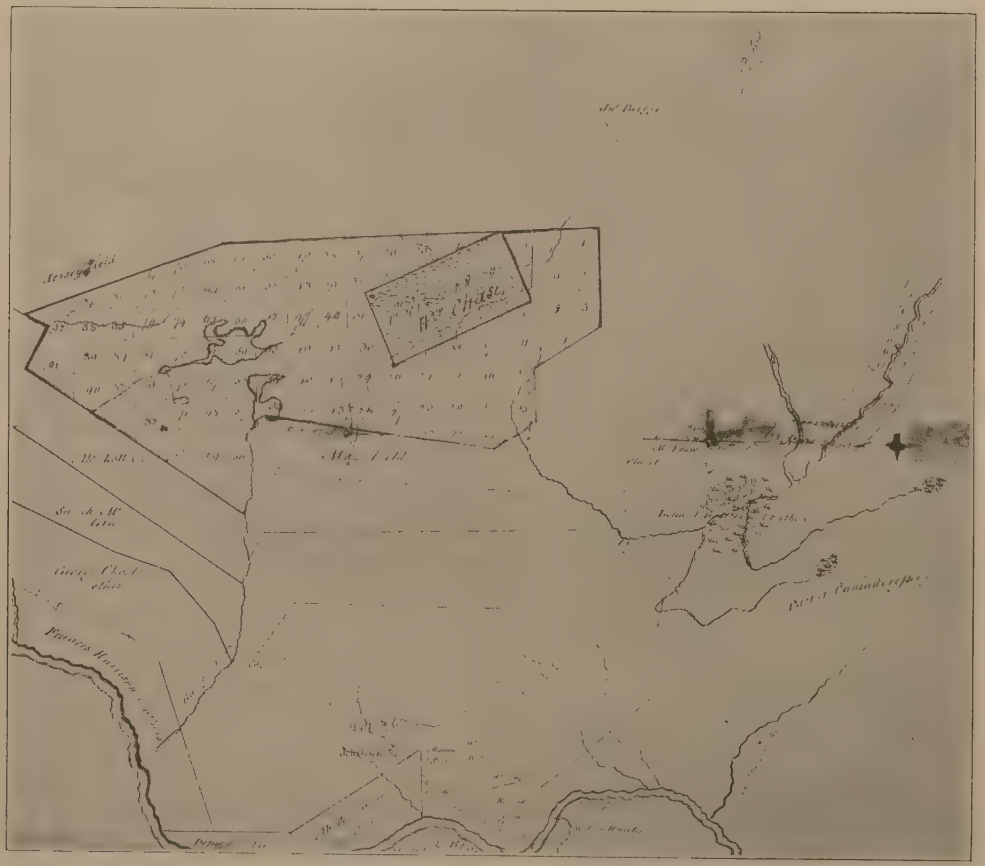
The batteau now made its appearance on the Mohawk and thus an important water traffic was inaugurated upon our river which lasted for a century—until the Mohawk was supplanted by the Erie Canal.

The batteau was a flat-bottomed boat with a sharp prow at each end. It was paddled, rowed, poled, sailed or towed by two, three, four, five, six or eight men—depending on the size of the boat. According to the number of men running the vessel, the batteaux were called three-handed or four-handed boats, etc. These boats varied from about sixteen to twenty feet or more in length and carried up to several tons of cargo. Cleated boards ran along each side of these batteaux on which men stood with faces toward the stern and set poles in the river bottom. Then they walked along the cleats and thus pushed the boat along.

This was the method in shallow water. In deep water the boats were rowed and in a good breeze they were sometimes sailed. They were also towed and they were towed or pushed over the rapids or riffs, of which there were over twenty difficult ones, between Schenectady and the present site of Utica.

The batteau was the first advance in navigation and the contrast between it and the former canoe was somewhat similar to that between an old Erie canal boat and an ocean steamship. It must have seemed a great advance in transportation, when the first batteaux came sailing up the Mohawk.

The batteaux men became in time a numerous class of rough, powerful fellows who added to the general turmoil and the number of fist fights at the local taverns, which now catered to the river men as well as to the carters and pack horse drivers over the Mohawk River highways. Schenectady was the center and the terminal river port of this then important river traffic. Boat yards were there established where batteaux were built and Sche-



RANDALL'S MAP

The Glen, Bleecker, Livingston, Chase, Gansevoort, Governor Van Slyck, Harrison, Clock, Lott and other patents and the north side of the Mohawk River from below Amsterdam westward to East Canada Creek, a river distance of 35 miles.

nectady merchants engaged actively in the river trade and built storehouses on the Binnekill, where a great variety of goods were kept to supply the Indian trade and the white settlers then located along the Mohawk for seventy miles west of Schenectady.

The river men gradually cleared out the Mohawk's channel to make navigation easier and made channels through the rifts by removing the boulders. The later development of Mohawk River navigation came with the completion of river channel improvement and the building of locks by the Inland Lock and Navigation Co., from 1791 to 1797, when the larger Durham and Schenectady boats were used. This period of development of the great Mohawk River-Oneida Lake-Oswego River waterway (running from Schenectady to Oswego on Lake Ontario) is treated in a later chapter. The batteaux began to navigate the Mohawk about 1727. They were largely used to carry military supplies and ordnance in the Colonial French-English wars and during the Revolution. The development of the batteaux and consequent increase of Mohawk River trade, constitute the first important chapter in the history of transportation through the Mohawk Valley—Gateway to the West. Our present Barge Canal is the modern development of the batteaux and the puny river improvements of the Mohawk River batteaux men, just as the New York Central, "America's Greatest Railroad" is the modern outgrowth from the cartman who guided his horse and cart over the rough and perilous first highways. The development of the batteaux and its river trade would have come about eventually but let us remember that it was the fight of one plucky Schenectady trader —Johannes Myndertse—against grinding Albany Indian trade monopoly which first brought commercial freedom and development to the Mohawk Valley.

It is a noteworthy fact that the New York Provincial government built a fort at Oswego in 1727, the same year that the Indian trade was made free throughout the Colony, and the same year in which trade and transportation began to develop along the Schenectady-Oswego important Colonial water route. Tradition says that a defense was built, on the present site of Rome, at the same time that Fort Oswego was erected, in 1727.

In 1724, the Provincial authorities sent four Schenectady smiths into the Seneca country, in response to requests of the Senecas as well as to prevent French smiths from locating there. Those sent were Harmen Veeder, Andries Bradt, Hendrick Wemp, and Harmen Van Slyck. They received salaries of from £15 to £50 yearly. They were not permanently located there, as the

Senecas again asked for "smiths, gunsmiths, and armorers" in 1726 and 1728.

Rev. Johannes Jacobus Ehle came into the Mohawk Valley, in 1725, to serve as pastor of the churches in the Mohawk River and Schoharie River neighborhoods. He located at the eastern end of present Nelliston where he first built a log house and later a stone house in 1729, which served the dominie as a dwelling and also as an Indian mission house for the Mohawks of the middle village of Tarajorees then located on Prospect Hill in present Fort Plain, on the other side of the Mohawk River. The north shore, or "King's Highway," then ran along the Mohawk's north bank on the line of the New York Central tracks from the Big Nose to the present Wagner's Hollow road. Dominie Ehle built his stone house close to the King's Highway and to the river ford which became known as Ehle's ford. His son, Peter Ehle, built a larger stone addition to this house in 1752. In 1924 the smaller part of this Ehle house was the oldest structure in the Mohawk Valley west of the Schoharie. It had then been unoccupied for thirty years and was rapidly falling to ruins. Dominie Ehle, who was of the Reformed faith, ministered to the Stone Arabia congregation, which built a log church in 1729, on the site of the present Stone Arabia Lutheran Church. This was the third church known to have been erected in the Mohawk Valley, the two others having been built by the Reformed Dutch congregation of Schenectady. However, it is probable that the Palatines at present Herkimer and Fort Herkimer built log churches even previous to this time.

Seventeen hundred twenty-eight was noteworthy from the fact that an infant son was then born to Johan Jost Herkimer at "Kouari," along the upper Mohawk, who later became General Nicholas Herkimer, the leading American Mohawk Valley Revolutionary patriot and the hero of Oriskany. Herkimer's birthplace is located about a quarter mile east of Fort Herkimer Church, where it is marked by a 1912 D. A. R. marker. Tradition says that a German school was opened at present Fort Herkimer, about 1730, where the General probably obtained his only schooling.

In 1728, Rev. Thomas Brouwer, minister of the Schenectady Reformed Dutch Church, died and in the same year, Rev. Reinhardus Erichzon succeeded him. The new Schenectady dominie received a salary of £100 (equivalent to about $250.00), "a parsonage in good repair, a garden kept in fence, pasture for a horse, two cows, and firewood at the door."

Schenectady and the Schenectady district had outgrown its

Reformed Dutch Church, and in 1730, plans were made for the erection of a third one.

A petition was circulated by which £322 were raised in Schenectady and the Schenectady district and £33 in what was then called "Maquaas Landt," as the river section west of Schenectady township was designated.

In 1731, occurred the death of Captain Johannes Glen, the youngest son of Alexander Glen, pioneer settler of Scotia in 1658. Captain Glen was 83 years old at his death and had succeeded to his father's prominence as a chief citizen of the township of Schenectady. The Glens had been important figures in the first seventy-five years of the history of the Mohawk Valley.

During the years from 1732 to 1734, the third Schenectady Nether Dutch Church was building. It cost £1,167.17 ($2,919.73) including a clock and bell, and stood until 1814, when a fourth Reformed Church was built, the present one being the fifth. The new church completed in 1734, was located at the corner of Church and Union streets. It was 80 feet long, north and south, and built of "gray wacke" (Dutch for blue sandstone), from the quarries east of the village. There were 304 seats in the new church in 1734, divided as follows: men's, 86; women's 218; which would indicate that the Schenectady dames and maidens were more punctual than the Schenectady burghers and young men in their attendance at church. People who object to tolling church bells will be interested in knowing that the bell was rung only three times to call the congregation to church. The number of church seats in 1734 would indicate a city population of about 600 or 700 people. The seats were increased to 432 in 1754, to accommodate the increased population.

The bell did service in this Schenectady Reformed Dutch Church and its successor, until 1840, when it cracked. It bore the inscription in Dutch:

"De Klok van de Neder-duitsch gemeete van Sconechiade door Haar self bezorght anno 1732.

"Me fecerunt De Grave et muller Amsterdam."

The translation from the Hollandisch is as follows:

"The bell of the Low Dutch Church of Schenectady, procured by themselves in the year 1732.

"De Grave and Muller, Amsterdam, made me."

The following list of subscribers to the church of 1734 is given in Pearson's "Schenectady Patent":

"Jellis Fonda, Hendrick Vrooman, Capt. Harme Van Slyck, Albert vedder, Abraham Meebie, helmis Veder, John fairley, Myn-

dert Wymp, pieter Cornu, Daniel tol, Barent Vrooman, Wyllem Teller, Gysbert V. brakel, John Vrooman, Johannis Van Vorst, Johannis Marselis, Abram groot, Cornelis Van Slyck, Symon Veder, Reinhart Erichzon pred., Arent brat, Jacobus Van Dyck, dirk groot, Cornelus van der Volge, Robbert yets, Yacoep Swits, Wouter Vrooman, Jan Barentse Wemp, Abram D. Graaf, Cornelus Van Dyck, Joha Sanders Glen, Jacobus Peck, Arenout de Graaf, Sanders Laseng, Jacob Glen, barent hendrickse vrooman, Joseph Van Sice, Abraham Truax, Sander Van Eps, Davet Marinis, Nicolaas Groodt, Daniel Danielse [Van Antwerpen], Symon Vrooman, Johannys ouderkerck, Philip Van Putte, haerme Vedder, Reyer Wemple, Gerret Van Vorst, Johannis Vedder yu [Jr.], Abraham Glen, Arent braet yu [Jr.], hendrick Vrooman, junier, William Peters, Takel Maerseles, Yacobus Vedder, adryaen Van Slyck, Harme M. Vedder, Cornelus Veder, harmanus Vedder."

The money subscribed by these men (£195) was to be paid to Arent Bratt, Jacobus Van Dyck, Dirk Groot, Cornelis Van der Valgen, Robert Yates, Jacob Swits, Wouter Vrooman, Jan Barentse Wemp, elders and deacons of the Schenectady Church.

After the new church was built in 1734, the old stone Dutch Church was fortified and strengthened at a cost of £82 ($164) and used as a fort. Dominie Erichzon left Schenectady in 1736, and the church was without a pastor for some time.

The oldest known document connected with the history of the Fort Herkimer Reformed Dutch Church is a deed of 1730 by which Nicolas Wohllaben (Woolever) granted to himself and eleven other representatives of the church, an acre of land for school and church purposes. This is the "God's acre" on which the historic old stone church of 1767 now stands. The names of the twelve men were Johan Jost Herkimer (father of General Herkimer), Frederick Pellinger, Rodolf Stely, Thomas Schoonmaker, Rodolf Caring, Johannes Hess. Hendrik Spoan, Michael Ittick, Jr., Hendrick Orendorph, Nicholas Staring and Hendrick Heager. Woolever received £15 for the land. Mention is made of "the church to be erected near the school now standing," so that there was already a school building standing which was doubtless used as a church, and which had probably been erected about 1725 or earlier. Some accounts say that it is probable that the erection of the stone church was begun soon after the deed of 1730.

About 1730, Hendrick Schrembling, a Palatine German, and Marte Janse Van Alstyne bought of Cadwallader Colden, 775 acres on both sides of Canajoharie Creek at the present village of that name. Shortly after Schrembling settled on the east side of

the creek, while his brothers, George and John, located on the west bank of the stream, and the Schremblings thus became the founders of Canajoharie village, Van Alstyne's arrival there about 1750 is noted later. The settlement of Canajoharie, however, is disputed and some accounts of the Van Alstyne family say that they settled there in 1723.

The erection of the earlier homes of the settlers along the Mohawk which remain to us, is of present-day and historic interest. They represent and vividly suggest the life of the times of which they are the only visible reminders. The picturesque Abraham Glen house, now standing at Scotia, was built in 1730. The Governor Yates house at Schenectady and the Arent Bradt farm house, just west of Schenectady, were built in 1735.

Johannes Ehle served the Stone Arabia and German Flats churches from 1725 to 1735. The first settled pastor at the German Flats (Herkimer) Reformed Church was Rev. George Michael Weiss who came there, from Hudson River charges, in 1735. He left there in 1742 and went to Rhinebeck. An octagonal log church was built at the Palatine village, at present Herkimer, some time prior to 1734. It was burned during the Herkimer massacre of 1757. There was probably a school at present Herkimer by 1725, as there was at present Fort Herkimer. The churches of the two centers were served by the same pastors for many years.

In 1733, the church society of Stone Arabia started the building of a frame church where the present Stone Arabia Reformed Church now stands. This was to supersede the first log church which stood on the site of the present Stone Arabia Lutheran Church. While the building was going on, a dispute arose between the Calvinists and the Lutherans as to the denomination of the new church. The Reformed sect was in the majority, whereupon the Lutherans withdrew from the new project, and continued to worship in the old log church. Both church buildings were burned by Sir John Johnson in his great raid of the Schoharie and Mohawk valleys in 1780.

Cherry Valley was settled by Scotch and Scotch-Irish, in 1740. While this historically important settlement lies just over the Mohawk divide, in the Susquehanna Valley, its early history is part of that of the Valley of the Mohawk and is so treated in the succeeding chapters.

In 1738, Sir George Clarke, Lieutenant-Governor and acting Governor of the Province of New York, built a stone house at present Fort Plain, where the Governor and his family spent four

EHLE HOUSE

Erected by Dominie Ehle in 1729 as a mission house for the Mohawks of Tarajorees on the hill opposite. The larger part is of later date—1755. It is located in Nelliston close to the railroad tracks and is a familiar object of interest.

ABRAHAM GLEN HOUSE, SCOTIA, 1730

Recently known as the Collins House; now occupied by the Sisters of the School of St. John's R. C. Church. It is No. 14 Mohawk Ave., Scotia, and stands on the east side of the beginning of the Old Mohawk Turnpike at the Scotia end of the Great Western Gateway Bridge. Photo by Mr. Howland S. Stedman, by courtesy of Mr. Hanford Robison, Schenectady.

summers—from 1738 to 1742. Governor Clarke was interested in the Corry patent, granted in 1737, and it is supposed that Sir George located here in the wilderness to be near this great tract of 25,400 acres which lay in the present towns of Root and Charleston in present Montgomery County. The Clarke family of Hyde Bay, Otsego Lake, directly descends from Governor Clarke.

One of the most important events in the history of the Mohawk Valley was the settlement here of William (later Sir William) Johnson in 1738. Young Johnson was born in Ireland in 1715 and came to America as a young man to manage and lease the lands belonging to his uncle, Admiral Peter Warren, a notable figure in British naval annals. Johnson located on his uncle's lands at the western limits of the south side section of the present Amsterdam and, therefore probably was that city's first settler. Warren's lands in the township of Florida, Montgomery County, became known as Warrensbush.

William Johnson later became major-general of the New York Provincial militia and was made a baronet by King George II, for his services as commander of the expedition which defeated the French invasion at the battle of Lake George in 1755. Johnson was one of the greatest figures of Colonial America and his coming into the Mohawk Valley is so important that it is given space in a succeeding chapter. In 1739, Johnson bought lands on the north side of the Mohawk River, where he built Mount Johnson, to which he moved in 1742, and on which lands he later built Fort Johnson in 1749, about a half mile to the west of Mount Johnson. Both north shore houses were of stone. Johnson gave the Mount Johnson 1742 house to his daughter, Anna, who married Col. Daniel Claus.

Accounts of Johnson's first years in the Mohawk Valley say that he took his wheat to Caughnawaga to be ground. This would indicate that a mill had been built there as early as 1739, which was then or later owned and operated by Barent Wemple. The date of the erection of several of the Mohawk Valley mills is uncertain. It is probable that a neighborhood center began to be formed at Caughnawaga (Fonda) as early as 1740 and statements that Douw Fonda made the first settlement there in 1750 are probably in error. Fox's mill was probably built on Garoga Creek, at present Palatine Church, between 1720 and 1730. In 1735 a grist mill was erected in present Herkimer village by Jacob Weber.

In 1739, Iroquois scouts brought word to Albany that the

French had gone from Crown Point to Wood Creek, on the carry from the head of Lake Champlain to the Hudson, and were there building a fort. New France now claimed all the waters of the St. Lawrence, and its tributaries. In 1740 Governor Clarke held an Indian council at Albany which admitted all Indians in British North America (westward to the Mississippi) into the "covenant chain."

In 1739, Hendrick Frey 2nd built the stone house at present Palatine Bridge known today as Fort Frey. It supplanted the old palisaded log house which was the British post of Fort Frey in Queen Anne's war (1701-1713). The new stone house was loopholed for defense but was never stockaded. However, it was regarded as a stronghold and neighborhood refuge in the Colonial and Revolutionary wars. "Frey's" was a trading post, for about 180 years—1690 to 1775. There was a ford here across the Mohawk and Frey's was an important point and landmark along the Mohawk River and its King's highway.

King Hendrick is reputed to have made a visit to the English King in 1740, on which occasion "his majesty presented him a rich suit of clothes—a green coat set off with brussels and gold lace and cocked hat, such as worn by the court gentry of that period." The well known portrait of Hendrick, with upraised tomahawk, is said to have been painted at that time.

The first schools in the Schoharie Valley were established about 1740. Besides a German school at Schoharie there was a Dutch school at Vrooman's Land. Other schools were established later. Following the murder of Truax, of Holland descent, by Moore, the Palatine German, and Morter, his negro accomplice, at Vrooman's in 1715, there was bad feeling between the Germans and Low Dutch of Schoharie. This gradually wore away, until by Revolutionary times there were fairly good relations between these peoples.

Another prominent Mohawk River trader, Johan Jost Herkimer, in 1740, built a large stone house, store, and storehouse on the German Flats at "Kouari." (Mohawk, Ok-wa-ri, meaning "bear.") This important river and highway neighborhood and trading post was already known as "Herkimer's", the name later being applied to the Fort Herkimer of the great French and Indian war (1756-1760) and the Fort Herkimer of the Revolution (1775-1783). Herkimer's house was the center of the British Fort Herkimer. It was destroyed about 1835 in the enlargement of the Erie Canal.

In 1743, Dominie Ehle was followed, in his ministry to a num-

ber of Reformed churches along the Mohawk and the Schoharie rivers, by Rev. Johannes Schuyler, who succeeded him at Stone Arabia and elsewhere and who served a pastorate of eight years from 1743 to 1751.

The oldest building standing in Schoharie County is the original St. Paul's Lutheran Church of Schoharie. It was built in 1743 as a church and parsonage and occupied as such until 1751. Although it is a small structure and more of a house than a church yet it is the oldest church building now standing in the Mohawk Valley, antedating St. George's Episcopal Church of Schenectady by nearly twenty years. It is well worthy of preservation.

Peace had now reigned between France and England for over thirty years. In this time the English colonies in America, the Province of New York and the Mohawk Valley had all grown and developed more than in any similar period in the history of America. It was a fatal peace for France, because the English colonies had become so mighty that it was now but a question of time when they would overwhelm the scanty population of New France. It also was a fatal peace for Great Britain because her colonies had outgrown her paltry and coercive colonial policy. It was now only a matter of years before they would rebel against English political misgovernment, military bungling, and governmental tyranny.

In this period the Mohawk Valley had developed from a thin line of settlers and one little walled town, to a community stretching for nearly one hundred miles along the Mohawk River, from the Hudson to Dutch Hill, west of present Frankfort. There was a growing community of pioneer farmers in the Schoharie Valley and a little colony of Scotch and Irish settlers back of the "Brimstone Hills," now known as the Cherry Valley Mountains.

Dutch, Palatines, Scotch, Irish and English settlers now probably numbered nearly four thousand souls in the Mohawk Valley. There were churches, schools, stores, mills, blacksmith shops, boatyards and taverns along both the Mohawk and the Schoharie rivers. There was a city of nearly a thousand people at Schenectady, and there were hamlets or little towns at Caughnawaga, present Fort Plain, Fort Herkimer, Herkimer, at Middleburg, and Schoharie on the Schoharie and at Cherry Valley in the Cherry Valley Mountains.

There was a strong body of militia in the Valley of the Mohawk, of which Colonel William Johnson assumed command in 1746. In general, there was a line of civilized society along the lower Schoharie River and the middle and lower Mohawk River,

and yet it was but a thin line of civilization which closely hugged the banks of these two rivers. The wilderness hemmed in the farms even along the Mohawk's course and practically surrounded the clearings of the bold settlers who ventured to establish homes back from the main roads of the white man. Life along the Mohawk and the Schoharie was still the life of the pioneer, living in a great wilderness, when, in 1744 the policies of European courts again embroiled the French and English colonists of America.

The following two chapters cover the settlement of Cherry Valley and that of William Johnson (later Sir William Johnson), at present Amsterdam. The third succeeding chapter relates to the Mohawk Valley in connection with King George's war, of the years from 1744 to 1748.

THE ABRAM YATES HOUSE, SCHENECTADY

This typical old Schenectady Dutch house was built in 1735 and is said to be the oldest house in the city.

CHAPTER 37.

SETTLEMENT OF CHERRY VALLEY—1740.

1740, SETTLEMENT OF CHERRY VALLEY BY JOHN LINDSAY AND FAMILY —A SCOTCH-IRISH FRONTIER VILLAGE ON THE SUSQUEHANNA-MOHAWK DIVIDE—REV. SAMUEL DUNLOP'S CHERRY VALLEY SCHOOL—SETTLEMENT OF SPRINGFIELD, MUD OR SUMMIT LAKE, LITTLE LAKES, AND THE HEADWATERS OF THE SUSQUEHANNA—THE OLD ENGLAND DISTRICT.

The settlement of Cherry Valley in 1740 marked an important step in the progress of civilization in the Mohawk Valley. Its outlet trails and roads led to the settlements on the Mohawk or the Schoharie rivers and it is thus not only associated in a historical sense but in a topographical and commercial way, with the watershed of the Mohawk River.

John Lindsay "a Scotch gentleman of substance," in 1736, secured a patent for 3,000 acres in the present town of Danube, Herkimer County, in partnership with Philip Livingston. He also had land interests elsewhere.

In August, 1738, Lindsay secured a patent for 1,965 acres of land and Jacob Roseboom, Leonard Gansevoort and Sybrant Van Schaik, on the same day, secured another patent of 1,750 acres alongside that of Lindsay. These lands were mainly situated in the present town of Cherry Valley, Otsego County. When consolidated these tracts became known as the Cherry Valley patent, which with that of Schenectady of 1684, Stone Arabia of 1723, and Burnetsfield (German Flats) of 1725, are the most important in the history of the Mohawk Valley because they represent the location of considerable bodies of settlers in our River's watershed or on its southern border.

On May 24, 1739, John Lindsay obtained a patent for 500 acres on the Cherry Valley Creek, not included in the previous grants. Simms says:

"The headwaters of the Cherry Valley Creek—one of the sources of the Susquehanna—ran through these lands. The Canajoharie Creek also rises near the former creek and flows in an opposite direction to the Mohawk. On the latter stream, only two or three miles from Cherry Valley, is a gorge in which is a waterfall, called on the De Witt map of 1790, by the Indian name

of Tu-ay-on-na-ron-wa Fall. But a short distance from this little cascade, Lieut. Matthew Wormuth was killed in 1778, as will be shown. In modern times, this little cascade has been called Te-ka-har-o-wa, but on what authority I cannot say."

Campbell's "Annals of Tryon County," is a basis for these facts, as it is indeed for most of the subsequent history of Cherry Valley, which was the home of Judge Campbell, the author. The following condensation of Campbell's account is taken from Simms' "Frontiersmen of New York":

"Thinking a life among the wild cherries would be romantic and pleasant, in 1739, Mr. Lindsay obtained an assignment from his three partners to the largest Cherry Valley tract for himself and Governor Clarke, who, as governor, had first granted it—and they had it surveyed and laid out in lots. In the spring of 1740, Mr. Lindsay removed his family from New York City upon one of the best farms in his Cherry Valley purchase, and the locality became known as Lindsay's Bush. There may have been here and there a settler within a few miles of him; but if any such there were nearer than those contiguous to the Mohawk Valley, a dozen miles distant, it is now unknown. On going into their country and upon their hunting grounds, Mr. Lindsay—as did all similar adventurers—found it necessary to cultivate the friendship of the Indians.

"A family from refined life, isolating itself in the woods among Indians and wild beasts, could reasonably have expected to find only a life of very severe romance, and such an one proved that of the Lindsay family the first season; for in the winter following its arrival, not having made ample provision for its wants, it became straitened for food; and there being a great depth of snow on the ground, its necessities were only to be relieved by the kindness of an Indian, who, upon snow-shoes, went to the Mohawk River settlements and returned with a supply of necessities upon his back. Thus were the whites often befriended in successful homes and colonies by the natives, whose lands and country they were slowly but surely robbing them of.

"In the spring of 1741, Mr. Lindsay made the Rev. Samuel Dunlop, of New York, the gift of a good farm to settle upon his tract, which he accepted, and used his influence to induce others to go with him, among whom were David Ramsey, William Callt, James Campbell and William Dickson—known at the time as Scotch-Irish—in all about thirty souls. Mr. Dunlop, who was from the Emerald Isle, returned thither after a short residence at Cherry Valley, to fulfill a marriage contract, and returning

with his wife, he became a permanent settler, and the first minister of that place. He was a liberally educated man, and taught the first grammar school, as believed, to the westward of Albany; and among his pupils were not a few from the Mohawk Valley settlements, some of whom were representative men in the Revolution. Among the settlers making accessions within a few years to the Cherry Valley settlement—so named, because of its numerous wild cherry trees—was John Wells, of New York, an Irishman, who later in life became a justice of the peace, and a very useful citizen. Mr. Lindsay, knowing little about farming, and his family, no doubt, tiring of a forest life, at the end of a few years abandoned his sylvan enterprise and returned to New York. For the credit of the Cherry Valley colonists, I may observe that hardly were they comfortably established ere they erected a school house and a church—both of the pioneer's building material, unhewn logs.

"The Cherry Valley colony increased, though not rapidly, in numbers for the next thirty years, in the latter part of which period, other small settlements were made in its neighborhood. One of them, in the present town of Middlefield, was known at the beginning of the Revolution as Newtown Martin, so called after Peter Martin, an owner of land there. The late Mrs. Matthias Becker, the mother of Mrs. William Haslet, of Fort Plain, and the late Jeremiah Martin, of Glen, were the children of this Martin, who was a Montreal tradesman at the beginning of hostilities, when this settlement was broken up. In 1762, five families settled in Springfield, being those of John Kelley, Richard Ferguson, and James Young, in the eastern part of the town, and those of Gustavus Klumph and Jacob Tygart (Dygert) at the head of the lake. Dygert had two sons, John and Jacob, captured at the destruction of Cherry Valley. The last two were, no doubt, Germans from the Mohawk Valley. A Spalsbury family, and that of Capt. Thomas Davy, are also known to have become residents of the town before the Revolution, and the latter, with others from Springfield, was in the sanguinary field of Oriskany, where he was killed, leaving three sons, James, Jeremiah, and Harvey. Other families are known to have located near Mud Lake, and in other parts of the town, at the period named. Several families are said to have pushed out as far westward as the Little Lakes—now in Warren, though then called Springfield—and it is not improbable that the family of George Knouts was of the number.

"Settlements were also successfully planted several years before the Revolution in Unadilla, Otego, Laurens, Butternuts, Har-

persfield, and in what are now several other townships. On the organization of Tryon County, all the settlements named to the west and southwest of Cherry Valley, except Harpersfield, became known as the Old England District; hence we may infer that a majority of those pioneers spoke the English language. Cherry Valley and Harpersfield were embraced in the Canajoharie district."

The history of Cherry Valley in the Revolution is largely covered in that of the Mohawk Valley in subsequent chapters.

CHAPTER 38.

SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON AND THE MOHAWK VALLEY—1738-1748

WILLIAM JOHNSON SETTLES IN PRESENT AMSTERDAM, SOUTH SIDE—MARRIES CATHERINE WEISSENBERG—BUYS LAND ON NORTH SIDE—BUILDS MOUNT JOHNSON IN THE PRESENT WESTERN SECTION OF AMSTERDAM AND REMOVES THERE—MADE A JUSTICE OF THE PEACE OF ALBANY COUNTY—ADOPTED AS A CHIEF OF THE MOHAWK TRIBE—MADE COLONEL OF MILITIA AND THE SIX NATIONS.

The coming of William Johnson into the Mohawk Valley in 1738, has been mentioned in the previous chapter. Johnson was the eldest son of Christopher Johnson of Warrentown, County Down, Ireland, "of a family ancient in descent and honorable in its alliances". He was born in Smithtown, County Meath, Ireland, in 1715.

His mother was Annie Warren, sister of the brothers Oliver and Peter—afterward Sir Peter Warren, K. B.—whose names are identified with the naval glory of England in the first half of the Eighteenth century. Oliver Warren was a captain of the Royal Navy. Peter, the youngest son, (born in 1704) became a naval captain in 1727. In 1728, Captain Peter Warren sailed on naval service to the West Indies, being engaged in various activities along the American coast until 1745.

Early in this period he married a sister of James De Lancey, chief justice of the Province, later lieutenant-governor and one of the greatest political powers in the Colony. Captain Warren built himself a house at No. 1 Broadway, New York, which was the finest house at that time in the city. It fronted fifty-six feet on Broadway and had a banquet hall, 26 by 40 feet. The Admiral Warren house became the headquarters (1776-1783) of the British commanders of New York during the Revolution.

Captain Warren brought William Johnson to America, in 1738, to superintend the estate in the Mohawk Valley, which the Captain had bought shortly after his marriage. Warren was very fond of his young nephew, addressing him as "Dear Billy" in his letters, and giving him explicit directions as to the care and sale of the lands. The estate was called Warrensbush. It lay in the present township of Florida, Montgomery County, south of

the present city of Amsterdam, of which Johnson was the first settler.

Captain Warren and Johnson were also in a mercantile partnership, the nephew opening a store and Indian trading station on his settlement in "Maquaas Landt." Johnson from the first, seems to have worked not only for his uncle's interest but for his own. Stone says: "Young Johnson likewise succeeded, beyond all other men, in winning the confidence and affection of the Mohawk Indians, whose most considerable town, Dyiondarogon, was but a few miles distant. His trade with them had already become considerable and the spirit of enterprise, which was rapidly to raise him to fortune, was manifested in the letter to his uncle just cited." Dyiondarogon was the lower Mohawk castle at Fort Hunter.

Young Johnson had acquired a very considerable education for his time, having a knowledge of French and Latin and a love of good books which early induced him to acquire the first considerable library collected in the Mohawk Valley. His orders for books, prints and music from London dealers indicate a love of art and music as well as a strong scientific bent. As Johnson developed into full maturity, he became one of the leading, most powerful and most remarkable characters of Colonial days in America. His power and prominence in the English colonies were analogous to those of General Washington in Revolutionary days. The coming and settlement of such a remarkable man in the Mohawk Valley—Gateway to the West, was an event of national importance and one of a combination of circumstances which had its influence in shaping the destinies of the world.

If William Johnson had not come from Ireland to live among the Mohawks it is reasonably certain that North America of today would not be an English-speaking continent. In that case it is very probable that two strong nations—one French, one English—would have developed, with incessant warfare which would have greatly retarded American development and the progress of civilization the world over.

William Johnson settled sixteen Irish families on the Warren lands in the present township of Florida, in 1740. These settlers are said to have moved out a few years later, being fearful of Indian attack in King George's war. Peter Warren Young was the first white child born in Warrensbush and he was named for its proprietor.

About 1739, Johnson married Catherine Weissenberg. She was a German girl who had been "bound out" to pay her ocean

passage, to Alexander and Harman Philips who lived about a half mile east of "Johnsons", where their father, Philip Philips had settled in 1689—nearly a half century before Johnson came into the Mohawk Valley. Catherine was a handsome, pleasant young woman. One day Lewis Groat, a friend of Johnson, asked him why he did not marry; Johnson replied "that he wanted to marry a girl in Ireland—that his parents were opposed to the match and that, since he could not marry the girl of his choice he had resolved never to marry."—(Simms) Groat then suggested that he get the pretty High Dutch girl at Philips' for a housekeeper. Johnson replied "I will do it."

Later Groat went to the Philips place and asked one of the brothers where their German girl was. Philips replied: "Johnson, that damned Irishman, came the other day and offered me five pounds for her, threatening to horsewhip me and steal her if I would not sell her. I thought five pounds better than a flogging and took it and he's got the gal." Johnson married Catherine Weissenberg about 1741, and her first child John (later Sir John) Johnson, was born in 1742 at his Amsterdam location.

Her other two children, Anna and Mary, are supposed to have been born at Mount Johnson, the first north side house—not the one later known as Fort Johnson. William Johnson was very fond of his wife, Catherine, who died soon after their removal to present Fort Johnson about 1742. Some time after his wife's death, Johnson employed another Catherine as a housekeeper. She was a niece of King Hendrick, the great Mohawk chief. In this way, Johnson added to his growing influence over the Mohawks and other Six Nations Indians.

In 1739, William Johnson bought lands for himself on the north shore of the Mohawk in the western section of the present city of Amsterdam and in present Fort Johnson village. On this considerable tract, in 1742, Johnson built a stone house known as Mount Johnson from the hill which rose from the flats to the northward. On the creek to the west, where Fort Johnson now stands, the young Irishman built a grist mill and saw mill, storehouse and barns. The first Mount Johnson stood about a half mile east of the present Fort Johnson, which was erected by Colonel Johnson in 1749. Present Fort Johnson was known as Mount Johnson from 1749 to December 6th, 1755, when Johnson wrote the first letter dated "Fort Johnson." The same designation of Mount Johnson for two different houses, situated closely together, has given rise to much historical confusion. Johnson probably installed Molly Brant as his housekeeper in the first

Mount Johnson, about 1755, after which he probably spent much time there, keeping Fort Johnson as his family and official residence. In 1763, Johnson gave his daughter Anna or "Nancy," the use of the first Mount Johnson, after her marriage to Colonel Daniel Claus. At this time, Sir William Johnson removed to Johnson Hall, at Johnstown, with Molly Brant and her children. On Sir William's death, in 1774, the first Mount Johnson was willed to Colonel Claus and his wife.

On the same year that Johnson built Mount Johnson, his son, John Johnson was born at Amsterdam and another male infant of a different color, who was to share the fortunes of the Johnson family, saw the light of day on the banks of the Ohio, far from the shores of the Mohawk, where he later was to play a dramatic and terrible part in the bloody scenes of the Revolution. This red infant was Thay-en-da-ne-ge-a, otherwise known as Joseph Brant. His father was a Mohawk chief and his parents were on a hunting expedition to the Ohio, when Joseph was born. Brant's father's name was Te-ho-wagh-en-go-ragh-kwin and he was a full-blooded Mohawk of the Wolf Clan. It is also probable that Tehowaghengoraghkwin was the chief called Brant or Nickus Brant. He was the son of one of the five Iroquois sachems who visited London in 1710. Thayendanegea and his parents resided at the Upper Mohawk Castle or Canajoharie Castle, whose Mohawk inhabitants were called "Canajoharies." Molly Brant was probably slightly older than her famous brother, who is called by Fisk, the most remarkable Indian in our history. Molly Brant later became housekeeper and mistress of Sir William Johnson, after which Joseph became a ward of the baronet.

In 1744, William Johnson opened a personal account with the important firm of Sir Wm. Baker & Co. in London, showing that he had prospered in his six years residence in the Mohawk Valley. From this time onward, until his death in 1774, the history of the Mohawk Valley is largely that of Sir William Johnson. This chapter largely covers Johnson's activities and rise to power and fame during King George's war (1744-1748).

Another event of 1744 was of great importance in the life of William Johnson. Lieutenant-Governor Sir George Clarke had been acting governor of the Province of New York since the death of Governor William Cosby in 1736 and until 1744, when Governor George Clinton arrived to supersede Clarke. Sir George Clarke, as noted in the preceding chapter, had been a summer resident of the Mohawk Valley at present Fort Plain, from 1738 to 1742. Clinton became a friend of Johnson, and it was largely

because of this fact that Johnson rose to power and influence in Colonial affairs.

The fact that nearly every European war, which embroiled England in its bloody horrors, also carried the British-American Colonies into the conflict, probably strongly tended to eventually make the American people feel the necessity of Independence. European quarrels brought on King William's war and Queen Anne's war and now, in 1744, British America was again involved with New France in these foreign differences, which brought disaster and death to the French and English colonists on these shores. A contest had arisen between Maria Theresa, Empress of Hungary, and the Elector of Bavaria, for the Austrian throne. George II, King of England, took the part of the Empress, while Louis XV, King of France, took the opposite side, as was usual in the European quarrels which involved these two monarchs. Louis thereupon declared war, on March 31st, 1744, against George, and English and French colonists butchered each other on the distant shores of the Atlantic, in the futile Colonial warfare which followed. As one of the many bloody results of this royal quarrel, twenty young men of Schenectady met their death in battle and a number of Mohawk Valley settlers were murdered or made prisoners and their buildings and property were burned and destroyed.

Massachusetts, Rhode Island, New Hampshire and Connecticut raised troops in 1745, which joined in an expedition against Louisburg, the stronghold of the French on the Atlantic, located on the island of Cape Breton. Admiral Peter Warren, uncle of Sir William Johnson, commanded the British fleet which coöperated in this movement. Warren's fleet defeated a French war flotilla and Louisburg was surrendered by the French on July 17, 1745. This was the outstanding event of King George's war in the American Colonies. The military force consisted mainly of American militia and was an object lesson to the colonists of their united strength. When Louisburg was handed back to the French in 1748, at the end of the war, the New Englanders were filled with wrath at the futile ending of their great efforts. On the other hand, Captain Warren achieved wealth and distinction and became an admiral and a baronet, because of his naval success, which probably reflected glory upon his keen and shrewd young nephew, William Johnson, then rising to fame in the Mohawk Valley. Johnson first enters prominently into public affairs during the four years of King George's war.

Aside from the one American-British success, King George's

war was a long-drawn-out period of apprehension of attack on the northern frontiers, varied by a border warfare of the most savage kind, in which French and Indian war parties came down from Canada and massacred and burned in many frontier sections. One of the chief affrays of this series of border attacks was the battle of Beukendaal, fought on July 18, 1748, about three miles west of Schenectady, in which twenty young Schenectady militiamen were killed, and thirteen made prisoners.

New York and adjacent English colonies now suffered terribly from the weak British governmental policy which had allowed the French, unmolested, to build Fort St. Frederick at Crown Point.

The Provincial military policy was feeble throughout the war, the chief cause being the irrepressible conflict between the native American assemblys and the imported English governors. These quarrels were carried on even during the most dangerous periods and endangered the lives and property of the men, women and children of the frontiers, of which that of the Mohawk Valley was the most exposed.

This friction between royal governor and popular assembly was one of the many causes which brought on the War of Independence. The Six Nations were disgusted by the apparent weakness of a relatively great people in conflict with the few thousands of French on the St. Lawrence. Their friendship with William Johnson and his influence over them were the only factors which kept the New York Iroquois from joining the French.

In 1745, the Mohawks were disturbed by reports spread by a French agent that the English at Albany were planning to destroy them. The Mohawks of the Lower Castle at Fort Hunter fled to the Upper Castle (at present Indian Castle). Governor Clinton sent Conrad Weiser on a friendly mission to all the Iroquois to quiet these unfounded apprehensions, which he succeeded in doing, holding a council with the Mohawks at the Lower Castle. Weiser was the son of Conrad Weiser, the leader of the Schoharie Palatines who had removed to Pennsylvania and he was now the official interpreter of that state.

November 16th, 1745, a French-Indian Canadian raiding force of 500 struck the Saratoga settlements and killed thirty people and captured sixty, including a number of negroes. The raiders burned houses, barns, mills and a blockhouse and got away without a wound.

When Governor Clinton arrived in New York in 1744, he fell under the influence of Justice James De Lancey, then a great

power in the colony, and an overbearing, crafty, arrogant but intellectual personality. It was because of William Johnson's relationship to Admiral Peter Warren, who married De Lancey's sister, that the Justice introduced Johnson to the Governor and probably recommended Johnson's advancement.

In April, 1745, William Johnson was made a justice of the peace and thus became a magistrate of Albany County, a position of considerable importance in those days. He was then a strong influence in keeping the Mohawks loyal to the English crown and accordingly the French had set a high price on his scalp.

In 1746, one of the many Colonial projects for the conquest of Quebec was set on foot, only to end in nothing, as usual. In this year De Lancey quarreled with Governor Clinton, because of his inability to absolutely control the executive's policies. Henceforth there was a bitter partisan fight between these two. Clinton turned for support to William Johnson who sided with the Governor in spite of the young Irishman's relationship to De Lancey. This quarrel ended only with the departure of Clinton in 1753, when De Lancey became Lieutenant-Governor and acting governor when he again became friendly with Johnson.

About April 9th, 1746, Johnson was selected to furnish supplies to the English garrison at Oswego, and in the same year succeeded Colonel Schuyler as head of the commissioners controlling Indian affairs in the province. This aroused the enmity of the Schuylers who were political partisans of Justice De Lancey. In 1746, Fort Williams was built at the carry between the Mohawk and Wood Creek, on the present site of Rome.

In 1746, Johnson, long a favorite with the Mohawks, was adopted as a chief of the tribe. Stone says of Johnson and his friendship with the Mohawks: "Familiar with their language and manners, he assumed their garb and mingled among them as one of their own people. He entered readily into all their athletic exercises, their games and all the varieties of their pastimes—prompted, it is likely, in part by his love of the picturesque and of wild adventure and, in part, it is but just to believe, by the sincere affection he had imbibed for the race."

A council was held with the Six Nations at Albany in August, 1746. It was only through the united efforts of Johnson, Rev. Thomas Barclay, the English missionary among the Mohawks, and Dr. Colden, that the Mohawks were induced to be present. The council was called because of the wavering of the Six Nations toward the French cause. It resulted satisfactorily in an offensive and defensive alliance between the English and the

Iroquois, largely due to Johnson's influence with the Mohawks. The Mohawks marched on one side of the Mohawk River, to the council fire, while the five other Iroquois nations marched on the other shore, as there were then political divisions between these two parties. Stone says: "Both divisions entered Albany on the eighth of August—the Mohawks in full panoply, at the head of whom marched their new war-captain, Johnson, upon whom they had conferred the name of 'War-ragh-i-ya-gey', signifying, it is believed 'Superintendent of Affairs'—'dressed, painted, and plumed as required by the dignity of his rank.' Another translation of Johnson's Indian name is given as meaning 'bringing two people together.' "

On August 28th, 1746, Johnson was appointed a colonel of militia and colonel of the warriors of the Six Nations. From this time onward, for a period of nearly thirty years, Johnson was one of the most powerful figures in the Colonial history of New York.

The Mohawk Valley suffered much in King George's war, inasmuch as it was on such an exposed frontier. The militia of the valley was often called into action, and it included every able-bodied man between the ages of sixteen and sixty. In Albany and Schenectady every militiaman had to go on watch every third or fourth night.

The years 1746, 1747, and 1748 were marked by frequent murders and barbarities in the Albany-Schenectady district and in the Mohawk Valley. These scalping parties were so numerous that they cannot all be detailed. No family was safe unless protected by blockhouse or palisade, and many settlers fled from the frontiers during these bloody days. In 1746, from April to August, there are records of thirty Canadian scalping parties which fell upon the settlements around Albany and Schenectady. Settlers were struck down almost at the gates of these towns and many were killed, scalped or captured. These bloody forays continued during 1746, 1747 and 1748.

In May, 1746, Simon Groot and two of his brothers were killed, about three miles west of Schenectady, by a Canadian war party which burned their house and barns and killed their cattle. A company of 106 militiamen from Schenectady pursued the enemy, without any marked result.

During 1746, Abraham Glen of Schenectady raised a company of 100 volunteers for the defense of the town and neighborhood.

It was reported, on May 7, 1746, that "The inhabitants along the Mohawk River have left their settlements, so that we are

now reduced to great distress. As we wrote in our last, if a very Considerable Force be not Immediately sent to our assistance we must remove and look out for New Settlements. We have neither Men, Money nor Warlike Stores."

The Mohawks, as usual, did the most service in countering these savage blows of the enemy. In August, 1746, three Mohawks killed the French commander of Ft. St. Frederick at Crown Point. In April, 1747, a Mohawk war party went out toward Crown Point and defeated a French scouting party, bringing home six scalps. On June 1, 1747, a small war party of six Mohawk braves, under Chief Kintige, returned to the Lower Castle with seven prisoners and three scalps, taken below Montreal. King Hendrick, of the Upper Castle, led a scouting party of Mohawks and militiamen to Canada where they were ambuscaded. Nine Indians and four Schenectady militiamen were killed by the first fire. Hendrick and the rest of his followers escaped.

The Schenectady and Mohawk Valley militia not only defended their exposed frontier but they were compelled to furnish men for the defense of Fort Oswego. Colonel Jacob Glen of Schenectady, wrote, in 1747, that discipline was lax at Oswego and that the English officers were drunkards.

On April 25, 1747, Col. Johnson had addressed a council of the Six Nations. In a letter to Governor Clinton dated May 30, 1747, Johnson says "I am quite pestered every day with parties returning with prisoners and scalps and without a penny to pay them." He reported twenty-nine prisoners or scalps brought to Mount Johnson that spring. On the 2nd of July, Governor Clinton ordered Col. Johnson to build a fort at Canajoharie, but whether this means the castle or somewhere in the large district known by the name of Canajoharie, is not certain. It is not even known whether the fort was built at this time. On July 16, 1747, Colonel Johnson attended a council between Governor Clinton and the Mohawks at Albany.

In February, 1748, Clinton appointed Johnson commander of the New York Colonial troops along the northern frontier. From this time forward William Johnson, then only thirty-three years old, seems to have turned over the details of his business to others and devoted himself generally to governmental and military affairs. Says Stone: "Becoming favorably known both to the colony and the British government, he now assumed, as better suited to his improved standing, more dignity in his appointments, his manner of living, and his intercourse with the Indians."

Early in 1748, Johnson received orders to build forts at the

Iroquois towns. On March 20th, he held a council with the Mohawks and then summoned the Six Nations to a council at Onondaga, which met April 24th to 26th. Its object was to retain the allegiance of the Iroquois which was considerably weakened by the usual futile and inefficient efforts of both the British government and the American colonies. Colonel Johnson conducted the council with his usual skill and diplomacy and after the distribution of presents, the conference broke up with completely successful results.

Governor Clinton later made a journey into the Mohawk Valley and westward summoning the Six Nations to a council at Albany, which was held from July 23rd to 27th. Arent Stevens of Schenectady was appointed Provincial Indian interpreter and for many years served as such under Johnson.

On July 18th, 1748, a raiding war party of French and Indians defeated a company of Schenectady militia at the bloody battle of Beukendaal, about three miles west of the city at the site of the old De Graff house. Twenty young militiamen were killed and thirteen made prisoners. This was the only conflict of the war in the Mohawk Valley and the Albany-Schenectady district. A description of this affray is given in the next chapter.

Before the close of the Old French war in 1748, and before the news of peace reached this country, the New York Provincial Assembly passed an act authorizing the building of two new blockhouses at Schenectady.

The treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, signed in 1748, concluded the third of the struggles between the French and English in America. The years from the end of King George's, or the Old French war, in 1748, to the beginning of the Great French and Indian war in 1754, were but an armed truce between the French and English colonists and their Indian allies. They were important years of development in the Mohawk Valley and in the career of its greatest Colonial citizen, Colonel William Johnson.

King George's war, in New York, was marked by much silly talk, dull plans and futile action. Projects were formed for alliance with New England but aid was refused the New England colonies when requested. It was a conflict which left the American colonies strong, but dejected and disgusted with English leadership. It was, however, a period in which William Johnson rose to great power and prominence and our Mohawk Valley, as his seat of residence and administration, took on a prominence in the affairs of the world, which has been constantly increasing in the two centuries since Johnson settled here.

Johnson's flour mill became one of the most important in the Mohawk Valley, which was rapidly becoming the wheat granary of the English Colonies. Johnson shipped flour to New York and the West Indies and furs to London, and the young and progressive frontiersman seems to have rapidly acquired wealth during his first years along the Mohawk River.

FREY HOUSE

Built in 1739 on the site of the log cabin first built here by Hendrick Frey in 1689. It stands near the railroad tracks (which here follow the route of the Old King's Highway) at Palatine Bridge and is a familiar landmark to passengers on the New York Central.

CHAPTER 39.

BATTLE OF BEUKENDAAL.

SCHENECTADY MILITIA AMBUSHED BY CANADIAN INDIANS—TWENTY SLAIN, THIRTEEN MADE PRISONERS AND MANY WOUNDED—ONLY BATTLE OF THE OLD FRENCH WAR IN THE MOHAWK VALLEY.

The battle of Beukendaal occurred on July 18, 1748. It was the only battle of King George's war, which took place in the Mohawk Valley or the Albany-Schenectady district. This bloody affray is sometimes referred to as a massacre, but, while it began as an ambuscade, it developed into a combat between armed forces and had all the character of a small battle. It was fought at a locality called Beukendaal, about three miles west of Schenectady, at the old De Graff house, only the cellar of which now remains. Beukendaal is Dutch for "Beechdale", and it was so called from the number of beech trees growing there. While the enemy was driven off the Schenectady militia suffered a great loss for so small a force.

A raiding party of French and Indians, under the command of Le Sieur Chevalier de Repentighy, entered the township of Glenville, Schenectady County, on the morning of July 18, 1748.

Captain Daniel Toll with his favorite negro servant Ryckert and Dirk Van Vorst went in search of some stray horses at Beukendaal, a locality about three miles from Schenectady. They soon heard, as they supposed, the trampling of horses; but, on nearer approach, the sound they mistook for that made by horses' hoofs on the clayey ground, proceeded from the quoits, with which some Indian boys were playing. Mr. Toll discovered his danger too late and fell pierced by the bullets of the French savages. Van Vorst was wounded and made a prisoner. Ryckert, more fortunate, took to his heels and fled. He reached Schenectady in safety and told the dreadful news of the death of his master and the presence of the enemy.

Albert Van Slyck, one of the militiamen, says that the Schenectady militia went forward to the fight in four small bodies, which was the cause of their great losses. The first party consisted of Lieutenant John Darling, commander of the New England garrison of Schenectady, with some of his men, five or six "young lads" and Daniel Van Slyck, brother of Albert. The second party was led by "Ackes" (Jacques) Van Slyck.

When the first party came up they were surprised to see "a man resembling Mr. Toll sitting near a fence in an adjoining field and a crow flying up and down before him. On coming nearer, they discovered it to be the corpse of Mr. Toll, with a crow attached to a string." This was a lure to draw the advance party into an ambush. The hidden enemy fired a volley and most of the Americans were shot down and killed, while several were captured. Ackes Vay Slyck and his party came up and took refuge in the De Graff house where they tore the clapboards off from under the eaves from which position they fired on the enemy and successfully defended themselves.

Adrian Van Slyck now came on the scene with a party of New York levies. They were fired upon. Van Slyck was killed and his men immediately turned around and ran back to Schenectady. Albert Van Slyck and Jacob Glen came up with a fourth company which reinforced the little band of defenders of the De Graff house. Their fire became too hot for the raiders who now turned and fled into the woods, leaving the militiamen holding the field, surrounded by their dead and dying.

Dirk Van Vorst, who had been captured when Captain Toll was killed, was left in charge of two Indian boys when the fight began. The young red men tied Van Vorst to a tree, so that they could go and watch the battle. Dirk then managed to get his hand into his pocket, took out his knife, cut his bonds and escaped.

The American loss at the battle of Beukendaal was 20 killed, a number wounded and 13 made prisoner. Twelve of the killed were militiamen and eight were of the garrison of New England soldiers. Seven prisoners were Schenectady militiamen and six were soldiers of the garrison. The loss of the enemy is not given in any of the accounts, but it is probable that it was small.

About 70 Schenectady militiamen and soldiers were in the fight, probably not counting the levies who ran away. The enemy is supposed to have numbered over 100 Indians and some French.

Albert Van Slyck wrote to Col. William Johnson that "it grieves me, I not being Commander, that when we went, Garret Van Antwerp would suffer no more to accompany the party."

The survivors brought their dead and wounded back to Schenectady, where the twenty dead men were laid out in a barn. The news of the battle was sent to Albany by a mounted messenger, who reached there in the evening. Lieutenant Chew, with 100 English and 200 Indians, marched to Schenectady, but the enemy was then too far on the way to Canada to be overtaken.

So far as known, the names of the Americans slain at Beukendaal, were as follows:

John A. Bradt, Johannes Marinus, Peter Vrooman, Daniel Van Antwerpen, Cornelis Viele, Jr., Nicolaas DeGraaf, Adrian Van Slyck, Jacob Glen, Jr., Adam Conde, J. P. Antwerpen, Frans Van der Bogart, Capt. Daniel Toll, Lt. John Darling and seven of his garrison soldiers.

The known wounded were, Ryer Wemp, Robinson, Wilson, Dirk Van Vorst; and there were probably a number of others.

The prisoners were, John Phelps, Lewis Groot, Johannes Seyer Vrooman, Frank Connor, Harman Veeder, Isaac Truax, Albert John Vedder and six soldiers of the garrison.

Pearson's Schenectady Patent has an interesting account of the exchange of prisoners taken from among the inhabitants of Schenectady by Canadian French and Indians, during the Old French war. It is as follows:

"At the close of hostilities, Governor Clinton sent Lieut. Stoddert to Montreal to arrange for an exchange of prisoners. With Capt. Anthony Van Schaick, he went into the Indian country to recover the captives, but with indifferent success. Among those who returned with Lieut. Stoddert, were Capt. Anthony Van Schaick, John Vrooman, Peter Vasborough (Vosburgh), Albert Vedder and Francis Connor. Efforts were made to induce others to return but without success. Of these were: Rachel Quackenbos, Simon Fort and Philip Phillipse, Rachel Quackenbos abjured the English religion and Lieutenant Stoddert could not induce her to return. Fort and Phillipse also desired to remain with the [Canadian] Iroquois. The former belonged by adoption to a sister of a chief named Agonareche. She refused to give him up at any price. Captain Van Schaick offered six hundred livres for Fort, without succeeding in obtaining him. On the contrary, so determined was his squaw owner to retain him, she said she would obey the French commandant and deliver him up, but that she and her husband would follow him and he should not reach home alive. Lieut. Stoddert left Canada on the 28th June, 1750, with twenty-four prisoners."

The foregoing circumstances were typical of all the French and Indian wars and our later Revolution. Prisoners made by the Indians, in the American settlements, frequently preferred to remain in the free and easy life of the Indian villages, rather than return to the drudgery and toil of the towns and farms settled by the English and the Dutch, or their descendants.

CHAPTER 40.

AGRICULTURE IN ALBANY COUNTY—1740-1750.

KALM'S VISIT TO COHOES FALLS IN 1749; TO COLONEL JOHNSON IN 1750 —WILLIAM SMITH'S DESCRIPTION OF SCHENECTADY AND THE MOHAWK VALLEY IN 1756.

In July, 1750, Peter Kalm, the celebrated Swedish naturalist, passed through the Mohawk Valley on his way to Oswego. He stopped at Mount Johnson where he was the guest of Colonel Johnson, who treated his visitor with a helpful kindness and consideration. Kalm appreciated these attentions as was shown in a warm letter to the Colonel which he wrote from Oswego, under date of August 7, 1750. The foreign scientist was then on his way to Niagara Falls.

Kalm wrote a description of the Cohoes Falls and of Albany and its surrounding country, which is interesting to us in that it embodied many features peculiar to the Mohawk Valley, although the description ostensibly is only that of Albany and its immediate vicinity. However, we know that it describes as well, the Mohawk Valley, because he speaks of the Palatine German settlements, which he passed in his travels at Stone Arabia and German Flats, and there were no Palatine German settlements nearer Albany than Schoharie.

Kalm came to America in 1748 and made journeys to Pennsylvania, New Jersey, New York and French Canada, in 1748, 1749, and 1750. He made exhaustive researches into the flora and fauna of America and kept a journal of his tour, which probably was elaborated for publication. Kalm was very critical of the Albany people of Dutch blood, although he makes exceptions to his criticisms and there probably was some strong foundation for his objections to their grasping commercialism. Similar criticisms of these people were frequent, which is somewhat offset by Mrs. Grant's flattering estimate of them, in her "Memoirs of an American Lady." Kalm's description of Dutch life and habits holds good for the Americans of Low Dutch descent in Schenectady and other parts of the Mohawk Valley. He also covers their farming methods and, all in all, the Swedish scientist's picture of life at Albany and along the Mohawk is one of the best we have of the eighteenth century in the Province of New York.

Early in the eighteenth century Albany County and the Mohawk Valley began to take on importance as one of the greatest wheat raising regions in the English Colonies. At the beginning of the Old French war, in 1744, the section mentioned had become the great granary of America, with Albany as the grain market of the country. In this regard it had a national importance as a seat of food supply for the Colonial and Revolutionary American armies and the mills along the Mohawk and the Schoharie and about Albany made history, almost as much as our fighters against France and our warriors of the Revolution. Kalm has an interesting mention of this phase of his Albany-Mohawk Valley description.

Peter Kalm visited Cohoes Falls, June 22, 1749, on his way to Montreal from Albany. His description of it coincides closely with its present form, with the exception that he does not mention the large rock which has been brought into prominence by erosion and which lies to the north of the center of the face of the falls. This may have been formed to a large extent in the two centuries which have elapsed since the Swedish visitor stood in the spray of the falls, then diminished by the summer droughts. It has been the general opinion that the Mohawk in 1749 carried a much greater volume of water than today, when a great part of the river's watershed has been denuded of the virgin forest which then covered ninety-five per cent. of its surface. However, Kalm described the falls as having a very small flow at a time in summer, when the midsummer drought would ordinarily not have yet reduced the river's waters. The author took a picture of the Cohoes Falls in July at a time when four-fifths of its water was running into the penstocks of the Cohoes Power & Light Co. and the flow here shown is far greater than that described by Kalm.

This work has presented a description of Cohoes Falls by Dominie Megapolensis, written in 1646. Kalm's account of this truly great natural wonder of our Valley is interesting as that of a keen and scientific observer of nature. Kalm's visit to Cohoes Falls in 1749 is described by him as follows:

"June the 22d. This morning I followed one of our guides to the water-fall near Cohoes, in the River Mohawk, before it falls into the River Hudson. This falls is about three English miles from the place where I passed the night. The country till the fall is a plain, and only hilly about the fall itself. The wood is cleared in most places and the ground cultivated and interspersed with farm houses.

"The Cohoes Falls is one of the greatest in North America. It is on the river Mohawk, before it unites with the river Hudson. Above and below the falls, the sides and bottom of the river consist of hard rock. The river is three hundred yards broad here. At the fall, there is a rock crossways in the river, running everywhere equally high and crossing in a straight line with the side which forms the fall. It represents, as it were, a wall towards the lower side, which is not quite perpendicular, wanting about four yards. The height of this wall, over which the water rolls, appeared to me about twenty or twenty-four yards * * * There was very little water in the river at present, and it only ran over the fall in a few places. In such places where the water had rolled down before, it had cut deep holes below into the rock, sometimes to the depth of two or three fathoms. The bed of the river, below the fall, was of rock and quite dry, there being only a channel in the middle fourteen feet broad and a fathom or somewhat more deep, through which the water passed which came over the fall. We saw a number of holes in the rock, below the fall, which bore a perfect resemblance to those in Sweden, which we call 'Giant's Pots' or 'Mountain Kettles'. They differed in size; there being large deep ones and small, shallow ones. We had clear uninterrupted sunshine, not a cloud above the horizon and no wind at all. However, close to this fall, where the water was in such a small quantity, there was a continual drizzling rain, occasioned by the vapors, which rose from the water during its fall and were carried about by the wind. Therefore, in coming within a musket-shot of the fall against the wind, our cloaths were wetted at once, as from a rain. The whirlpools, which were in the water below the fall, contained several kinds of fish; and they were caught by some people who amused themselves with angling. The rocks hereabouts consist of the same black stone which forms the hills about Albany. When exposed to the air, it is apt to shiver into horizontal flakes, as slate does."

Kalm's description of the climate, agriculture and the life and habits of the Americans of Dutch descent of Albany and Albany County, including the Mohawk Valley, is of interest as those of one of the keenest and most scientific observers who visited our Valley in Colonial days. It follows in part:

"During summer, the wind blows commonly from the South and brings a great drought along with it. Sometimes it rains a little and, as soon as it has rained, the wind veers to Northwest, blowing for several days from that point and then returning to the South. I have had frequent opportunities of seeing

this change of wind happen very exactly, both this year and the following.

"June the 15th. The enclosures were made of fir wood, of which there is an abundance in the extensive woods, and many saw mills to cut it into boards. The several sorts of apple-trees grow very well here and bear as fine fruit as in any other part of North America. Each farm has a large orchard. They have some apples here which are very large and very palatable; they are sent to New York and other places as a rarity. They make excellent cyder, in autumn, in the country round Albany.

"All the kinds of cherry trees which have been planted here succeed very well.

"Pear trees do not succeed here. This was complained of in many other parts of North America. But, I fear that they do not take sufficient care in the management and planting of them, for I have seen fine pears in several parts of North America.

"Peach trees have often been planted here and never would succeed well. This was attributed to a worm, which lives in the ground and eats through the root, so that the tree dies. Perhaps the severity of the winter contributes much to it.

"They plant no fruit trees at Albany, besides these I have mentioned.

"They sow as much hemp and flax here as they want for home consumption.

"They sow maize in great abundance. A loose soil is reckoned as the best for this purpose, for it will not grow in clay. From half a bushel they reap a hundred bushels. They reckon maize a very good kind of corn, because the shoot recovers after being hurt by the frost. They have had examples here of the shoots dying twice in the spring, to the very ground, and yet they shot up again afterwards, and afforded an excellent crop. Maize has likewise the advantage of standing much longer against a drought than wheat. The larger sort of maize, which is commonly sown here, ripens in September.

"They sow wheat in the neighborhood of Albany, with great advantage. From one bushel they get twelve sometimes; if the soil be good, they get twenty bushels. If their crop amounts to only ten bushels from one, they think it very trifling. The inhabitants around Albany, are Dutch and Germans. The Germans live in several great villages and sow great quantities of wheat which is brought to Albany, and from whence they send many yachts laden with flour to New York. The wheat flour from Albany is reckoned the best in all North America, except that from

Sopus or King's Town, a place between Albany and New York. All the bread in Albany is made of wheat. At New York they pay for the Albany flour with several shillings more per hundred weight than that from other places.

"Rye is likewise sown here but not so generally as wheat.

"They do not sow much barley here, because they do not reckon the profits very great. Wheat is so plentiful that they make malt of it. In the neighborhood of New York I saw great fields sown with barley.

"They do not sow more oats than are necessary for their horses.

"The Dutch and Germans who live hereabouts sow pease in great abundance; they succeed very well and are annually carried to New York in great quantities. They have been free from insects for a considerable time. But of late years the same beetles which destroy the pease in Pennsylvania, New Jersey and the lower parts of the province of New York, have likewise appeared abundant among the pease here. It is a real loss to this town and to the other parts of North America, which used to get pease from hence for their own consumption and that of their sailors. It had been found that, if they procured good pease from Albany and sowed them near King's Town or the lower part of the province of New York, they succeeded very well the first year but were so full of worms the second and following years that nobody could or would eat them. Some people put ashes in the pot among the pease, when they will not boil or soften well; but whether this is wholesome and agreeable to the palate, I do not know.

"Potatoes are generally planted. Some people preferred ashes to sand for keeping them during the winter.

"The Bermuda potatoes (Convolvulus Batatas) have likewise been planted here and succeed pretty well. The greatest difficulty is to keep them during winter; for they generally rot in that season.

"The humming-bird (Trochilus Colubris) comes to this place sometimes, but it is rather a scarce bird.

"The shingles, with which the houses are covered, are made of the White Pine, which is reckoned as good and as durable and sometimes better than the white cedar (Cupressus thyoides). The white pine is found abundant here in such places as common pines grow in Europe. I have never seen them in the lower parts of the province of New York, nor in New Jersey and Pennsylvania. They saw a vast quantity of deal from the white pine on this side

of Albany, which are brought down to New York and from thence exported.

"The woods abound with vines, which likewise grow on the steep banks of the river in surprising quantities. They climbed to the tops of the trees on the bank and bent them down by their weight. But where they found no trees they hung down along the steep shores and covered them entirely. The grapes are eaten after the frost has attacked them; for they are too sour before. They are not much used any other way. * * *

"The [Dutch] inhabitants of Albany are much more sparing than the English. The meat which is served up is often insufficient to satisfy the stomach, and the bowl does not circulate so freely as amongst the English. The women are perfectly well acquainted with economy; they rise early, go to sleep very late and are almost over-nice and cleanly in regard to the floor, which is frequently scoured several times in the week. The servants in the town are chiefly negroes. Some of the inhabitants wear their own hair, but it is very short without a bag or queue, which are looked upon as the characteristics of a Frenchman; and, as I wore my hair in a bag the first day I came from Canada, I was surrounded by children, who called me Frenchman, and some of the boldest offered to pull my French dress.

"Their meat and manner of dressing it is very different from that of the English. Their breakfast is tea, commonly without milk. About thirty or forty years ago, tea was unknown to them, and they breakfasted either upon bread and butter or bread and milk. They never put sugar into the cup but take a small bit of it into their mouths, whilst they drink. Along with the tea, they eat bread and butter, with slices of hung beef. Coffee is not usual here; they breakfast generally about seven. Their dinner is buttermilk and bread, to which they sometimes add sugar, then it is a delicious dish for them; or fresh bread and milk; or boiled or roasted flesh. They sometimes make use of buttermilk instead of fresh milk, to boil a thin kind of porridge with, which tastes very sour, but not disagreeable in hot weather. To each dinner, they have a great salad, prepared with abundance of vinegar, and very little or no oil. They frequently eat buttermilk, bread and salad, one mouthful after another. Their supper is generally bread and butter and bread and milk. They sometimes eat cheese at breakfast, and at dinner; it is not in slices, but scraped or rasped, so as to resemble coarse flour, which they pretend adds to the good taste of cheese. They commonly drink very small beer or pure water."

The following is a description of Schenectady and the Mohawk Valley, written about 1755 and therefore dating from about the same period as Kalm's foregoing commentary on agricultural conditions in Albany County and the Mohawk Valley, which then formed part of that county. It is from William Smith's History of New York, pp. 305, 306, which bears preface date of 1756.

"Sixteen or eighteen miles northwest from Albany lies Schenectady, on the banks of the Mohawks' River, which falls into Hudson's River twelve miles to the north of Albany. The village is compact and regular, built principally of brick, on a rich flat of low land, surrounded by hills. It has a large Dutch church, with a steeple and town clock, near the centre. The windings of the river through the town, and the fields (which are often overflowed in the spring) form, about harvest, a most beautiful prospect. The lands in the vale of Schenectady are so fertile that they are commonly sold at £45 per acre. Though the farmers use no kind of manure they till the fields every year, and they always produce full crops of wheat or peas. Their church was incorporated by Governor Cosby, and the town has the privilege of sending a member to the assembly.

"From this village our Indian traders set out in battoes for Oswego. The Mohawks' River, from hence to Fort Hunter, abounds with rifts and shoals, which, in the spring, give but little obstruction to the navigation. From thence to its head, or rather to the portage into the Wood Creek, the conveyance is easy and the current less rapid. The banks of this river are in general low, and the soil exceeding good. Our settlements on the north side extend to Burnet's field, a flat inhabited by Germans, which produces wheat and peas in surprising plenty. On the south side except a few Scotch-Irish in Cherry Valley at the head of the Susquehanna, we have but few farms west of the three German towns on Schoharie, a small creek which empties itself into the Mohawks' River, about twenty miles west of Schenectady. The fur trade at Oswego is one of the principal advantages of this county. The Indians resort thither in May, and the trade continues till the latter end of July. A good road might be made from Schenectady to Oswego. In the summer, seventeen hundred and fifty fat cattle were easily driven there for the army under the command of General Shirley.

"The principal settlements to the northward of Albany are Connestigiune, eastward of Schenectady, on the Mohawks' River, which a little lower tumbles down a precipice of about seventy feet high, called the Cahoes. The surprise, which, as one might

imagine, would naturally be excited by the view of so great a cataract, is much diminished by the height of the banks of the river; besides the fall is uniform as a mill dam, being uninterrupted by the projection of rocks."

The "Connestigiune" is the Niskayuna of today. The account is incorrect in that it specifies that the north side only was settled westward to German Flats, whereas both sides of the Mohawk River were equally thickly settled westward from Fort Hunter.

CHAPTER 41.

A PERIOD OF GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT—1748-1755.

PERIOD BETWEEN THE OLD FRENCH WAR AND THE BEGINNING OF THE GREAT FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR—DISPUTE AS TO FIRST SETTLEMENT IN PRESENT CANAJOHARIE VILLAGE.

The six years of truce between France and England in Americe, from 1748 to 1754, were marked by development in the Mohawk Valley along the lines indicated in previous chapters, relative to its settlement and growth.

In the year 1737 the population of the province of New York was 60,437; in 1749 at the end of King George's war it was 73,448. In 1737 the population of Albany County, including the Mohawk Valley, was 10,687 and, in 1749, it was 10,634. This standstill in population in Albany County was caused by the exodus of many people, from this exposed frontier, during King George's or the Old French war.

The Mohawk Valley, as previously stated, was then part of Albany County and numbered nearly one-quarter of its population, so that it is probable that the population of the Mohawk Valley was about 2,500 in 1737 and in 1749. The wonder is that it was so much at the end of King George's war, but the Dutch and Palatine cradles furnished their quotas to fill the ranks of the timid ones who ran away.

In 1749, Governor Clinton reported that the forts of "Albany, Schenectadee, Oswego & in the Mohawks' country, were all garrisoned by the Independent companys but are very bady contrived and tumbling down." In this year Abbe Picquet built a fort and storehouse at present Ogdensburg, on the St. Lawrence, then known as Oswegatchie. It was attacked and burned by the Mohawks, October 26th, 1749, but was rebuilt. There were 87 families there in 1750 and 396 in 1757. This fort—later Fort Presentation—had an important bearing on the history of the Mohawk Valley and that of the Mohawk-St. Lawrence-Champlain triangle, of which our Valley forms a part. The Indians from Oswegatchie were removed to the Mohawk Valley near the Big Nose after the Seven Years' war.

Colonel Johnson built present stone Fort Johnson in 1749,

THE DINING ROOM IN FORT JOHNSON, AMSTERDAM

and moved into it in January, 1750. It was known as Mount Johnson until it was stockaded in 1755, when it became Fort Johnson.

On August 2, 1749, Governor Clinton ordered delivery to Colonel Johnson of all papers relating to the Indian department. Johnson was entrusted with the delicate mission of the exchange of war prisoners between the Six Nations and French which he successfully accomplished but with difficulties which severely tried his masterful diplomacy and his unbounded energy.

In May, 1750, Colonel Johnson was appointed a member of the governor's council, one of the most important positions in the Province of New York. He was not sworn in until July 10, 1751.

In July, 1750, Colonel Johnson entertained the famous Swedish naturalist, Peter Kalm, at Mount Johnson. On December 4, 1750, Johnson held a council with the Mohawks. These councils became so numerous that only the most important ones can be mentioned.

The year 1750 was marked by considerable building activity and a number of houses and churches were erected which were important structures for that time, small as they may seem today. Several of these buildings largely enter into the later history of our Valley and are worthy of mention.

Fort Klock, near present St. Johnsville, was built by Johannes Klock in 1750. Its mason builder was Willem Pick. It is a very strongly built stone house resting on the solid rock, from which issues a living spring. The Klock house faced the King's Highway, which then followed the New York Central tracks through a considerable part of the Valley from Schenectady to present St. Johnsville. The Klock homestead was stockaded during the Revolution, when it became a strong neighborhood defense of the militia.

Fort Wagner was built about 1750 by Johan Peter Wagner, an immigrant from the Rhine Palatinate to New York in 1710, who settled on the Schoharie in 1714 and removed to the Mohawk Valley about 1723. His son, Johan Peter (born 1722), became lieutenant colonel of the Palatine regiment of Tryon County militia of the Revolution. During that war, the stone Wagner house was palisaded and became Fort Wagner, a strong neighborhood fortification. To the southeast of the fort is a small hill called the Steilerberg (German, "steep hill"). This was evidently a Mohawk village site as many relics have been found on it. The Wagner family burial plot was located on the northwestern point of this peculiar hill.

About the year 1750, the "Reformed Dutch Church of Canajoharie" was built on Sand Hill at the western end of present Fort Plain. Sand Hill was then an important point in the Valley, with a store, tavern and blacksmith shop. The church was built on the top of Sand Hill on the Dutchtown road. It was known as the Reformed Dutch Church of Canajoharie, the latter then being the name of the entire Mohawk River district between the Noses and Fall Hill (Little Falls). This church was burned by Brant's raiders in 1780. Although not directly connected, the Fort Plain Reformed Church, when built in 1834, drew to it the Sand Hill congregation. The Sand Hill church was probably the fifth built along the Mohawk River.

In 1750, Marte Janse Van Alstyne bought the eastern half of the Canajoharie property from his partner, Hendrick Schrembling. Van Alstyne then came to the site of the present village of Canajoharie and built a stone house on his property close to the Canajoharie Creek. Here he kept tavern and this house later became famous as the favorite meeting place of the Tryon County Committee of Safety. It is now the headquarters of the Fort Rensselaer Club of Canajoharie. Schrembling moved over to the west side of Canajoharie Creek and built a store, grist mill and tavern, the latter on a site which (in 1924) had been occupied for hotel purposes for 175 years, the Hotel Wagner now occupying the location. Van Alstyne's tavern and Schrembling's tavern, grist mill and store made present Canajoharie an important trade and travel center, at a time when there was but one village and four hamlets along the Mohawk River—the town of Schenectady and the hamlets of Caughnawaga, Sand Hill (present Fort Plain), Fort Herkimer and Herkimer (German Flats). Confusion is added to the "Canajoharies" of Colonial days by the fact that the site of present Canajoharie village was then called "Canajoharie" as well as "Schrembling's." Canajoharie Creek was then called Bowman's Creek and the present Cherry Valley Mountains were the "Brimstone Hills," deriving their name from the sulphurous fumes emanating from present Sharon Springs.

There is considerable dispute as to the first settlement in present Canajoharie village. Some members of the Van Alstyne family claim that Marte Janse Van Alstyne came to present Canajoharie as early as 1723 and that he started building the Van Alstyne house in 1729. The foregoing account is summarized from the writings of Mr. S. L. Frey, an authority on Canajoharie as well as all Mohawk Valley history.

By 1750, the English-speaking population of Schenectady had

increased to such an extent that preliminary steps were taken for the erection of an Episcopal Church. The French and Indian war retarded its construction and St. George's Church was not completed for use until 1762 and was "finishing" even as late as 1769.

Several old houses of Schenectady date from this period of Valley growth and development. Among them are the Robert Sanders house at 43 Washington Avenue, where Washington took tea in 1775, and the Abraham Fonda and the Vrooman houses both of which are said to have been built in 1752.

April 24, 1751, Colonel William Johnson petitioned for a license to purchase 130,000 acres of land on the Charlotte River. The French were now very busy trying to undermine English influence among the Indians, a policy they pursued up to the breaking out of the French and Indian war in 1754. They sent Jesuit priests and emissaries constantly among the Indian tribes to stir up trouble and turn them against each other as well as against the English. Colonel Johnson, as Provincial Indian agent, was constantly engaged in combating this French intrigue.

In 1751, the French planned the establishment of a Jesuit mission and a military and trading post on Onondaga Lake, the very center of the Iroquois Confederacy. Colonel Johnson killed this scheme by hurrying to Onondaga and inducing the Onondaga sachems to deed him the land on, along and two miles back from the lake. Johnson was granted this land in 1753 by the governor's council.

Because of his inability to secure payment from the Assembly for supplies and for expenses, Colonel Johnson resigned his office of Indian agent at a council between Governor Clinton and the Indians at Albany, July 5, 1751. Upon the Iroquois receiving notification of this, a deputation waited upon the Governor and protested against the Colonel's resignation. King Hendrick said of Johnson: "We had him, when he was like a tree that grew for our use, which now seems to be falling down, though it has many roots. His knowledge of our affairs made us think him an Indian like ourselves; and we are greatly afraid, as he has declined, that your excellency will appoint some person—a stranger both to us and our affairs." Johnson, however, refused to resume the hard work of the Indian agent as long as the Assembly refused payment for the goods he had furnished Fort Oswego, for which there was then still unpaid nearly £4,000.

Colonel Johnson's uncle, Sir Peter Warren, had been made an admiral of the red in 1748 and presented with the freedom of

the city of London, because of his success over the French on the seas. Warren died July 29, 1752. Johnson was commissioned, in this year, to investigate irregularities in the customs service at Oswego.

In 1753, the Mohawks and the other Six Nations tribes were alarmed by reports that the French were to build forts on the Ohio River, which the Iroquois claimed as part of their empire. Hendrick accompanied by several Mohawk sachems went to New York to lay the matter before the Governor and ask for action on the part of the Provincial authorities to thwart these French designs.

Hendrick there said "Hitherto you have desired that the paths should be kept open by us, but now, you make no effort to keep the French from closing them, but throw the whole burden upon us. If, therefore, you do not endeavor to redress our grievances the rest of our brethren of the Six Nations shall know of it and all paths shall be stopped."

Receiving no definite promises from Governor Clinton, Hendrick abruptly broke off all relations between the Provincial government, and the Mohawk Nation, for the first time in its history, a matter which had possibility of the gravest results for the English Colonies.

The governor's council suggested that Colonel Johnson endeavor to restore good relations between the Iroquois and the Colony. Colonel Johnson at once called and held a council with the Mohawks at Mount Johnson at which he announced a council at Onondaga for September. This was conducted so successfully by Johnson that the covenant chain of friendship again bound fast the red and white "brethren."

Governor Clinton was succeeded by Sir Danvers Osborn on October 10th, 1753. Justice James DeLancey, at the same time was commissioned lieutenant-governor. Osborn, who was ill and depressed, committed suicide that night by hanging. DeLancey thereupon became acting governor. From an advocate of popular rights, the Justice became, overnight, a strong proponent of the rights of the Crown.

Early in 1754, the Lords of Trade and Plantations directed the governors of the English colonies in America to urge their assemblies to send delegates to an American Colonial congress which would make a treaty of friendship and alliance with the wavering Indian tribes. Seven colonies complied and sent delegates to the convention, which was held in Albany, beginning June 29, 1754. New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Connecticut,

Rhode Island, Massachusetts and New Hampshire sent delegates. While the Iroquois were still disaffected toward the English, the influence of Sir William Johnson and his friend, the Mohawk chief, King Hendrick, brought about the attendance of a number of chiefs of the Six Nations.

The congress was barren of immediate results. Benjamin Franklin, a delegate from Pennsylvania, prepared a plan of Colonial confederation, which was rejected by the Crown because it gave the Colonists too much liberty and disapproved by the Colonists because it gave them too little. The "Albany plan" as it was called was the seed from which the later Constitution of the United States developed, and it was a subject of discussion for years thereafter in the Colonies. Through Johnson's influence, the Iroquois maintained their English allegiance.

King Hendrick, leading sachem of the Mohawks, made the best speech of the council. He promised that the Six Nations would securely hold the covenant chain. Referring to the fact that many of the Iroquois had gone to live at Oswegatchie under French protection, Hendrick said this was because the English had neglected the Six Nations and that many of their people were starving. Continuing he said:

"Brethren, we have not as yet confirmed the peace with them. [Meaning the French-Indian allies.] 'Tis your fault, brethren, we are not strengthened by conquest, for we should have gone and taken Crown Point, but you hindered us. We had concluded to go and take it, but were told it was too late, that the ice would not bear us. Instead of this you burned your own fort at Sarraghtogee [near old Fort Hardy] and ran away from it, which was a shame and scandal to you. Look about your country and see; you have no fortifications about you—no, not even to this city. 'Tis but one step from Canada hither, and the French may easily come and turn you out of doors. Brethren, you were desirous we should open our minds and our hearts to you; look at the French, they are men—they are fortifying everywhere; but, we are ashamed to say it, you are like women, bare and open, without any fortifications."

Abraham, brother of King Hendrick, and chief of the Lower Castle, then made a speech asking for the reinstatement of Colonel Johnson as Indian agent.

Governor DeLancey's reply to the Indian orators was conciliatory and the results of the Indian side of the conference were satisfactory. Johnson prepared a plan for the management of the Six Nations and for the best method of preventing the suc-

cess of French designs. The commissioners took home to their respective Colonial governments Johnson's plan for consideration. In this epochal convention, Colonel Johnson was one of the foremost figures and fully equal in influence and constructive ability to Benjamin Franklin of Pennsylvania.

In the seven years of peace, between the ending of the Old French war, 1748, and the beginning of hostilities of the Seven Years' war in the Province of New York in 1755, the population of Albany County had greatly increased while that of the Mohawk Valley probably had nearly doubled. The population of Albany County, in 1749, was 10,634 and in 1756, it had grown to 17,424, while that of the Mohawk Valley probably was 5,000, including the white and black people of the entire watershed which also comprehended the Schoharie Valley. Including Indians, the people of the Mohawk Valley, probably numbered close to 6,000 at the beginning of 1756. There were no separate returns for the Mohawk Valley and the local population has to be estimated. The population of Albany County in 1756, was the largest of that of the ten counties of the Province of New York, which then had a total population of 96,765. The French and Indian or Seven Years' war tended again to greatly decrease the population of the Mohawk Valley, always the most exposed frontier of the Colony. However, at the close of the great French war, the Province and the Mohawk Valley experienced a growth and development which was proportionately the greatest of any period in our Valley's history.

The short-lived peace, between the Old French war and the Great French and Indian war, was now drawing to a close. Former settlers had returned to their Valley homes at the close of the last war in 1748 and newcomers had come in in considerable numbers. The six years had constituted a period of wonderful development along the Mohawk but this brief time of peace was soon to merge into the third French and Indian war, which ravaged this fair Valley.

CHAPTER 42.

BATTLE OF LAKE GEORGE—1755.

VICTORY OF AMERICAN-BRITISH ARMY OVER FRENCH-CANADIAN-INDIAN ARMY, UNDER BARON DIESKAU—JOHNSON'S SCOUTING PARTY AMBUSHED—HENDRICK SLAIN—FRENCH-INDIAN ATTACK ON JOHNSON'S CAMP REPULSED—JOHNSON WOUNDED AND GENERAL LYMAN COMMANDS—GENERAL JOHNSON MADE A BARONET AND PRESENTED WITH £5,000 BY THE BRITISH CROWN FOR HIS SERVICES IN THE VICTORY OF LAKE GEORGE, WHICH HAD HEARTENING EFFECT ON THE COLONISTS—MOHAWK VALLEY MILITIA AND MOHAWK INDIANS, FORM DETACHMENTS OF GENERAL JOHNSON'S ARMY.

The French power in America had been gradually strengthening and extending its dominion since the close of the Old French war in 1748. The French had a line of communication and a series of forts and trading posts, extending from the mouth of the St. Lawrence nearly three thousand miles along the Great Lakes and down the Mississippi to its outlet into the Gulf of Mexico. The Canadian French had powerful Indian allies along the entire route. In 1754, they started to rule the waters of the Ohio, in which, as we have seen, they came into conflict with the claims of the Six Nations to that entire region. The English attempted to build a fort at the forks of the Ohio and Allegheny on the present site of Pittsburgh. The French seized the post and completed the fort which they named Fort Duquesne. Colonel George Washington moved against this post, engaged the French in battle, but was defeated and compelled to return. This opened the great conflict in America.

The English Colonists appealed to Great Britain and three expeditions were planned for 1755, one against Fort Duquesne, one against the French Lake Ontario forts, and the other against Crown Point on Lake Champlain. The first two failed, but the third, under command of Major-General Sir William Johnson, fought and won a victory at Lake George. This was one of the three pitched battles won by the English-American forces during the war, the others being Quebec, under Wolf, and Niagara, also under Johnson. Thus Johnson nominally won two of the three English victories of the war, although General Lyman, second in command under Johnson, was the actual victor of Lake

George, as Sir William was severely wounded early in the attack on the American camp.

General Braddock was sent to America, in 1755, as commander-in-chief of the English and Colonial forces. He led an expedition for the capture of Fort Duquesne and was terribly beaten and mortally wounded in a French-Indian ambuscade on July 9, 1755. This reverse, at the beginning of hostilities, had a very depressing effect upon the Colonists.

Governor Shirley of Massachusetts, was at the head of the expedition to capture the French Fort Niagara. He had previously appointed Colonel Johnson a major-general, with orders to lead the English and provincial expedition against Crown Point. As both movements had to start from Albany and as each commander needed all the sober and reliable Indian scouts available, each general competed for these red men and there grew up a strong animosity between the two leaders which worked injury to both military movements. The Niagara campaign, if successful, would have shut off the Ohio Valley from the French. It was doomed to failure as Shirley did not get beyond Oswego. If the two forces of Shirley and Johnson had been combined in one army and directed against one point more would have been gained.

Shirley, as chief-in-command, had appointed Major-General Johnson to command the army against Crown Point, "thus gratifying that important province and pleasing the Five Nations, who at this time looked on Johnson with even more than usual favor." A New England leader could not be appointed because it would have aroused too many dangerous jealousies. Shirley was a strong leader but extremely dictatorial and he soon estranged both Johnson and Governor DeLancey. The governor and Johnson, from being enemies thereupon became allies united in opposition to Governor Shirley.

For the Crown Point expedition, Connecticut raised 1,200 men, Massachusetts 1,200, New Hampshire 500, Rhode Island 400, New York 800, all American militiamen. Of Johnson, Parkman says: "By birth he was Irish, of good family, being nephew of Admiral Sir Peter Warren who, owning extensive wild lands on the Mohawk, had placed the young man in charge of them nearly twenty years before. Johnson was born to prosper. He had ambition, energy, an active mind, a tall, strong person, a rough, jovial temper, and a quick adaptation to his surroundings. He could drink flip with Dutch boors or Madiera with royal governors. He liked the society of the great, would intrigue and

flatter when he had an end to gain and foil a rival, without looking too closely at the means."

Colonel Johnson early took precautions to guard the frontiers at the very beginning of hostilities. As early as June 6, 1754, he issued orders to the Albany County militia, including that of the Mohawk Valley, to be ready to repel any threatened French attack. On August 30, 1754, at Mount Johnson, he issued orders to the Schenectady militia to guard that town.

On February 7, 1755, Johnson held a council with the Mohawks and the "Canajoharies," as the Mohawks of the Upper Castle, in the Canajoharie district, were called. On February 24, 1755, Colonel Johnson was nominated by Governor Shirley to lead the Crown Point army. He attended the Provincial council in New York, on February 28th and March 12th. He left New York City for Mount Johnson, March 19th and on April 7th, he set out from Mount Johnson for Alexandria, Virginia, where General Braddock then had his headquarters. Braddock there made Johnson superintendent of Indian affairs for all the British colonies in America and commissioned him commander of the Crown Point expedition.

On April 16th, Governors Shirley of Massachusetts, and DeLancey of New York, commissioned Johnson a major-general of the Provincial forces. Following his return to Mount Johnson, Major-General and Indian Commissioner Johnson held a number of important Indian councils, concluding with one with nine Indian nations from June 21 to July 24, 1755, at which 1,100 red men were present. Mount Johnson had been stockaded and fortified and henceforth became Fort Johnson, one of the most important British-American army and militia posts in the English colonies. Parkman writes of this council as follows:

"This meeting took place at his own house known as Fort Johnson; and, as more than eleven hundred Indians appeared at his call, his larder was sorely taxed to entertain them. The speeches were interminable. Johnson, a master of Indian rhetoric, knew his audience too well not to contest with them the palm for insufferable prolixity. The climax was reached the fourth day and he threw down the war-belt. An Oneida war chief took it up; Stevens, the interpreter, began the war-dance, and the assembled warriors howled in chorus. Then a tub of punch was brought in and they all drank the King's health. They showed less alacrity, however, to fight his battles and scarcely three hundred of them would take the war-path. Too many of their friends and relatives were enlisted for the French."

The main reason why more of the Six Nations did not join Johnson was that Shirley, then in command of the Niagara expedition, was competing with Johnson for Indian recruits and foolishly depreciated Johnson in the councils he held with the Six Nations. Johnson's American Provincial troops mobilized at Albany. From there General Johnson sent General Lyman ahead to the carrying place between the Hudson and Lake George, and he followed on August 9th, arriving there, August 14th, with about 3,000 men. On August 15th, he held a council of war which asked for a reinforcement of 1,000 men from Massachusetts and Connecticut. A fort was begun at the Great Carrying Place and named Fort Lyman by its builders. On August 28th, General Johnson arrived at Lake Saint Sacrament. This beautiful lake had received its name from Father Jogues when he passed it on his way to his death in the Mohawk country. On September 1, 1755, General Johnson announced that he had changed the name to Lake George, in honor of the English sovereign. On September 3rd, Johnson wrote a letter to the Lords of Trade complaining of Governor Shirley's interference with his plans. On his arrival at the lake a fortification was begun at once.

Learning of the British-Colonial attempt to capture Crown Point, New France prepared to defend it. An expedition originally intended for the capture of Oswego was sent to defend Crown Point under the command of Baron Dieskau, who expected an easy conquest of the "mob of countrymen" opposed to him. The French force sailed down Lake Champlain in boats and canoes.

Johnson's Provincial army had in it many able military leaders, chief of whom was General Phineas Lyman of Connecticut, second in command, who was the real victor of Lake George. Others were Col. Ephraim Williams of Massachusetts, the founder of Williams College, who was killed in the first battle. Israel Putnam, then a private in a Connecticut regiment and later the famous American Revolutionary general; Lieutenant John Stark of the New Hampshire regiment, who, as a Revolutionary general, stopped the British at Bennington in 1777. Only one of the regiments was uniformed in blue, the rest wearing their daily clothing, as the militiamen of the Revolution did usually. They were not soldiers but farmers and farmers' sons who had volunteered for the summer's campaign. "Blankets had been served out to them by the several provinces, but the greater part brought their own guns; some under the penalty of a fine if they came without them, and some under the inducement of a reward. They

had no bayonets but carried hatchets in their belts as a sort of a substitute. At their sides were slung powder horns, on which, in the leisure of the camp, they carved quaint devices with the points of their jack-knives." All in all, they were the same type of Americans who later fought and won the War for Independence. With them was a battalion of men from the Mohawk Valley, in which Hendrick Frey, Jelles Fonda and others held command. Our Valley militia fought bravely in the following battle.

Johnson's Indian scouts reported the advance of the French, consisting of 3,500 French regulars, Canadians and Indians, with the German Baron Dieskau at their head. The French moved forward to capture Fort Lyman (later Fort Frederick) at the Great Carrying Place. The Indians, as usual refused to join in an assault on a fort and so Dieskau changed his plans to an attack on Johnson's fortified camp at the head of Lake George. Both the French and the Americans had trouble with their Indian allies, whose idea of a successful military expedition seemed to be a prolonged eating and drinking bout, with incidental bloody barbarities.

Dieskau's advance guard captured some wagoners from Fort Lyman, but some escaped and ran into the American camp with the news of the approaching enemy. Johnson's plans of attack and defense do not seem very professional. At a war council, on September 8th, Johnson proposed sending out two parties of 500 men each, although he only had about 2,200 men and less than 300 Indians. Hendrick, the Mohawk war chief, strongly objected. "He picked up a stick and broke it and then he picked up several sticks and showed that together they could not be broken." Johnson thereupon proposed joining the detachments in one. Hendrick shook his old gray head, saying, "If they are to be killed, they are too many; if they are to fight, they are too few." In spite of his objections, Hendrick led his Indians in the reconnoitering force, which Johnson sent out toward the enemy. He was too old and fat to walk, so Johnson lent the veteran a horse. Previous to going out, Hendrick harangued the red men in one of his most famous speeches. Colonel Ephraim Williams commanded this advance force.

On the morning of September 8, 1755, the French commander prepared an ambush for the approaching Americans who walked into it, led by Hendrick, with his Mohawks and other Indians. Volleys from three sides shot the men down in files. Hendrick's horse was shot down and the old chief was killed with a bayonet

as he tried to rise. The sudden attack threw the American force into confusion but the Americans and Indians soon rallied and retreated to their camp in good order, firing as they retired and killing a number of the enemy. The Canadian commander of the advance party was killed and the Canadians and the Indians showed signs of having had enough. Baron Dieskau finally rallied his army and, with the French regulars leading the way, the enemy finally moved forward to attack the American camp.

The Americans lay behind a redoubt of logs, wagons and inverted batteaux, when the retreating party piled into the camp after their defeat of the morning. Order was soon restored and the men were disposed to meet the advancing enemy. The French regulars came on in good order but Dieskau's Canadians scattered behind trees and fought in the Indian fashion.

The French regulars advanced, firing by platoons, but were stopped by the American artillery. Both sides now opened a furious fire. Johnson was shot in the thigh and the command passed to General Lyman, who successfully directed the fight for four hours, when the French were finally driven off. Lyman was everywhere in the front of the battle but escaped uninjured. The French fire failed to make an opening in the American line, where wagoners and camp followers joined in the battle. The Mohawks, however, did little, evidently thinking that they had done and suffered enough in the morning fight, where many of them were killed. Baron Dieskau was shot in several places. About five o'clock the Americans rushed from behind their line with a yell and attacked the enemy with their hatchets and gun butts and routed them completely. Dieskau was again shot and carried wounded to Johnson's tent, where the American general ordered him to be immediately cared for. By General Johnson's care, Dieskau was saved from being murdered by the Mohawks who were furious at their losses in the battle of the morning.

The casualties of the battle are given as 262 Americans killed, wounded and missing and 228 in the enemy army, both of which seem to be greatly understated as the fighting covered five hours and four hundred Americans were later required to bury the dead. Only two American surgeons and two assistants were with the American army and these four men cared for the many wounded.

Parkman says: "Johnson did not follow up his success. He says that his men were tired. Yet five hundred of them had stood still all day and boats enough for their transportation were lying on the beach. Ten miles down the lake, a path led over a gorge

of the mountains to South Bay, where Dieskau had left his boats and provisions. It needed but a few hours to reach and destroy them; but no such attempt was made. Nor, till a week after, did Johnson send out scouts to learn the strength of the enemy at Ticonderoga. Lyman strongly urged him to seize that important pass; but Johnson thought only of holding his own position."

Johnson has been severely criticised for not moving forward to the capture of Crown Point. Although recruits were coming in and his army numbered 3,600 by October, yet it was insufficiently clothed and supplied. On September 21, Johnson gave the name of Fort Edward to the fort at the carrying place which had been named Fort Lyman. On September 29th, he gave orders for building a new fort at Lake George.

A solid breastwork was now built around Johnson's camp and his recruits were set to work building the new fort, on a rising ground by the lake, which, on November 8th, he christened Fort William Henry, like Fort Edward, named in honor of the King's grandsons. Johnson expected a more formidable attack. In reply to Shirley's criticism of his failure to advance, General Johnson wrote that he did not have wagons enough and that his troops were ill-clothed, ill-fed, discontented, insubordinate and sickly and that discipline was at a low state. His artillery was also insufficient. On November 9th, he offered the resignation of his command to Governor Shirley, which was refused. Johnson's Iroquois left him soon after the battle and the militia now began to desert, singly and in squads.

Johnson called a council of war, on November 22nd, and asked General Lyman to preside. The council advised against making any further advance that season. News of the American victory reached London, and on November 27th, the English government conferred the title of baronet upon Johnson and presented him with £5,000. On the same day, Major-General Sir William Johnson left Lake George. He arrived in Albany December 1st, and, on December 2nd, resigned his command in a letter to the governors. On December 8th, he returned to Fort Johnson. He then went to New York, arriving there on December 30th, where he was given a great public ovation.

Fort William Henry was garrisoned by a certain number of soldiers from each colony represented in Johnson's army, the balance of which, 3,000 strong, returned to Albany. From there the New England and New York militia returned to their farms and villages and, around their winter firesides, again fought

over the battle of Lake George to the great admiration of their families and neighbors.

Johnson made no mention of Lyman in his official report of the Battle of Lake George, although he is said to have privately admitted that he owed the victory to the Yankee general, which is not to be doubted. There was a bitter feeling between the partisans of the two leaders and, all in all, the entire campaign showed both the strength and weakness of the American Colonists.

The battle of Lake George was an important victory of the French and Indian war, although General Johnson's army had failed to take Crown Point. This success had all the more importance because of the depressing news of Braddock's defeat and Shirley's failure to go against Fort Niagara. The psychological effect of this American victory, therefore, was immense. It cheered up the Colonists and reconciled them to the prospect of an extended war which now seemed inevitable. The battle was the first pitched battle which a purely American force of militiamen had won against French regulars. It was a bitter conflict fought in the forest, which style of warfare was a great test of mettle and skill. It was won by untried militiamen who had been badly beaten in the first encounter. As a result of the victory, the Colonists, from New Hampshire to Georgia, felt that they were the equals on the field of battle of any foreign trained soldiery. Lake George was the trial conflict which gauged the American effort in the later Revolution. It also showed the Americans that they were as good men and soldiers as any of the British regulars, whose attitude toward the provincials was supercilious and frequently insulting. American officers of equal rank with the British were rated below the foreign officers, which was a particularly galling thing for the Colonists to bear. The Americans had furnished the greater part of the troops in the Colonial wars with New France. They had supplied the best Indian fighters and forest rangers and now they had shown they were the equals of English regulars in the field.

There were five great pitched battles in the French and Indian war, Braddock's defeat, Lake George, Ticonderoga, Quebec and Niagara. Braddock's and Ticonderoga were French victories. Lake George, Niagara and Quebec were the three outstanding American-British victories. In two of these—Lake George and Niagara—Sir William Johnson was the commanding general. New England historians, including Parkman, are generally unfriendly or inimical to Johnson and do not see or admit his great

work in aiding the success of American-British arms in the French and Indian war. His masterful diplomacy and tremendous energy, which he utilized to the fullest extent in keeping the Six Nations loyal, is largely overlooked. The French would probably have won the war before the British government got started had it not been for Johnson's holding the Iroquois to the English cause. While his first soldiering seems amateurish, yet Johnson was brave, and, compared with some of the first British commanders, such as Webb and Abercrombie, he was a master-at-arms. Furthermore, Sir William was a brainy man, who learned by experience and who later fought at Niagara in splendid style. When our American historians overcome sectional and racial prejudices, Sir William Johnson will at last receive his just due, as a statesman, a diplomatist, a soldier and a vital factor in final English success in The Great French and Indian war.

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The death of King Hendrick, the great Mohawk chief who fell at the battle of Lake George, was a great misfortune to his friend, Sir William Johnson, and to the English cause. Hendrick and Johnson were the mainstays of the English-Iroquois alliance. Hendrick and Brant were the two greatest Mohawk sachems of the eighteenth century—Hendrick dominating the nation in the mid-century and Brant during Revolutionary times. Hendrick is said to have been a Mohican by birth who was adopted by the Mohawks at an early age. He was born about 1675, became a Christian about 1690 and a chief of the Mohawks in 1697. He was deposed as a chief by the Mohawks in 1716 and reinstated in 1720 at the request of the Provincial government through its Albany Indian commissioners. From that time until his death, Hendrick was the leading Indian figure in the life of his nation and the Mohawk Valley. His influence was most powerful in keeping the Six Nations from alliances with the French. He was an active war chief, wise in council and the most powerful orator in the Colonial history of the New York Iroquois. Historians of Colonial times write of his speeches with unrestrained admiration. Hendrick lived, during his early years, at Canagorha and Canajorha on the slope and top of Big Nose Mountain. After 1700, he resided at the Upper Castle, or Canajoharie Castle, so called because it was located in the Mohawk River district of Canajoharie which ran from the Noses westward to Fall Hill (Little Falls). In 1758, Sir William had a fort erected at present Indian Castle, Herkimer County, which he named Fort Hendrick, after his Indian friend. As previously mentioned, because of their location in the Canajoharie district,

the Mohawks of the Upper Castle were known as "Canajoharies". Hendrick's brother, Abraham, was the head chief of the Lower Mohawk Castle at Fort Hunter.

The well known story of how Johnson became possessed of the Royal Grant deserves a place here. Sir William Johnson obtained over 60,000 acres of choice land, now lying chiefly in Herkimer County, north of the Mohawk, in the following manner: The Mohawk sachem, Hendrick, being at the baronet's house, saw a richly embroidered coat and coveted it. The next morning he said to Sir William:

"Brother, me dream last night."

"Indeed, what did my red brother dream?" asked Johnson.

"Me dream that coat be mine."

"It is yours," said the shrewd Irish baronet.

Not long afterward Sir William visited the chief, and he, too, had a dream.

"Brother, I dreamed last night," said Johnson.

"What did my pale-faced brother dream?" asked Hendrick.

"I dreamed that this tract of land was mine," describing a square bounded on the south by the Mohawk, on the east by Canada creek, and north and west by objects equally well known in present Herkimer County.

Hendrick was astounded. He saw the enormity of the request, but was not to be outdone in generosity. He sat thoughtfully for a moment and then said, "Brother, the land is yours, but you must not dream again."

The title was confirmed by the British government and the tract was called the Royal Grant.

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The Mohawks and others of the Six Nations formed the advance guard of the American force which fought the morning engagement of the battle of Lake George. In that bloody ambush many of the Mohawks were killed and wounded, a number of whom, including the head chief, were from the middle Mohawk town of Tarajorees, then located on the southeast point of present Prospect Hill, Fort Plain and on the northern slope of the little creek of Tencksowemy, which now forms the southern boundary of the village. So many warriors of the small Mohawk town of Tarajorees were killed in this bloody battle that most of its people moved up to the Upper Castle at present Indian Castle. Probably a few Mohawks still remained in their cabins on Prospect Hill or on the neighboring slopes of Tsidrosowengen, or the Hog's Back, to the southward.

CHAPTER 43.

CAPTURE OF FORT BULL—1756.

ASSAULT ON, AND CAPTURE OF FORT BULL, AND MASSACRE OF ITS GARRISON BY FRENCH-INDIAN WAR PARTY—BUILDING OF FORT CANAJOHARIE, FORT HENDRICK, FORT HERKIMER, 1756-1758.

On December 9th, 1755, the New York Assembly applauded Governor DeLancey for his activity in promoting the Crown Point expedition under General Johnson which resulted in the victory of Lake George. Stone says: "While they confessed that the success of that expedition had not equalled their expectations, yet the advantages gained by General Johnson were deserving of special notice—as to it might be ascribed the comparative safety of the frontier."

Governor Shirley, of Massachusetts, was now second in command of the British-American armies, due to the death of General Braddock. He was active in garrisoning and strengthening Fort Oswego, to which all supplies went from Albany over the Mohawk River or its roads. This started the war activity in the Mohawk Valley, which lasted during the years 1755, 1756, 1757, 1758, 1759, 1760. During that time the Mohawk River and its paralleling roads were the scene of much bustle and transportation of military stores, supplies, ammunition and ordnance. For the first time, the Schenectady-Mohawk River-Wood Creek-Oneida Lake-Oswego River water route assumed great military importance. Indeed, during the Seven Years' war, the Mohawk and Champlain became the two greatest military routes in America and so continued during the Revolution.

Shirley's plans for the year 1756 comprised expeditions against Fort Niagara by way of the Mohawk River and Oswego; against Crown Point by way of the Hudson and Lake George; against Fort Duquesne; against the French settlements on the Chaudiere, by way of the Kennebec River. 20,000 American-British troops were to conduct these extensive operations which were laid before the English government as the plan of campaign by which New France was to be completely conquered. Shirley and Johnson now again became embroiled over Sir William's commission as superintendent of Indian affairs. Shirley however finally

stopped meddling and left Johnson to operate under the commission given him by General Braddock.

In 1756, there were two forts at the carry between the Mohawk River and Wood Creek. Fort Williams was built in 1746, during the Old French war, and stood on the later site of Fort Stanwix in the present City of Rome. Fort Bull stood about two-and-a-half miles west of Fort Williams on the Wood Creek end of the portage. Fort Williams was much larger than Fort Bull and was more heavily stockaded. It mounted four cannon and was garrisoned by about 150 men under Captain Williams, whose name it bore.

The waters of Wood Creek were dammed so that they set back and ran into a ditch which ran around Fort Bull, thus forming a defensive moat in summer which was of no use in winter when it was frozen over. The stockade was in the form of a star and the pickets were fifteen or eighteen feet high, crossed at the height of a man. It had a garrison of about sixty men, no cannon but plenty of ammunition and hand grenades.

On March 17, 1756, a war party of 300 French and Indians, under M. DeLery, left Montreal to strike at this post at the Mohawk-Wood Creek carry. They skated up the "Ocean River" of St. Lawrence to Fort Presentation at present Ogdensburg. Here they changed their skates for snowshoes and struck south through the wilderness over forest paths known only to the Indians.

On or about March 26th, the raiders came near Fort Bull and captured two Englishmen from whom DeLery obtained valuable information. There was then a considerable movement of stores going from Schenectady to Oswego. The goods and military supplies were driven in sleds up the Mohawk Valley to the Wood Creek portage forts where the teamsters stopped to rest and feed their horses. Then they proceeded onward to Fort Oswego. On the morning of the 26th, the French raiders captured ten American teamsters driving supply sleds. A negro with them escaped and alarmed Fort Williams. Having secured these provisions, the Canadian Indians refused to go any farther with the exception of a few whom DeLery made drunk with brandy. As usual, the red men disliked to attack a fort. They agreed, however, to guard the portage road and to ambush any force which might come along it from Fort Williams to the relief of Fort Bull.

The following French account of the assault and taking of Fort Bull and the massacre of its garrison is taken from the

Documentary History of New York, published 1849, Vol. I; Paris Documents, p. 509-513.

"The detachment having commenced their march along the highroad, the soldiers having their bayonets fixed, M. DeLery gave orders, when within fifteen acres of the fort, to move straight forward without firing a shot and seize the guard on entering the fort. He was still five acres off when he heard the whoop of the Indians, notwithstanding the prohibition he had issued. He instantly ordered an advance, double quick time, in order to carry the gate of the fort, but the enemy had time to close it. Six Indians only followed the French, the others pursued six Englishmen who, unable to reach the fort, threw themselves into the bush. M. DeLery sent some to cut down the gate and caused the commandant to be summoned to surrender, promising quarter to him and all his garrison, to which he only answered by a fire of musketry and by throwing a quantity of grenades. Our soldiers and the Canadians, who ran full speed the moment the Indians whooped, got possession of the portholes; through these they fired on such of the English as they could get a sight of. Great efforts were made to batter down the gate, which was finally cut in pieces in about an hour. Then the whole detachment, with a cry of 'Vive le Roi' rushed into the fort and put everyone to the sword they could lay hands on. One woman and a few soldiers were fortunate enough to escape the fury of our troops. Some pretend that only one prisoner was made during this action."

At the time of the French attack on Fort Bull, Captain Williams sent out a party from Fort Williams to the aid of Fort Bull. This detachment was ambushed by the Indians along the trail and 17 men of the English relief party were killed and the rest driven back into Fort Williams.

DeLery blew up the magazine of Fort Bull which set fire to and destroyed the fort. An Indian scout came running in to inform the French commander of the advancing relief party from Fort Williams. The French-Canadian regiment set out to meet it but met the Indians who told them of its repulse. DeLery then formed his forces for the return march, as they feared that Sir William Johnson might soon arrive with the Mohawk Valley militia. The French marched a short distance into the woods where they encamped and there and then, upon their knees, gave thanks to God for their victory. After resting a day, the raiders started, on March 28, 1756, on the return journey to Canada.

DeLery's report gives the following information as to the destruction of stores: "It is estimated that more than 40 thousand

weight of powder was burned or thrown into the creek with a number of bombs, grenades and balls of different calibre. A great deal of salted provisions, bread, butter, chocolate, sugar and other provisions were likewise thrown into the water. The stores were filled with clothes and other effects which were pillaged; the remainder burnt. The day cost the English 90 men, of whom 30 are prisoners. Our detachment killed or captured 30 horses." The French also destroyed fifteen batteaux at Fort Bull.

DeLery gives the number of his war party as 362 men—93 French regulars, 166 Canadians and 103 Indians. Of these, 265 attacked the fort. The French Commander gives the number of English and Americans killed as 60, and 30 prisoners. He claimed that but two of his men were killed and five wounded. The leaders of the French raids always seem to have intentionally minimized their losses. As the raiders were attacking Fort Bull for an hour, it does not seem possible that they could have escaped with such a small number of casualties.

The assault on Fort Bull and massacre of its garrison took place on March 26, 1756. Sir William Johnson was then at Fort Johnson. Although he had resigned his commission as Major-general, he was still in command of the frontier posts and troops. His Iroquois scouts had informed him of the French advance. Instead of reinforcing Forts Williams and Bull, Johnson sent extra ammunition and a message saying that he doubted that the posts would be attacked because of the rigorous winter. As the French had previously made many winter attacks in rigorous winters, Johnson's conduct was lacking in military foresight. Scouts informed Johnson of the approaching French-Indian war party. He collected the Mohawk Valley militia and started out for Fort Williams on March 26th, reaching the Mohawk River portage on the 28th, two days after the attack, when the French were well on their way to Canada.

Thus ended the first of three bloody attacks made upon the forts and settlements of the Mohawk Valley by parties of French and Indians during the French and Indian war.

"Extract of a Letter From Fort Williams Dated the 30th March, 1756.

[Vol. I, Documentary History of New York (pub. 1849), p. 514.]

"These may serve to inform you, that we arrived here safe Yesterday about Eleven o'Clock. The People that were transporting Lansings Provisions, were attacked between this and the

Marsh, by a Body of French and Indians, and are all, but one that got in here, either killed or taken Prisoners; their names you have underneath. The Fort at Wood Creek is burnt down, and none of Lansings Men, or the Red Coats are as yet come in. Just now the Commissary arrived from Oswego, and informs us, that the 20 Battoes sent there by Capt. Williams, were safe arrived to their great joy; and that the People in Garrison were pretty hearty. All Lansings Provisions are destroyed, as well as the Powder that was in the Garrison, the People laid in Heaps and burnt. John Davids, Henry Dawson, James Tock, George Robertson, John Tuyle, John Griefey, John Pain, and Closs Marseillis, went down Wood Creek last Wednesday, whether they are taken or not, we cannot tell. We believe John Davis got safe to Oswego, as the Commisary met him on the other side of the Lake. Philip Lansing and John Alle, are safe here yet, with the rest of their Men. Just now 70 of our Indians are came in, and acquaints us, that by the Tracts of the Enemy, they imagined there was at least 500 of them. The Names of the Persons, Residents in and about Albany, supposed to be killed are as follows, viz. John, Jacob, and Andries Kidnee, John Vanderheyden, Jacobus Sickles, Wolker Dawson, Anthony Brandt, Peter Giffins, Cornelius Sprong, three Servants & five Negroes."

Fort Canajoharie, Fort Hendrick and Fort Herkimer were three important fortifications built in the Mohawk Valley, under the supervision of Sir William Johnson, in 1755 and 1756, although Fort Hendrick may not have been completed until later.

Fort Canajoharie stood on the south side of the Mohawk River, opposite the mouth of East Canada Creek. It took its name from the Canajoharie district, which extended along the Mohawk River from the Noses to Fall Hill. Fort Canajoharie was built in 1755.

Fort Hendrick was built close to the stockade of Canajoharie Castle, which it was designed to protect. It was named in honor of the celebrated Mohawk chief King Hendrick, who fell in the battle of Lake George, as previously noted. Hendrick was a close friend of Sir William Johnson, who showed his appreciation of this valiant old warrior by naming the Castle fort after him.

Fort Herkimer was built around the stone house of Johan Jost Herkimer, which stood a short distance east of present Fort Herkimer Church. This post was originally called Fort Kouari, taking its name from the locality, which was originally called Kouari, a corruption of the Mohawk word Ok-wa-ri, meaning "bear". After Herkimer built his store here in 1740, the place became known as "Herkimer's". As the fort of 1756, enclosed

Herkimer's house, it naturally took his name. A plan of the fort, published in Benton's "Herkimer County and the Upper Mohawk Valley", shows this important fortification. In the fort are noted the "stone house", "old house" (which was probably Herkimer's first permanent log house in which General Herkimer was born), "guard room" and "well". The fort stood close to the river and its gate opened toward the water. Fort Herkimer was a strong post and bore an important part in the French and Indian war. It is said that the partially built present Fort Herkimer Reformed Church also formed a fortification here during the French war. About 250 men garrisoned Fort Herkimer. After the capture of Fort Oswego and the destruction of Forts Bull and Williams, in 1756, Fort Herkimer became the most advanced frontier post in New York until Fort Stanwix was built in 1758.

In 1755, the Assembly passed an act raising £3,000 ($7,500) to be expended in fortifying Schenectady, which was done.

In 1756, there were the following fortifications along the Mohawk River, after the destruction of those at the Mohawk-Wood Creek portage: Fort Schenectady, Fort Johnson, Fort Hunter, Fort Canajoharie, Fort Hendrick, Fort Herkimer.

Whether there was a military post, in 1756, at Frey's in present Palatine Bridge, it is difficult to say. Fort Harrison was built in 1736, a short distance northwest of present Palatine Church. It was used as a neighborhood defense in the Old French war and in the French and Indian war. Probably it is Fort Harrison or Fort Frey which is mentioned in the account of the Mohawk Valley by the French spy in 1756, although the location he gives would indicate the Ehle house in present Nelliston.

Montcalm was now in command of the French forces. He was a brilliant energetic officer, who perceived the weaknesses of the English commanders and was quick to take advantage of them. He sent out an expedition from Fort Frontenac (Kingston, Ont.), which captured Fort Oswego on August 14, 1756, and burned the post. General Webb marched to the relief of Fort Oswego but, lacking courage, stopped at the Mohawk portage and burned Fort Williams and the fortifications which he had started there to replace Fort Bull and turned around and marched back down the Mohawk Valley. Johnson raised a body of Indians and militia to go out with Webb, which he disbanded after Webb's shameful retreat. The war was being conducted by the English military commanders with the usual inefficiency which had prevailed since the struggle for French or English mastery had begun in 1689, at the commencement of King William's war. Sir William

Johnson was in conference with the Six Nations at Oneida, Onondaga and Fort Johnson, during the summer of 1756.

An army of ten thousand Americans and British had been raised in 1756, which mobilized at Albany, under the command of Lord Loudoun and his lieutenant, General Abercrombie, two military incompetents. The militia were anxious to move forward to the conquest of New France but the English commanders kept this great force dawdling about all summer. In connection with these futile operations, Sir William Johnson marched with a party of Indians from Fort Johnson for Fort Edward, on October 17th and marched back again on November 2nd. He held a conference with Lord Loudoun on November 6th at Albany and from November 17th to the 23rd he held councils with the Six Nations at Fort Johnson. On November 24th, Johnson sent George Croghan, deputy Indian agent, on a mission to the Pennsylvania Indians. The year 1756 closed with much disappointment to the American Colonists, who had hoped for some definite steps toward the conquest of their hereditary enemy on their northern borders. The Six Nations were also disgusted with the conduct of the war by the English commanders and were only kept loyal to the British cause by their friendship for Sir William Johnson.

CHAPTER 44.

1757—MASSACRE AT GERMAN FLATS.

ASSAULT AND MASSACRE BY FRENCH-INDIAN RAIDERS AT GERMAN FLATS (HERKIMER), 1757—ATTACK ON THE FORT HERKIMER NEIGHBORHOOD, 1758—FORT HERKIMER GARRISON ATTACKS AND ROUTS INVADERS IN A HOT SKIRMISH.

On November 12, 1757, a raiding party of 300 French marines, Canadians and Indians destroyed the German Flats settlements, on and around the site of the present village of Herkimer. The raiders killed 40 people and captured 150 prisoners and burned 60 houses, many barns and other buildings. The amount of booty taken and destruction wrought is probably considerably exaggerated by the French commander. Oneida scouts warned the Palatine settlements but the settlers laughed at the news and made no preparations for the attack. While this seems incredible yet the same thing happened many times in our Colonial and Revolutionary history. It is a peculiar manifestation of human psychology which rests upon man's self-importance being so great that he considers that no enemy could have the effrontery to attack him. Nations have been similarly afflicted in times of danger. The Palatines showed that they were not immune to this human peculiarity, just as the Holland Dutch settlers of Schenectady did in 1690, and as Colonel Alden did at Cherry Valley in 1778. Benton makes a tremendous effort to lay the blame of this disaster upon Sir William Johnson without any foundation for his charges.

Among the buildings burned was the octagonal frame Reformed Church, then standing on the site of the present Reformed Church of Herkimer.

When the enemy attacked the Palatine village, at three o'clock in the morning of November 12, 1757, many of the people, including the minister, escaped over the ford in the Mohawk River, to Fort Herkimer, where they took refuge. The fort's garrison made no attempt to aid the unfortunate settlers whose houses were being attacked. The size of the garrison may have been exaggerated and it may not have been strong enough to make a sortie.

The Palatine settlers of the German Flats section had had a

period of peace for the greater part of thirty-five years prior to the massacre of 1757. Probably it had experienced some irruptions during the Old French war but they must have been of a minor character. The district had grown in population and wealth until, in 1757, it had become one of the richest and most thickly settled in the Mohawk Valley. It was a fertile and productive farming region and there must have been fully one thousand people living in this section at the time of the raid led by M. de Belletre. The German Flats settlers were located along the Mohawk River's shores, in the fourteen mile stretch from Little Falls to Dutch Hill, west of present Frankfort. They had two churches, schools, stores, mills—and the region seems to have had a number of blockhouses which should have been able to resist an attack similar to that of 1757. It is remarkable, considering that this was the most exposed point upon the New York frontier, that the people seem to have had no plan of defense nor any fear of attack, although a most bloody and brutal war was being waged all about them and they had had a most terrible object lesson in the massacre of Fort Bull, but thirty or more miles to the westward, during the previous year. Taking into consideration the number of killed and prisoners and the amount of property destroyed, the raid on German Flats in 1757, was one of the most destructive raids on any one locality in the Mohawk Valley, during Colonial and Revolutionary times. It was only excelled in destructiveness by Sir John Johnson's great raid of 1780, along the Schoharie and Mohawk rivers.

The Palatines of the upper river settlements had had a false alarm in April of the same year, which may have been given them by the French purposely in order to throw them off their guard at a later and more opportune time.

After the raid and massacre, Johnson sent his deputy superintendent Colonel George Croghan to investigate the matter of no warning having been sent him of the intended attack. On November 30th, Croghan held an examination of the Oneida scouts and the German Flats people. Hanyost Herkimer and Rudolph Shoemaker acted as interpreters.

Conaghquieson, the chief Oneida sachem, testified that the Oneidas, fifteen days before the attack, had "sent the Germans word that some Swegatchi Indians told us the French were determined to destroy the German Flats, and desired them to be on their guard. About six days after that we had a further account from the Swegatchi, that the French were preparing to march. I then came down to the German Flats and, in a meeting

with the Germans, told them what we had heard and desired them to collect themselves together in a body at their fort, and secure their women, children and effects, and make the best defense they could; and, at the same time, told them to write what I had said to our brother Warraghiyagey (Sir William Johnson). But they paid not the least regard to what I told them and laughed at me, saying they did not value the enemy. Upon this, I returned home and sent one of our people to the (Oneida) lake to find out whether the enemy were coming or not; and, after he had stayed there two days, the enemy arrived at the carrying place and sent word to the castle at the lake that they were there and told them what they were going to do; but charged them not to let us at the upper castle know anything of their design. As soon as the man I sent there heard of this, he came to us with the account that night and, as soon as we received it, we sent a belt of wampum to confirm the truth thereof to the flats, which came here the day before the enemy made their attack; but the people would not give credit to the account even then, or they might have saved their lives. This is the truth and those Germans here present know it to be so."

Croghan adds to this testimony: "The aforesaid Germans did acknowledge it to be so and that they had such intelligence."

Fort Herkimer, across the river, is said to have been garrisoned by about 250 or more soldiers but they stayed safely within the walls of the fort during the attack and massacre. The account of M. de Belletre is the best we have of this bloody foray, although it is doubtless exaggerated as to the plunder which he secured in this rich district of the Mohawk Valley. It is given in part as follows:

"On the 11th November, at three o'clock in the afternoon, M. de Belletre, preceded as was his custom by scouts, crossed the river Corlaer (Mohawk) with his detachment, partly swimming, partly in water up to the neck. He encamped at nightfall in the woods, a league and a half from the first of the five forts that covered the Palatine settlements.

"The 12th, at three o'clock in the morning, he gave his detachment the order of march and attack, so as to surround the said five forts and the entire Palatine village, consisting of sixty houses.

"Though M. de Belletre knew that the English got notice the day preceding, yet that the courage of the Indians may not receive the least check, and to show them that he would not rashly expose them, he liberated an Indian of the Five Nations, whom he had until then detained under suspicion. But this savage could not

injure M. de Belletre, because he commenced at the same time to attack the five forts and the Palatines' houses.

"At the sight of the first fort, he decided to take it by assault. The enemy kept up a most active fire of musketry, but the intrepidity with which M. de Belletre, with all the officers and Canadians of his detachment advanced, coupled with the war whoop of the Indians, terrified the English to the degree that the mayor of the village of the Palatines, who commanded the said fort, opened the doors and asked for quarters.

"M. de Belletre lost no time in repairing to the second, the third, the fourth, and fifth, which were not less intimidated than the first by his intrepidity and the cries of the Indians. They all surrendered at discretion and were entirely burnt.

"During this time, a party of Canadians and Indians ravaged and burnt the said sixty houses of the Palatines, their barns and other outbuildings, as well as the water mill.

"In all these expeditions, about forty English perished—killed or drowned. The number of prisoners is nearly one hundred and fifty men, women and children, among whom is the mayor of the village, the surgeon and some militia officers. We had not a man killed, but M. de Lorimer, officer, was wounded in the right side by a ball, and three or four savages slightly.

"The damage inflicted on the enemy is estimated according to the representations of the English themselves, to wit:

"In grain of all sorts, a much larger quantity than the island of Montreal has produced in years of abundance. The same of hogs; 3,000 horned cattle; 3,000 sheep. All these articles were to be sent in a few days to Corlaer (Schenectady); 1,500 horses, 300 of which were taken by the Indians, and the greater number consumed for the support of the detachment.

"The property in furniture, wearing apparel, merchandise and liquor might form a capital of 1,500,000 livres ($277,500). The mayor of the village alone has lost 400,000 ($74,000). The French and Indians have acquired as rich a booty as they could carry off. They have in specie more than 100,000 livres ($18,500). One Indian alone has as much as 30,000 ($5,550). There was likewise plundered a quantity of wampum, silver bracelets, etc., scarlet cloth and other merchandise, which would form a capital of 80,000 more. All this damage could not be done short of forty-eight hours. M. de Belletre made provision to be always able to resist the enemy, who, as has been observed, were to the number of 350 men in the said Fort Kouari (Herkimer) about a quarter of a league from the field of battle."

Probably all the foregoing figures of property and live stock losses should be divided by three or four to arrive at an accurate figure of the result of the French raid. However, the German Flats section was one of the richest districts along the Mohawk River and the losses were enormous for that period.

The ease with which the raiders under M. de Belletre destroyed the north side settlements of German Flats evidently induced a second party to complete the work of destruction by devastating the south shore section early in 1758. A number of settlers had left this neighborhood following the raid and massacre of November 12, 1757.

An enemy raiding party attacked the south side settlements on April 30, 1758, killing thirty of the inhabitants and burning houses, barns, mills and destroying other property. Nicholas Herkimer, son of Johan Jost Herkimer, had been commissioned a lieutenant in the "Schenectady Battalion" of the Albany County militia, by Governor DeLancey, January 5, 1758. In it his name is spelled "Han Nicholas Herchkeimer" and also "Han Nicholas Herchkimer". He was evidently christened Johan Nicholas, his first name being that of his father. He is also often referred to as Honikol, a contraction of Johan Nicholas. Captain and later General Nicholas Herkimer never used his first name, generally signing himself "Nicolas". Captain Herkimer was evidently immediately assigned to the command of Fort Herkimer and was its commandant at the time of the second raid in the German Flats neighborhood. The whole section was called German Flats, but the latter name referred also especially to the northern shore section, while the southern seems to have been specifically called Herkimer's or Fort Herkimer. Captain Herkimer's conduct during this raid was markedly different from that of the commandant of the fort in the previous November when the north side section above, at, and below present Herkimer, was destroyed. Herkimer sent out an attacking party of rangers who fought a battle with the enemy, defeated them with considerable loss and drove them away. Benton gives the following description of the raid of 1758:

"In the following spring, April 30, 1758, a large party of Indians and a small number of French attacked the Palatine settlement on the south side of the river, near the fort. About thirty of the inhabitants and one officer, Lieutenant Hair of the rangers, was wounded slightly in the breast. The enemy were rather roughly treated when they came in contact with the rangers, having about fifteen of their number killed and wounded. Captain

Herchamer commanded the fort at the time and, on the first intimation of danger, collected within the fort all the inhabitants he could gather, before the attack was made upon the settlements, but there were several families who had fled from Henderson's purchase that spring and with them two Indian traders by the name of Clock, and several teamsters taking baggage to the fort, who were not notified in time or for some other cause, did not retire to the fort before the enemy came upon them, rushed into the houses, killing and scalping all they could find. The teamsters being together in one of the houses ran upstairs and made a brave defense until the Indians were driven away by the rangers; one of them, however, John Ehle, hearing the Indians threaten to set fire to the house they were in, became frightened, jumped out of the chamber window and was killed.

"A woman came into the fort the next morning, who had been scalped, her nose nearly cut off, and wounded in her breast and side and she was even then, in that mutilated condition, supposed to be likely to recover. She related all that happened to her until scalped, and said there were Onondaga Indians with the enemy.

"One or two facts are worthy of special notice. The account given of this second disaster to the Palatines, states that Captain Herkimer or Herchamer, was notified by an Oneida Indian about 12 o'clock, that the Indians and French were near the fort and would come down on the settlements that day, and at four o'clock the attack was made, giving only four hours to gather in the inhabitants from the different localities in the neighborhood of the fort, and some of the houses were some distance from it."

When the American rangers beat off the enemy and they ran into the woods and started on their way to Canada, they left a blackened waste of what had been one of the fairest regions of the Mohawk Valley. The destruction wrought equalled that of any of the sectional raids of the Revolution, but the magnitude and national character of the latter conflict have so overshadowed the great French and Indian war, that its important features connected with our Valley have been largely lost sight of.

The foregoing instance of the mutilated woman who dragged herself into Fort Herkimer, is but one instance of the hideous brutalities of the many Indian raids which devastated the Mohawk Valley during this and the later Revolutionary war. It is apropos to here quote Parkman relative to the attitude of the border settler toward the Indian. He says: "In fact, the benevolent and philanthropic view of the American savage is for those

who are beyond his reach. It has never been held by any whose wives and children have lived in danger of his scalping knives."

The following letter, concerning the Fort Herkimer raid, was written by John Butler from Fort Hendrick to Sir William Johnson, on the day following:

"Fort Hendrick, May 1.

"Honerd Sir

"Last Night came one Hendrick Clock here who made his Escape from thee Germean flats and Say that yisterday about five a Clock in the afternoon a large party of Indians atackt the house on this Side the Fort and Says he beleves he is the only one that has made his escape as the Enemie was all round them he Saw Sevrll strive to get to the fort but ware all tacken he Saw about 90 or 100 men but by the Noyse he heard beleve theay ware more I have Garret Van Slick & three Indians to go to the Flats this morning by whome I expect the Porticalters.

"I am Honerd Sir your most Dutyfull Servent.

JOHN BUTLER.

"INDORSED: the Honerbl Sir William Johnson Bertt.
att
Fort Johnson."

CHAPTER 45.

1757—THIRD YEAR OF WAR.

IN THE FOURTH YEAR OF THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR—LEADS TWELVE HUNDRED MILITIA AND INDIANS TO LAKE GEORGE, MARCH 21ST—AT GERMAN FLATS, APRIL 1ST TO 9TH AWAITING EXPECTED ATTACK—FIGHT BETWEEN DRUNKEN BRITISH SOLDIERS AND MOHAWKS AT FORT HUNTER—JOHNSON KEEPS MOHAWKS LOYAL—LEADS MILITIA AND INDIANS TO SUCCOR COLONEL MONRO AT FORT WILLIAM HENRY—WEBB PREVENTS AID—MASSACRE OF FORT WILLIAM HENRY.

The year 1757 opened with the enemy emboldened by his easy successes of the previous year as well as the usual evidences of inefficiency and timidity on the part of the English commanders who were sent over to America to conquer New France. The Colonists felt strong but depressed by the unchanging condition of a numerically weak enemy made powerful largely by the inferior military ability of their opponents' commanders.

Along the Mohawk, small scalping parties of Canadian Indians committed murders and depredations in most impudent fashion. They lurked about Fort Johnson, hoping to take Sir William or his scalp back to Canada. Johnson sent a messenger to Albany from Fort Johnson. Enemy Indians captured, killed and scalped the courier and threw his body into the Mohawk. Some farmers working in a field near Schenectady were shot down and killed. All along the border the settlers were in constant danger of murder and torture. The more timid began to leave their exposed homes. The Six Nations were disgusted with the English who behaved "like women" on the warpath. Only the Mohawks showed any signs of allegiance to the Colonies. Sir William Johnson entered upon a year beset with difficulties, which required all his energy and diplomacy to overcome.

There is hardly another instance in all history where a people twenty times more numerous than its enemy was so thoroughly beaten and outwitted as were the English Colonies by New France, in the first five years of the French and Indian war. Our admiration goes out to the warriors of the St. Lawrence, who made such a plucky fight against great odds.

(Courtesy of John Fea, Amsterdam.)

EXPLANATION OF THE VIEW

A—The house, or Fort Johnson. B—The wall and ramparts. C—The block-house in the corner, on the front, and barracks that flank the gate; the same on the other side. D—Cooper's house. E—The bake-house. F—A pigeon-house. G—The mill. H—An aqueduct from the mill-dams to the mill. I—The Indian council-house. K—Indian encampments. L—A sheep-house; but now there is a block-house built there. M—A very large barn and stables. N—Mount Johnson, very steep. O—The house where Sir William Johnson lived [1739 or 1742 until 1749] before [he moved (Jan., 1749-50) into A.] P—The barn for ditto. Q—The Mohawk river. R—Part of an island opposite to the fort, 100 acres. S—Thirteen smaller islands belonging to Sir William Johnson. T—Another block-house, to defend the back of the house. V—A fine creek that runs by the fort into the river. W—A garden. X—Fine pastures. Y—Corn-fields. Z—The road to Schenectady.

[NOTE: Guy Johnson was not Sir William's son. He was his son-in-law. See next chapter for description of Fort Johnson in 1757 by the French spy of that year.]

While the frontier of the Colonies was open to attack, the incapable Loudoun was busy with fussy plans for a reconquest of Louisburg and a martinet's desire to insist upon the precedence of English over American officers of equal rank. The only bright spot in the Colonist's year was the elevation of William Pitt to the premiership of England, which event was actually the beginning of the conquest of New France.

On March 18th, 1757, an army of 1,500 French, Canadians and Indians made an attack upon Fort William Henry. They were repulsed twice. They made two more attacks which were beaten off and then fled in a panic down Lake George.

Sir William Johnson received news of this attack at Fort Johnson on March 20th. He immediately sent couriers to bring in the militia and Indians, who responded so quickly that Johnson set off the next day with 1,200 militia and a band of Indians. He reached Fort Edward on March 24th, only to find that the enemy had fled, and he led his army back to Fort Johnson, arriving there on March 27th.

At Fort Johnson, a messenger came in with news that the French were marching on the German Flats settlements. Johnson again jumped into the saddle. Ordering his army of militia and Indians to follow, Sir William rode all night and arrived at the Flats the next morning at five o'clock. Indian scouts now came in who reported that the alarm was false. However, to be on the safe side, Johnson made an entrenched camp and remained at Fort Herkimer from April 1st until April 9th, at the same time sending out a scouting party of Mohawks toward Oswegatchie, who reported the French party were moving up Lake Ontario en route to the Ohio River. Johnson had now become an experienced soldier and an active and capable commander, far different from the major-general of the Battle of Lake George.

While affairs in the Mohawk Valley were at such high tension, Johnson had trouble from an unexpected quarter. Several drunken soldiers of the Fort Hunter garrison got into trouble with some Indians of the adjacent Mohawk village and would have killed several of them if the Indian stockade gate had not been locked against them. The English regulars behaved in a most brutal manner and severely wounded several of the Mohawks. Johnson had great trouble in smoothing over this matter. He wrote General Abercrombie saying that the Mohawks wished the entire garrison removed and adding:

"It is very unlucky at this time, when a meeting of all the nations is soon expected, whereat I have great hopes matters may

be brought to a better issue than was expected. There is nothing would give the French more pleasure than a difference between us and the Mohawks at present."

On June 11th, 1757, William Corry wrote Sir William Johnson as follows: "For God's sake, don't expose yourself among the Indians; rather send for them and let them wait upon you."

Johnson combatted the rising tide of French influence by holding many conferences with the Indians during this year. Between April 14th and 23rd, Sir William held conferences with the Susquehannas at Fort Johnson. On May 13th, Johnson sent scouts out toward Lake Champlain. The most important council of the year was that between Johnson and the Six Nations, held at Fort Johnson between June 10th and 20th, where the baronet succeeded in holding those Indians to some measure of allegiance to the English cause. Stone says that, previous to this council, Johnson "repeatedly held informal meetings with the Indians at his own house, feasting them, distributing presents and, in short, neglecting no opportunity of winning his way to their hearts by those pleasant little arts, which he alone knew so well how to employ." Johnson's diplomacy was the greatest enemy New France had at this time in its conflict with the Colonists.

Johnson's splendid diplomacy began to have its effect. The Oneidas and Tuscaroras did not attend the council of the Iroquois held at Fort Johnson on June 10th, but soon thereafter they came in and renewed their allegiance to the English. During June and July the baronet sent out scouting parties toward Canada. His activities at this time are graphically portrayed in the following letter to his secretary. This message also gives an interesting line on the numbers of the Mohawks of the Upper or Canajoharie Castle. As their numbers did not exceed 300 the entire Mohawk nation in our Valley could not have numbered more than 600 Indians in 1757. The letter follows:

"Fort Johnson, 17th July, 1757.

"Dear Wraxall:

"I received the first letter you wrote since you left us, just as I was going to Canajoharie and the German Flats. At the former, I clothed all their women, old men and children, who are much more numerous than I imagined, and gave them provisions which they are very scarce of. Their number amounts to 247, exclusive of their young men. At the latter, I had that unhappy affair of the two Indians (belonging to the party of the Five Nations whom I fitted out to go to Canada but who were murdered by Tom Smith) to make up. It was the most difficult job I ever had, as the

Five Nations who were at the meeting lately, were all there yet, and so enraged (saying that these two made five now murdered by us within a year) that I had hard work to prevent their spilling blood for it. However, by condoling their death, taking our hatchet out of their heads, and several other forms used by them, and at a very considerable expense besides, I made them easy for this time. * * * I have now five parties out on different days; some of whom I expect daily; others making ready to go out. I hear some of the Aughquagas are coming here in order to go out unasked—all the Indians daily asking me when the army is to move towards the enemy and when I go. * * * I write now to Major-General Webb, from whom I had a letter the same time I received yours, wherein he expresses great satisfaction at my taking the first prisoner brought in, out of the hands of the Indians. It was with a good deal of difficulty, and I much doubt my being able to get all they may be able to take, from them, without giving much umbrage and dissatisfaction as may overset the whole, as they well know the French Indians are allowed to keep and dispose of their prisoners as they please, which is the greatest encouragement they can have given them. However, I shall endeavor all in my power to follow the general's directions in that point, as near as I can. I have nothing to write you from this quarter. All our hopes and expectations are from his lordship's success and yours that way.

"I am, dear Wraxall,

Your sincere well-wisher and

Humble servant,

WM. JOHNSON."

After the failure of the Canadian expedition to capture Fort William Henry in March, 1757, Montcalm made plans for another attempt on a much larger scale. He led an expedition from Montreal and set out up Lake George, in July, with 8,000 men. Another tragic chapter of English military incapacity was now enacted. Fort William Henry was defended by 500 men under the brave and efficient Colonel Monro, while 1,700 Provincial militia were stationed in a nearby intrenched camp. The cowardly and inefficient General Webb was at near by Fort Edward, with 4,000 more men. Montcalm called upon Fort William Henry to surrender. Monro, counting on reinforcements from Webb and the Americans, refused to comply, and made a brave defense.

As soon as Sir William Johnson heard of the attack on Fort William Henry he gathered the Mohawk Valley and Albany County militia and such Indians as he could gather and marched north.

Stone says: "The Baronet was at Fort Johnson holding an important council with the Cherokees in reference to their late treaty with the Louisiana governor, when news arrived on the first of August from Webb of the approach of Montcalm. Notwithstanding that he had his 'hands and head full' yet he abruptly broke up the conference and, hastily collecting what militia and Indians he could muster, started for the relief of Webb and arrived at the carrying place two days after the investment of Fort William Henry. Seeing at once the position of affairs, he begged that he might be sent to the aid of Monro. After repeated solicitations, his request was granted; but scarcely was he fairly on his way with Putnam's rangers and some militia, who had volunteered to share the danger, when Webb ordered him and his detachments back and sent in their place a letter to Monro full of exaggerations and advising him to surrender." Colonel Monro continued to resist until ten of his cannon had burst and his ammunition was spent, when, on the 9th of August, 1757, he capitulated. Montcalm's Indians had been of no use to him. They now got drunk on rum, obtained from the English soldiers, and, when the garrison marched out, they fell upon them and murdered thirty before Montcalm and the French officers could restrain them.

Johnson and his militia and Indians marched back to Albany in disgust. On August 20th, Sir William started back to Fort Johnson. From August 31st to September 8th, Johnson was at Albany. From September 12th to the 20th, Johnson held a conference with Indians at Fort Johnson. From September 25th to October 4th, he again was at Albany.

CHAPTER 46.

French Spy in Mohawk Valley.

1757—FRENCH SPY'S DESCRIPTION OF THE HIGHWAY AND WATERWAY FROM OSWEGO TO ALBANY, COVERING THE MOHAWK VALLEY FROM WOOD CREEK TO SCHENECTADY—ACCOUNT OF FORTS, TOWNS, POPULATION, ETC.—THE BEST REVIEW OF THE MOHAWK RIVER COUNTRY IN COLONIAL DAYS.

The best description of the Mohawk Valley in the Colonial days is that of the French spy who journeyed along our river, in 1757, and who, evidently, wrote this account in 1758. The identity of the author is unknown, but his description shows him to have been a keen observer, though he erred in several important matters. Considering the circumstances, under which his study of the Valley was made, such errors in his narrative are not remarkable.

The spy says there were 500 houses on the Mohawk River north shore section, between Fall Hill and Fort Johnson, and 100 houses on the south river shore within a similar distance. This is an error. There was no such difference and there probably were not 500 houses on the north side. 500 houses along both river banks within this 37 miles stretch would probably be nearer the truth in the year 1757. The 1757 population was probably rather evenly divided as to north and south sides, within this fertile farming region which had become one of the greatest wheat raising sections in the Colonies. The spy does not mention the Upper Mohawk Indian castle at present Indian Castle.

The French spy says that the population from the Little Falls to Fort Johnson, was composed of Germans. As a matter of fact, both Dutch and Germans formed the chief population elements in the area under discussion, with the Hollanders in the ascendency east of the Noses and the Palatine Germans being the more numerous west of the same point, in the Canajoharie district.

The spy puts Fort Hunter on the west instead of the east side of the Schoharie River. However, all in all, his description is mainly correct and affords us a good idea of the Mohawk Valley during the French and Indian war. The French observer journeyed from Oswego to Albany, evidently by both the land and water routes. His account therefore gives us an unusual insight

into conditions along the great Colonial highway and waterway route which ran from Schenectady westward through the Mohawk River, Wood Creek, Oneida Lake and the Oneida and Oswego rivers to Lake Ontario. As this route is one followed by the Barge Canal today, the account of the spy of 1757 takes on added interest for present-day readers. Chouegen is the term for Oswego, the name referring to both the fort and the river.

The author's notes are interpolated with the main text to which they refer to aid the continuity of the narrative. The account appears in the 1849 edition of the Documentary History of New York, Vol. I, pp. 524-534, under the following heading:

DESCRIPTION OF THE COUNTRY BETWEEN OSWEGO AND ALBANY —1757.

(Paris Doc. XIII.)

Itinerary from the Mouth of the river Chouegen (Oswego) in Lake Ontario to Lake Oneida, then up Vilcrick (Wood Creek) to the Summit level which is the source of the river of the Mohawks, or des Agnies, by which we can descend to Corlar or Chenectedi whence Albany or Orange can be reached.

The entrance of the River Chouegen is easy; the harbor is formed of a cove. The English had a fort on each side of this River by which this entrance was defended.

From Chouegen to the Great fall is an ascent of four leagues. In this space the navigation is intricate, the river rapid and encumbered by large rocks. Good pilots, familiar with the shoals, are requisite to be able to pass through it. Batteaus must be unloaded at the Great fall where a portage occurs of about 40 to 50 paces. The batteaus are dragged along the ground. It is estimated to be about four leagues from the Fall to the mouth of the River of the Five Nations, (river Seneca) which mouth is called the Three Rivers; its navigation is good. About a quarter of a league before coming to the Three Rivers there is, however, a current where precaution is requisite.

Note: From Chouegen to Fort Bull is estimated to be about 36 leagues. The ordinary batteau load is only 1400 to 1500 weight. It takes five days to ascend the River from Chouegen to Fort Bull and three and a half from Fort Bull to Chouegen. The river of the Five Nations [Seneca River] rises in little lakes near which, about six leagues from its entrance into the River Chouegen, the Indians of the Five Nations reside. The river divides into two branches. That from the Right rises in the Lake of the Senecas and the Cayugas; that from the left beyond the Lake of the Ononontagues.

From the Three Rivers to Lake Oneida is computed at 8 leagues; the navigation is good; the river is about 60 paces wide; it is at all times passable with loaded vessels. This river is the outlet of Lake Oneida. There is neither fall nor rapid at its entrance.

Lake Oneida is twelve leagues long by about one league wide. Its navigation is beautiful and practicable at all times, unless there be a strong contrary wind. It is best on the right of the lake which is the north side.

Note: The River of the Killed Fish (Fish Creek) flows also into this Lake; the English used it formerly; they abandoned it because there was a portage, and they have preferred Vilcrick (Wood Creek) which they have cleared.

From Lake Oneida we enter the River Vilcrick, which empties into that Lake, & ascend nine leagues to Fort Bull. This river is full of sinuosities, narrow and sometimes embarrassed with trees fallen from both banks. Its navigation is difficult when the water is low. It is, however, passable at all times with an ordinary batteau load of 1400 to 1500 weight. When the waters of this stream are low, an ordinary batteau load cannot go by the river farther than within a league of Fort Bull. It becomes necessary then to unload and make a Carrying place of the remainder by a road constructed to the Fort, or to send back the batteaus for the other half load.

Fort Bull, which was burnt in 1756 by a detachment under the orders of M. de Lery, was situated on the right bank of this River near its source on the height of land.

From Fort Bull to Fort Williams is estimated to be one league and a quarter. This is the Carrying place across the height of land. The English had constructed a road there over which all the carriages passed. They were obliged to bridge a portion of it, extending from Fort Bull to a small stream near which a fort had been begun though not finished; it was to be intermediate between the two Forts, having been located precisely on the Summit level.

Fort Williams was situated on the right bank of the River Mohawk or des Agnies, near the rise of that river on the height of land. It was abandoned and destroyed by the English after the capture of Chouegen.

Leaving Chouegen there is a road over which the English used to drive cattle & horses. This road follows the border of the left bank of the River Chouegen. The Five Nations River is passed at a fall near its entrance into the River Chouegen, after which the road proceeds along the edge of the right bank of the

Five Nations River to the Village of the Onnontagues whence it proceeds across the country to the village of the Caskarorins [Tuscaroras?] and the Oneidas whence we can go to Forts Bull and Williams; also to fort Kouary without being obliged to pass the said two forts. The path or road taken by M. de Belletre in his expedition against the village of the Palatines may be used. He went from the mouth of the Famine River [now Sacketts Harbor] ten leagues below Chouegen; ascended this river for the distance of four leagues, and, leaving it on the left, followed the path leading to Oneida Lake on his right, and came to the Summit level at Fort Williams.

The country through which he passed is fine; there being but few mountains. The soil is soft only in the latter part of the season. He forded three rivers the waters of which were very high during the four days that he was going from the River Famine to Fort Williams, a distance estimated at 24 to 30 leagues.

From Fort Williams to Fort Kouari, situated on the right bank of the Mohawk River, is estimated to be 12 leagues. The road follows the bank of the river which is the south side.

Note: The road goes to the great Oneida Village, about two leagues from the Lake. A picket Fort with four bastions had been constructed in this Village by the English. It was destroyed by the Oneidas in observance of their promise given between them & the Marquis de Vaudreuil. Each of its sides may have been one hundred paces. There is a second Oneida Village, called the little village, situated on the bank of the Lake. There is no fort in the latter.

Leaving Fort Williams there is a road that unites with that by which horses and cattle pass from Fort Kouari and Chouegen. This road is bad for about four leagues after leaving Fort Williams. The Country is marshy. Carriages [les trains] travel it in winter and during the summer, and it can be easily passed on horseback at all times, though in some places there is a good deal of mud. After these four leagues, carts can easily go as far as Fort Kouari. Having traveled three leagues on this road which is five leagues from Fort Kouari, we come to the forks of the two roads [present Utica] one of which, to the left, leads to the Palatines village by fording the Mohawk River.

Continuing along the high road, which is on the right bank of the River Mohawk, to go to Fort Kouari, a creek is met [at present Frankfort] that must be forded. Here was a grist-mill that has been burnt. One league before reaching Fort Kouari another small stream [at Mohawk] is encountered over which

there is a bridge. This stream is fordable almost at all seasons. There was also a sawmill on this creek, which has been burnt.

Fort Kouari is situated on the right side of the Mohawk River, on a small hill on the edge of that river's bank. It is a large three story stone house with port holes [crenelee] at each story, and likewise in the basement for the purpose of cross firing. There are some small pieces above. The house is covered with plank and shingles. It was built [by Johan Jost Herkimer] as a store and depot for Chouegen [Oswego]. It is surrounded by a ditch at a distance of about 30 feet. This ditch is six feet deep and seven wide. The crown of the ditch inside is planted with palisades in an oblique form; they are well jointed the one to the other. Behind these there is a parapet of earth so as to be able to fire over the palisades. The four angles of this parapet which is at the back of the ditch, form as it were four little bastions that reciprocally flank each other. On the west side, there is a house apart from the large one. It backs against the parapet of the palisades and serves as a barrack and guard house. There are two doors to the large building; the one at the north is a small swing door. It is used only in going to the river for water. At this side of the house there is no ditch; only palisades fixed in boards set against the brow of the right bank of the river to support the earth. The large door of the house is on the south side: it is folding but not ironed. To go outside the palisades and ditch through this large door, you must leave the house to the left and turn to the eastward where there is a passage. The ditch has not been excavated. The earth serves as a bridge and road. There are palisades to the right and left, on both sides of the way the whole width of the ditch. Outside the ditch there is a folding gate. There is no other barrier nor chevauxe-de-frise in front. The nearest house outside the fort is about 150 paces. Opposite this fort in the river is a small cultivated island which can be reached at low water by fording.

From Fort Kouari to that of Cannatchocari is four leagues. Some twenty houses are located at a distance one from the other, within the space of one league of this road, which is through a flat country. After making this league we go up a mountain [Fall Hill] that occupies two hours to ascend and descend. The country throughout the whole of this space is covered with wood. After descending, two houses somewhat distant one from the other are in the league which is still to be traveled to get to Cannatchocari.

The Inhabitants of this Country are Palatines or Germans.

They form a Company with some who dwell above the Fall on the other side of the River which is the left bank. This company consists of about 80 men. The road from the one to the other of these two Forts is good for all sorts of carriages.

Fort Cannatchocari [Canajoharie] is situated at the side of the Mohawk River on the right bank. It is a square of four bastions of upright pickets joined together with lintels. They are fifteen feet high, about one foot square with port holes inserted from distance to distance with a stage all round to fire from.

This Fort is one hundred paces on each side. It is not surrounded by a ditch. There are some small pieces of cannon at each of its bastions, and a house at each curtain to serve as a store and barrack. Five or six families of Mohawk Indians reside outside the fort.

From Fort Cannatchocari to Fort Hunter is about 12 leagues; the road is pretty good, carriages pass over it; it continues along the banks of the Mohawk River. About a hundred houses, at greater or less distance from one another we found within this length of road. There are some situated also about half a league in the interior. The inhabitants of this section are Germans who compose a company of about 100 men.

Fort Hunter is situated on the borders of the Mohawk River and is of the same form as that of Cannatchocari, with the exception that it is twice as large. There is likewise a house at each curtain. The cannon at each bastion are from 7 to 9 pounders. The pickets of this fort are higher than those of Cannatchocari. There is a church or temple in the middle of the fort; in the interior of the fort are also some thirty cabins of Mohawk Indians, which is the most considerable village. This fort like that of Cannatchocari has no ditch; there's only a large swing door at the entrance.

Leaving Fort Hunter, a creek [Schoharie] is passed at the mouth of which that fort is located. It can be forded and crossed in batteaux in summer, and on the ice in winter. There are some houses outside under the protection of the fort, in which the country people seek shelter when they fear or learn that an Indian or French war party is in the field.

From Fort Hunter to Chenectadi or Corlar is seven leagues. The public carriage way continues along the right [South] bank of the Mohawk River. About 20 to 30 houses are found within this distance separated the one from the other from about a quarter to half a league. The inhabitants of this section are Dutch.

They form a company, with some other inhabitants on the left bank of the Mohawk River, about 100 strong.

Chenectadi (Schenectady) or Corlar, situated on the bank of the Mohawk River, is a village of about 300 houses. It is surrounded by upright pickets flanked from distance to distance. Entering this village by the gate on the Fort Hunter side, there is a fort to the right which forms a species of citadel in the interior of the village itself. It is a square, flanked with four bastions or demi-bastions, and is constructed half of masonry and half of timbers piled one over the other above the masonry. It is capable of holding two or three hundred men. There are some pieces of cannon as a battery on the rampart. It is not encircled by a ditch. The entrance is through a large swing gate raised like a drawbridge. By penetrating the village in attacking it at another point, the fire from the fort can be avoided. The greater portion of the Inhabitants of Schenectady are Dutch.

From Chenectadi to Albany or Orange is estimated to be 6 or 7 leagues. The road is excellent for all sorts of carriages; the soil sandy and the country covered with open timber. There are only a few hills. A league and a half from Chenectadi, there is a house on the road which is a tavern. A league and a half farther on, that is to say half way, another house is met which is also a tavern.

Orange is situated on the right bank of the river Orange otherwise called Hudson. It is not fortified on the forest side except by an enclosure of walls or pickets without a ditch, which is flanked at certain distances; the river defends the entrance on the other side. It is calculated to be smaller than the enclosure of the town of Montreal. In the interior of Orange, there is a fort, a sort of citadel, capable of containing 300 men; here are some cannon.

This is all that relates to the right [South] bank of the Mohawk River. Let us pass to the left bank, which is the North side of that river, departing likewise from near its source at Fort Williams [present Rome].

Leaving Fort Williams by the left bank of the river Mohawk, the village of the Palatines is estimated to be 12 leagues. The Mohawk river is fordable near Fort Williams whence a path leads to the interior, half a league from the shore, parallel with the river whose borders are so marshy that nothing but hay can be had there.

This path leads over hills and small mountains and can be traveled only afoot or horseback. Eight leagues must be traversed

by this path before reaching the forks of the high road that comes from the other side, or right [South] bank of the river [at the junction of Leland Ave. and the Mohawk Turnpike in North Utica]. After having traveled this high road a quarter of an hour, a small creek is found called Rassedot [Raxetoth Creek on the Kass farm, town of Schuyler, Herkimer County]. It can be forded. There were two houses on the left bank of this creek which were burnt and nothing remains of them but the ruins. Having passed this creek, the high road is followed for a distance of four leagues to the village of the Palatines. All sorts of vehicles travel this road.

The Palatine Village was situated on the left [North] bank of the Mohawk River [at present Herkimer], not directly opposite Fort Kouari [Fort Herkimer] but about half a quarter of a league above it. You go from this village to the fort by batteau; the river can even be forded in several places.

It requires a day to descend the river with batteaux from Fort Bull to the Palatine Village and three to return; and to go down from the Palatine Village to Corlar [Schenectady] requires [a day] and a day and a half to return.

The Palatine Village, which consisted of thirty houses, has been entirely destroyed and burnt by a detachment under M. de Belletre's orders. The inhabitants of this village formed a company of 100 men bearing arms. They reckoned there 300 persons, men, women and children, 102 of whom were made prisoners and the remainder fled to Fort Kouari, except a few who were killed whilst fording the river.

From the Palatine Village to the Little Falls, still continuing along the left [North] bank of the river, is estimated about three leagues. In this distance there had been eight houses which have been abandoned. The inhabitants of these houses compose a company with those of Fort Kouari at the opposite side of the river.

The portage at the Little Falls is a quarter of a league and is passed with carts. There is a road on each side of the river, but, that on the left [North] bank is preferable, being better.

From the portage at the Little Falls, continuing along the left [North] bank of the river, there is only a foot path which is traveled with difficulty on horseback. Three leagues must be made over this path to arrive at the Canada Creek, where we meet the high road that passes from the termination of the Little Falls portage, along the right [South] bank of the Mohawk river, where there is a ford above Fort Cannatchocari, opposite the mouth of

the [East] Canada Creek. There is also a ferry boat at this place to put carts across when the river is high.

After fording Canada Creek, we continue along the left [North] bank of the Mohawk River and high road, which is passable for carts, for twelve leagues, to Colonel Johnson's mansion [at Fort Johnson]. In the whole of the distance the soil is very good. About five hundred houses are erected at a distance one from the other. The greatest number of those on the bank of the river are built of stone, and those at a greater distance in the interior are about half a league off; they are new settlements, built of wood.

There is not a fort in the whole of this distance of 12 leagues. There is but one farmer's house, built of stone, that is somewhat fortified and surrounded with pickets. It is situate on the banks of the river, three leagues from where [East] Canada Creek empties into the Mohawk River. The inhabitants of this country are Germans. They form four companies of 100 men each.

Colonel Johnson's mansion is situated on the borders of the left [North] bank of the Mohawk. It is three stories high, built of stone, with portholes and a parapet and flanked with four bastions, on which are some small guns. In the same yard, on both sides of the mansion, there are two small houses. That on the right of the entrance is a store and that on the left is designed for workmen, negroes and other domestics. The yard gate is a heavy swing gate, well ironed; it is on the Mohawk River side; from this gate to the river there is about 200 paces of level ground. The high road passes there. A small rivulet, coming from the north, empties into the Mohawk River, about 200 paces below the enclosure of the yard. On this stream there is a mill about 50 paces distant from the house; below the mill is the miller's house where grain and flour are stored, and on the other side of the creek, 100 paces from the mill, is a barn in which cattle and fodder are kept. One hundred and fifty paces from Col. Johnson's mansion, at the north side, on the left bank of the little creek, is a little hill on which is a small house with portholes, where ordinarily is kept a guard of honour of some twenty men which serves also as an advanced post.

From Colonel Johnson's house to Chenectadi is counted seven leagues; the road is good, all sorts of vehicles pass over it. About twenty houses are found from point to point on this road.

The Mohawk River can be forded during summer, a league and a quarter west of Chenectadi. Opposite Chenectadi the traverse is usually in a ferry boat and batteaux.

The inhabitants of this country are Dutchmen. They form a company of about 100 men with those on the opposite side of the river below Fort Hunter.

Going from Chenectadi to the mouth of the Mohawk River, where it discharges into that of Orange [Hudson], there is a great fall [Cohoes] which prevents the passage of batteaus, so that every thing on the river, going from Chenectadi to Orange, passes over the high road that leads there direct.

Note. In the whole country of the River Corlar there are nine companies of militia under Colonel Johnson; eight only remain, that of the village of Palatines [present Herkimer] being no longer in existence, the greater part having been defeated by M. de Belletre's detachment. Colonel Johnson assembles these companies when he has news of any expedition which may concern the Mohawk River.

In the latter part of April, 1757, on receiving intelligence by the savages that there was a strong detachment ascending the river St. Lawrence and entering Lake Ontario, he assembled these Companies and went to the Village of the Palatines, where he was joined by another body of 1100 or 1200 men sent him by the commandant of Orange; this formed in all a force of 2000 men. He entrenched himself at the head of the Palatine Village, where he remained in camp fifteen days, and did not retire until he received intelligence that the French detachment, seen on the St. Lawrence, had passed by and taken the route to the Belle Riviere [Ohio].

This was the detachment of 500 men that had been sent last year to reinforce Belle Riviere, and had left Montreal in the latter days of the month of April.

CHAPTER 47.

1758—TICONDEROGA AND FORT FRONTENAC.

1758—SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON IN COMMAND OF INDIANS JOINS ABERCROMBIE'S ATTACK ON FRENCH FORT TICONDEROGA—DISASTROUS DEFEAT OF ATTACKING PARTY—COLONEL BRADSTREET'S EXPEDITION AGAINST FRENCH FORT FRONTENAC THROUGH THE MOHAWK VALLEY—FORT FRONTENAC CAPTURED AUGUST 27TH—BRITISH-AMERICAN ARMIES CAPTURE LOUISBURG AND FORT DUQUESNE, WHICH IS RENAMED FORT PITT.

William Pitt, premier of England, asked the American Colonists to raise 20,000 soldiers for the campaign of 1758. The British government was to supply the soldiers with everything but clothing which the Colonies were requested to furnish, besides raising and paying the armies. Lord Loudoun had been removed and things looked brighter. The Colonies had spent huge sums of money for three years in a fruitless war, but they still carried on. Large armies were raised and, in New Hampshire, every third man of military age was a soldier, and in Massachusetts, one in every four.

The great blow of the year was to be struck by an army under General Abercrombie against French Fort Ticonderoga. Sir William Johnson spent the early part of the year in councils with the Indians preparing their minds favorably for this expedition. From May 4th to 13th, Johnson was in council with the Mohawks at Canajoharie Castle with this object in view. On June 29th, he left Fort Johnson for Fort Edward with a body of Indians. He reached Fort Edward on July 6th and the battlefield of Ticonderoga on July 8th, with 440 Indians. Lord Howe, second in command of the great English-American army, was slain in the ambuscade of the first day's fighting and General Abercrombie seemed utterly incompetent without his brilliant young lieutenant. The American-British force was disastrously repulsed in a bloody assault upon Fort Ticonderoga, although the French-Canadian army numbered but one-fourth that of the attacking force. Without leadership, the British-American army left the gory field and wandered back through the woods to Lake George and from there went to the head of that water and then on to Albany. Another grand army expedition had fizzled out.

Sir William Johnson was back at Fort Johnson on July 22nd, when he framed a treaty between the Six Nations and the Southern Indians.

Johnson's part in the Ticonderoga expedition is described in the journal of Colonel Marinus Willett who was a lieutenant in Abercrombie's army, and who later bore such an important part in the Mohawk Valley during the Revolution.

The day following the ambuscade, in which Lord Howe was killed, Sir William Johnson arrived with a war party of Mohawks, other Iroquois, and Indians of various tribes. The object of bringing these Indians into the field was two-fold—first, to keep them from joining the enemy, and secondly, to take the warriors away from the frontier at a time of great excitement when French intrigue and Albany rum might lead some Iroquois warriors to commit some savage crime against some of the settlers. These facts must be remembered when Johnson is criticised for the lack of aid lent to various military movements by his Indian war party. Willett says: "Early the following morning the army was increased by the arrival of about six hundred Indians under the command of Sir William Johnson. These Indians crossed the river, and went on the hill opposite the Fort, where they made a great yelling and firing, which appears to have been a needless manoeuver, for they could hardly hope, by this course to intimidate the enemy, as they were perfectly familiar with the Indian yell and war whoops."

Mohawk Valley militia doubtless joined the Fort Ticonderoga expedition although we have no record of their part in this military fiasco. The Valley militia formed part of that of Albany County until the formation of Tryon County in 1772.

The ridiculous failure at Ticonderoga was somewhat offset by the capture of Louisburg by General Amherst and that of Fort Frontenac (at present Kingston, Ontario) by Lieutenant-Colonel Bradstreet, both of which happened in the latter part of August, 1758. These two British-American successes spelled the beginning of the end of New France. Bradstreet had long planned his coup. The timid Abercrombie was finally persuaded to give his consent to this expedition and gave Colonel Bradstreet 3,000 men, nearly all of whom were Provincial militiamen. New York furnished 1,112 of Bradstreet's 3,035 men, more than the quota of any other province.

Colonel Bradstreet went up the Mohawk with his army, sending his supplies over that stream in batteaux. He stopped at Fort Herkimer to arrange for the final plunge into the wilderness,

as that had been the frontier post since the capture of Oswego and Fort Bull and the burning of Fort Williams. Bradstreet's army made the portage to Wood Creek and went down that tortuous stream to Oneida Lake and Oswego River and on to the ruined spot where Fort Oswego once stood. With Bradstreet was young Lieutenant Willett, who later was to take such an active part in the defense of the Revolutionary Fort Stanwix and of the Mohawk Valley. Willett's journal of Bradstreet's expedition is its most interesting document.

A few Oneidas joined Bradstreet's army, although, like most of the Six Nations, their English allegiance had become much shaken by the ridiculous campaign conducted by Abercrombie against Fort Ticonderoga. On August 22nd, the Provincial army set out across Lake Ontario and landed near the French fort on August 25th. Bradstreet took it on the 27th, it then being garrisoned by only 110 men including the laborers. The fort was destroyed together with a great quantity of stores, while the entire French fleet of Lake Ontario was captured.

Bradstreet had not lost a man in action but, on the return trip, many of his troops sickened and died of camp dysentery. He retraced his former steps and passed on down the Mohawk, leaving a thousand of his men to assist in the building of Fort Stanwix, which Brigadier-General John Stanwix was then erecting at the portage on the present site of Rome. The fall of Fort Frontenac, the capture of Louisburg and of Fort Duquesne, in 1758, greatly heartened the British-Colonial forces, after the dismal failures of numerous utterly incompetent English commanders.

Colonel Bradstreet's expedition was the first of three military forces to march through the Mohawk Valley to victories over the French in the last three years of the war—1758, 1759, 1760. Although Wolfe's victory on the Plains of Abraham has been given great publicity as the victory which ended French power in America, yet the success at Quebec would have been incomplete and ineffective in crushing Canada, had not these three expeditions passed on up the Mohawk to successfully subdue vital points of defense in New France. Bradstreet's conquest of Fort Frontenac in 1758 broke France's hold of eastern Lake Ontario. Johnson's capture of Fort Niagara and victory over a French army at that point, in 1759, shut off New France from its empire on the Great Lakes and in the Mississippi River region. The third and greatest conquering army to pass up the Mohawk in the French and Indian war was that of General Amherst, whose main army

of 10,000 soldiers passed over this route to the conquest of Montreal and New France in 1760, thus ending French empire in America.

The construction, in 1758, of Fort Stanwix at the Mohawk-Wood Creek portage was of as much importance to the Colonists of New York as the victories of Fort Frontenac and Louisburg, and was so considered by them. After this strong post was built, the exposed Mohawk frontier was no longer left entirely open to attack. Brigadier-General John Stanwix was delegated to supervise its erection and from this gallant Irish soldier the fort took its name. Fort Stanwix was 300 feet square and was built by order of General Abercrombie after a design by Captain Bull. The fortification cost £60,000 and was considered one of the strongest British forts in the Colonies. It was garrisoned by 400 men. Other forts were also erected along the Wood Creek-Oneida Lake waterway, as follows: The Royal Blockhouse at the eastern end of the lake, garrisoned by 15 men; Fort Brewerton at the western end, garrisoned by 100 men; a fort at the little falls of the Onondaga River, with 100 men.

A wagon road was cut for eighteen miles through the forest from Fort Stanwix to the Royal Blockhouse to connect these two fortifications of the eastern and western end of the Wood Creek water route. This chain of forts added greatly to the strength of the British-American military establishment in the Province of New York and facilitated army operations along this famous military route, notably that of General Amherst in 1760.

Fort Schuyler was built in 1758 at the ford of the Mohawk River, the site of which is now in the limits of the City of Utica at the junction of Park Avenue and Main Street, where a monument locates the fortification. Park Avenue follows an Indian path which led from the river ford to its junction with the Indian trail, which then followed the general line of present Genesee Street. Fort Schuyler was an earthwork surmounted by a stockade. Its name is credited to two soldiers of the day, Colonel Peter Schuyler, uncle of General Philip Schuyler of the Revolution, and Colonel Peter Schuyler of New Jersey, who commanded the Jersey Blues (a Newark regiment) at Oswego. Its erection marked the first occupation of the present site of Utica by white men. Fort Schuyler was abandoned after General Amherst's conquest of Canada in 1760 and was not again used as a fort. When, in 1776, Fort Stanwix was repaired and strengthened by order of General Philip Schuyler, commander of the American Army of the North, the name of Fort Stanwix was changed to that of Fort

Schuyler in army orders, although this famous fort was generally referred to as Fort Stanwix throughout the Revolution, and was so termed by the Continental Congress. Then the settlers of the Mohawk Valley referred to Fort Schuyler at present Utica as Old Fort Schuyler to differentiate it from the Fort Schuyler of army dispatches, at present Rome. The use of the same or similar names for two forts has been the cause of great historical confusion. The Rome fort resumed the name of Fort Stanwix after the Revolution and the Utica fort continued to be called Fort Schuyler, or Old Fort Schuyler, and this is the situation at the present time. This history uses the name of Fort Stanwix throughout in order to avoid the confusion with Fort Schuyler as previously mentioned.

SITE OF FORT SCHUYLER, 1758

At the junction of Main street and Park avenue. The D. A. R. marker of 1912, at the right, commemorates the camp here of General Herkimer's American army on the night of August 6, 1777, following the battle of Oriskany.

CHAPTER 48.

1759—GEN. JOHNSON CAPTURES FORT NIAGARA.

BRITISH-AMERICAN EXPEDITION AGAINST FRENCH FORT NIAGARA PASSES WEST THROUGH MOHAWK VALLEY—COMMANDED BY GENERAL JOHN PRIDEAUX, WITH GENERAL SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON, SECOND IN COMMAND—ENGLISH FORT OSWEGO REBUILT—FRENCH ATTACK ON OSWEGO REPULSED—GENERAL PRIDEAUX KILLED, AND GENERAL JOHNSON SUCCEEDS TO THE COMMAND—JOHNSON'S ARMY DEFEATS FRENCH-INDIAN RELIEF FORCE—FORT NIAGARA SURRENDERS.

The doom of French power in America was sealed when Sir Jeffrey Amherst was appointed commander-in-chief of the armies in the English Colonies. This was in September, 1758. General Amherst came to Albany and made his headquarters at that key position of the American military lines, in the spring of 1759. Here he perfected the campaign plans for the year. General Wolfe was to sail up the St. Lawrence with an army and a fleet and capture Quebec. General Amherst was to take the French forts on Lake Champlain, go on to Montreal, take that capital and join Wolfe at Quebec. General Prideaux was to capture Fort Niagara and then sail down Lake Ontario to Montreal. The British-American forces achieved all these objectives, except Montreal. General Amherst was a splendid soldier, whose valor and military virtues, as well as the other campaigns of the war, have been overshadowed by the spectacular battle of Quebec, in which the brilliant young General Wolfe and the gallant Montcalm were slain. Amherst had professional qualities and comprehensive plans such as Grant later showed. He was one of America's greatest generals, but his epoch-making successes won by thorough and professional methods, do not appeal to the historian unversed in military strategy. With Amherst, the long procession of stupid, incompetent and timid British commanders, who had afflicted the Colonists and caused untold losses of blood and treasure for a century, finally came to an end. Amherst and Sir William Johnson seem to have coöperated in sympathetic fashion and their brains and bravery combined to put an end to French empire in America and to the danger of savage butchery which had menaced the Mohawk Valley frontier for a hundred years.

Johnson held a council with the Mohawks and Senecas at Cana-

joharie Castle, January 18-19, and one at Fort Johnson, with the Cayugas and Mohawks, February 5th and 6th. On February 12th, he again met the Mohawks at Canajoharie Castle. From April 4th to the 22nd, Johnson held a council with the Six Nations at Canajoharie Castle. On May 4th, 1759, Johnson met Amherst at Schenectady, and on May 16th, he was in Albany. On May 17th, Sir William Johnson, recommended the capture of Fort Niagara to the Lords of Trade.

General John Prideaux had been raised from the rank of colonel to that of brigadier-general in 1759, and placed in command of the expedition against Niagara, with General William Johnson as second in command. Prideaux's army consisted of 5,000 regulars and provincials. He was ordered to leave a strong garrison at Fort Stanwix, establish garrisons at the Royal Blockhouse, at the east end of Oneida Lake, and at Fort Brewerton, at the western end; build a fort at Oswego and garrison it with nearly half his men and then go up Lake Ontario and capture Fort Niagara. Large as this order seems to be, Generals Prideaux and Johnson filled it.

Prideaux's army formed the second great military expedition of the war to pass westward through the Mohawk Valley, the first being Bradstreet's in 1758. General Prideaux mobilized his army at Schenectady and marched up the Mohawk Valley in June, 1759, boating his ordnance and supplies over the Mohawk River. Johnson joined him with militia and a large body of Indians. On June 21st, Johnson was at Oneida Lake, with the army; June 23rd at Three Rivers; June 24-25, at Great Falls of the Oswego; June 27-30, at Oswego; July 1, at Sodus Bay; July 2-3, at Irondequoit; July 5, at Johnson Creek; July 7 to August 4, at Niagara.

General Prideaux left a force of men at Oswego to rebuild the English fort and garrison it. They were commanded by Colonel Haldimand. Haldimand's men were attacked by a large party of Canadians, French and Indians which was beaten off. The English fort at Oswego was then reconstructed and continued to be occupied by British troops until 1792, nine years after peace was declared between the United States and Great Britain. Fort Oswego and Fort Stanwix were the most important posts upon the great waterway between Schenectady and Lake Ontario, by way of the Mohawk River, Wood Creek, Oneida Lake, Oneida River and Oswego River.

Prideaux invested Fort Niagara on July 7th. His army had been increased by 900 warriors of the Six Nations under the leadership of Sir William Johnson. The fort was garrisoned by

600 men well furnished with supplies and ammunition. On July 20th, the British-American batteries opened fire. A shell burst prematurely and killed General Prideaux instantly. The command then passed to Sir William Johnson. The artillery made breaches in the fort and killed or wounded more than one hundred of the garrison.

A motley army of some 1,100 French and Canadians and 200 Indians now came down the Lakes to the relief of Fort Niagara. Some were French Canadian troops but most of them were traders and bushrangers. The force of 1,300 was under the command of two leaders named Aubry and Lingeris. Johnson had 2,300 soldiers and 900 Indian warriors. He divided this force into three detachments. One was placed to guard the batteaux, the second held the trenches and the third, composed of three-quarters Provincial militia and one-quarter British regulars, went out to give battle to the advancing enemy. The two forces met near the fort on June 24th, 1759, and the American-British army, after a hot battle, won a complete victory, routing the French and Indians and killing or capturing nearly all their officers. The beaten enemy retired to Detroit, burning many of their posts on the way. The next day, July 25th, Fort Niagara surrendered to General Johnson, who protected its garrison from his savage allies. The battle of Fort Niagara was one of three won by the American-British forces in the French and Indian war. Johnson was commander at two of them—Lake George and Fort Niagara, both conflicts having been won by American militia. The third pitched battle was won by Wolfe on the Plains of Abraham on September 13th, 1759.

Only a few days before Johnson won the Niagara battle, General Amherst had taken Fort Ticonderoga, the French retiring to Crown Point. Amherst marched for that post and the French again fled before the English commander. The English now controlled the head of Lake Champlain as well as the head of Lake Ontario and the end of French rule seemed in sight. Amherst started down Lake Champlain for Montreal but was driven back by gales and then built the great fort at Crown Point, marked today by its interesting ruins.

Parkman says of Johnson's victory at Niagara: "The capture of Niagara was an important stroke. Thenceforth Detroit, Michillimackinac, the Illinois, and all the other French interior posts were severed from Canada and left in helpless isolation."

General Amherst appointed General Gage to supersede General Johnson, who returned to Oswego on August 7th, where he

remained until October 14th, in connection with the erection and supplying of the new fort. He returned to Fort Johnson about October 20th. On December 2nd, he conferred with General Amherst at Albany. Seventeen hundred fifty-nine, like 1755, was certainly a year when Johnson's fortunes were in the ascendant. He had now developed into an energetic and capable military commander and one of the great Amherst's most worthy lieutenants.

The following interesting diary of Lieutenant Christopher Yates of Schenectady was written during the campaign conducted by Generals Prideaux and Johnson against Fort Niagara in 1759. It is taken from Yates' History of Schenectady County and is given with Major Yates' prefatory comments.

Christopher Yates (known universally in the Valley as Colonel Stoeffle to distinguish him from Christopher P. and Peter Yates, his cousins, all of them becoming afterwards colonels on the Revolution), was commissioned as captain in the New York Provincial Regiment of Oswego, Thursday, June 15th, 1759. He was promoted while on his way to Fort Niagara in command of the rear guard, afterwards of the quarter guard of the army, under General Prideaux who, on his death in the assault, was succeeded by Sir William Johnson. Yates had under him a Schenectady company, the roll of which cannot be found. * * *

Diary of Lieut. Christopher Yates, Afterwards Captain in the Expedition Against Fort Niagara in July, 1759.

"A diary of my proceedings from my father's house in Schenectady which I left on June 1st, with the last party of our regiment, commanded by Col. Johnson, consisting of about 300 men with whale boats.

"The first day we went to Claas Vieles. Each night I had the quarter guard. The next day we went to Sir William's (Sir William Johnson) and encamped there, and the next day we went to Little Falls and carried over some whale boats. On the same evening came up the artillery batteaux, which went over the falls before us, putting our party in great confusion. The next day we were ordered to make fascines to mend the road, which was very bad, and were four days in getting over our boats and provisions.

"From thence we proceeded to Fort Herkimer where we camped and from whence we proceeded to Orisco [Oriskany], which was June 14th, during which time we heard an alarm by

the firing of more guns on the north side of the river, and sent out a party of about eighty or more men who made no discovery. The commanders of the party were Captain Bloomer, Lieutenant Schuyler and Lieutenant Wemple. Proceeded to Fort Stanwix.

"When we came there, the 14th and 16th regiments were marched to Canada Creek, part of our regiment to Fort Bull. Next day we tarried at Fort Stanwix, then another part of our regiment went off commanded by Major Roseboom, which was the 15th of June, and Sir William went off from the fort with a great party of Indians. It was a fine sight, the bands of music played upon the ramparts of the fort, when the General and Sir William went off with the Indians.

"Oswego, July 1st, 1759. Upon a Sunday morning our army commanded by General Prideaux, went off from Oswego to Niagara, and in that way until we came to a great covered harbor called Sodom, [Sodus], and encamped there that night, and the next morning, July 2nd, went off from there. At night we came to another cove called Jerundequa [Irondequoit].

"July 4th. In the morning we set off and proceeded until about two or three in the afternoon, when we encamped by a mighty great one [cove] where the Geneva [Genesee] River comes out into the lake.

"July 5th. In the morning we went from there and proceeded along until we came to a narrow cove and creek, and there we encamped, and in the morning very early, about three or four o'clock, we set off and proceeded very smartly until we came to a cove about three miles, and there we landed. The same afternoon the Indians went and about three o'clock in the morning cannonaded and took three prisoners and six whale boats almost from under the fort and the general. The whale boats went in order to catch the sloops but the sloops laid under the fort so that they could not catch them. The fort shot several cannons at the boats, shot one man, taking his leg right off.

"The next day, which was the 7th, we prepared our cannons and the sloop played every hour on the lake, firing several cannons, and so they did all next day, which was the 8th. Then we marched about a mile from the fort, and made gabions, etc., all that day. Next day went in a flag of truce, which was Monday the 8th. Then we began to intrench, and I was in the entrenches all that night until morning, and then they fired very smart all three cannons but did not do any damage. Then Wednesday, the 11th there went a flag of truce from the Indians, and stayed in the fort a good while, and there was no further firing from them or from

us. Before then we entrenched like men, and as soon as the Indians came there was no work all that night, but we did not mind that much, we worked the attack like smoke. They wounded a few men very slightly with their small arms. That night we began to play with four or five howitzers. In the morning we brought a few cannons into the trench. The 12th at night, I went in and they said they saw hot work there, there was one of our men killed and Indian Williams wounded very badly. Then at night we entrenched until within 200 yards of the fort, close by their gabions. Saturday 13th we began the batteries but did not finish them.

"Sunday the 14th. Went and was in all night, but it rained so hard that we could not work; that night we finished three batteries.

"The 17th. In the morning the firing was pretty hot, all that day and the next day, the 18th at night, we entrenched.

"The 18th. In the afternoon the schooner came from Garoqua. The same night we entrenched forty yards from their breastwork, but the schooner did not come to the fort.

"The 20th. In the afternoon our colonel was wounded through his leg by a musket shot, and Colonel Johnson was killed by a musket ball as he was laying out the ground to entrench. That night at about ten o'clock the General [Prideaux] was killed by one of our cowhorn [mortars] and Sir William Johnson took command. And so we marched and worked night and day until the 24th, when we were attacked by about 1,500 of the enemy, under command of Musher Delanquay about ten o'clock in the morning. But we soon gave them their breakfast and on the 25th we took the fort."

Major Yates comments on the diary as follows:

"The Captain's spelling is very phonetic, his pronunciation of French amusing, but as we hear of him in the future he will loom up in the revolution, and after, as an accomplished and cultivated gentleman. He was but twenty-two years of age and yet had fought and been wounded at Ticonderoga. (Col. Records Vol. 10, p. 731, N. Y. State Library). Yates obtained prominence from the fact that he took a company from Schenectady to Fort Niagara, but there were others of the provincial troops whose descendants are all around us."

CHAPTER 49.

1760, General Amherst Conquers Canada by Way of the Mohawk Valley.

DEFEAT OF THE BRITISH BEFORE QUEBEC APRIL 27, 1760—AMHERST'S PLAN TO CONQUER MONTREAL, BY WAY OF THE MOHAWK, CHAMPLAIN, AND ST. LAWRENCE VALLEYS—MAY 9, RELIEF OF QUEBEC BY BRITISH FLEET—CAPTAIN FONDA SENT TO ROUSE THE SIX NATIONS—JUNE 22, GENERAL AMHERST'S AMERICAN AND BRITISH ARMY OF 10,000 MOVES WEST THROUGH THE MOHAWK VALLEY TO OSWEGO—AUGUST 10, AMHERST'S ARMY SAILS FROM OSWEGO—SEPTEMBER 8, 1760, MONTREAL CAPITULATES AND CANADA BECOMES THE BRITISH PROVINCE OF QUEBEC—JOURNAL OF CAPTAIN JELLES FONDA, COVERING THE AMHERST EXPEDITION— JOHNSON'S LETTER TO PITT—JOHNSON COMMENDED BY KING GEORGE AND SIR WILLIAM PITT, PREMIER OF GREAT BRITAIN.

The year 1760, opened with the brightest prospects of final English success over the French and of British ascendancy in North America, east of the Mississippi River. The fate of a continent was in the hands of a strong man and a capable general—Jeffrey Amherst—and his well-laid plans caused Colonial military affairs to move forward, in orderly fashion, to a victorious conclusion. Early September saw Montreal and Quebec and all the eastern French forts in English hands and the union jack finally floated from the Gulf of St. Lawrence to the head of the Great Lakes. Amherst and Johnson were to play important roles in the military drama of the year and the Mohawk Valley was to be the scene of the march of the main British-American army under Amherst, on its way to Lake Ontario and the final French surrender at Montreal.

Sir William Johnson opened the eventful year with a council with deputies from the Six Nations at Fort Johnson. On March 20th, he met the Mohawks of the Lower Castle and on May 3rd, he was at Canajoharie Castle. At this time General Amherst was mobilizing his main army at Albany and Schenectady.

Although Wolfe had taken Quebec as a result of his victory on the Plains of Abraham, his successor, General Murray had a hard job to hold it. The valiant French, undismayed by their reverses of 1759, now made a bold attempt to recapture the city by a movement from Montreal. The scurvy was making havoc

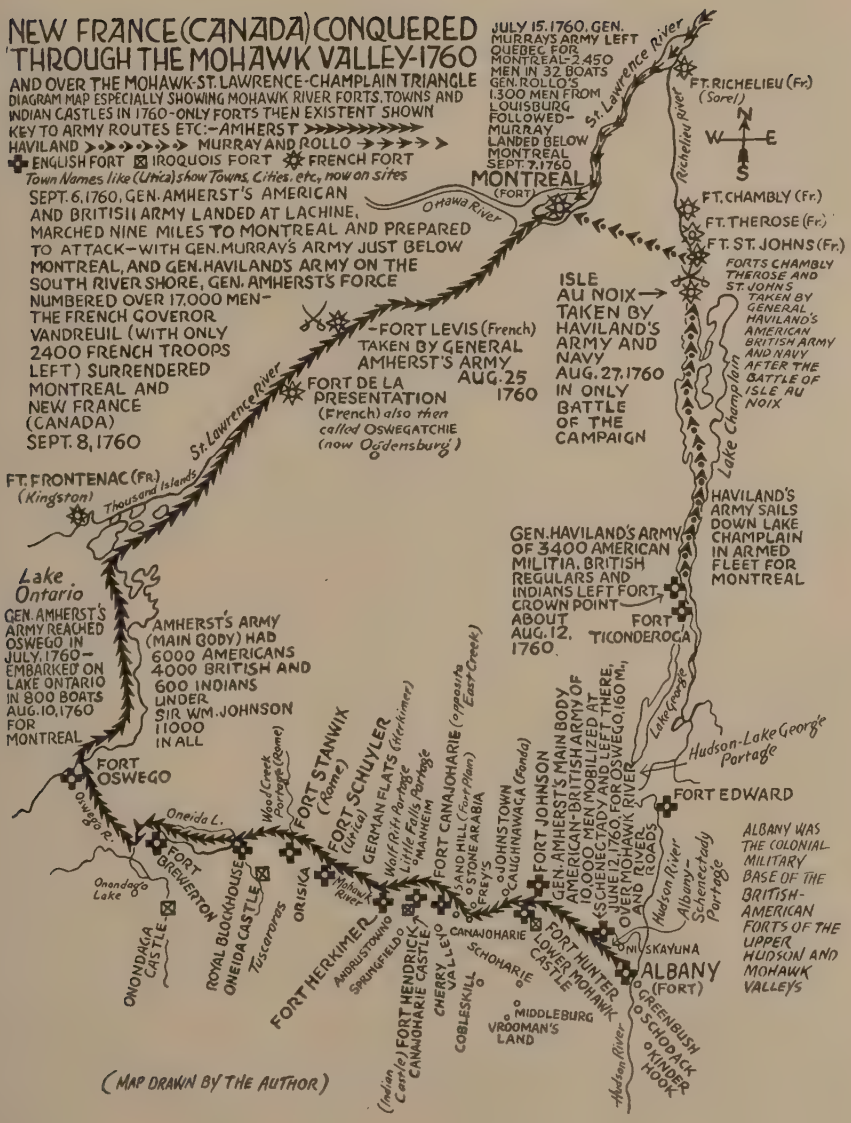
of Murray's army and he was said to have had only 2,000 men able to bear arms, in the Spring of 1760. Levis, the French commander, with 7,000 men now moved down the St. Lawrence in an attempt to reconquer Quebec.

On April 27th, Murray marched out of Quebec and gave battle to the French. In a bitter two hour conflict, the French drove the English back into the town, to which they then laid siege. The city was saved for the English by the timely arrival of the British fleet on May 9th, 1760. It had been a close call for the British garrison but they were now secure. The French were compelled to retire to Montreal and the carefully laid plans of Amherst were now put into effect. Amherst was at Albany and Johnson was at Fort Johnson when news came of Murray's danger. Their anxiety is reflected in their mutual correspondence of the time. The report had spread that the French had taken Quebec and the fickle Indians were showing signs of disaffection. Captain Butler and Captain Jelles Fonda, "Indian officers," had been sent to the Six Nations to get them to join General Johnson's Indian contingent of the army of General Amherst, which was to concentrate at Oswego and then proceed to the conquest of Montreal. Because of the rumors of French success at Quebec, these two militia officers at first had a difficult time to enlist the Iroquois in Amherst's army, but they finally succeeded. This mission is detailed in Fonda's diary, which is printed later, and which is one of the Mohawk Valley's most interesting historical documents.

General Amherst mobilized his army of 10,000—6,000 Provincials and 4,000 British troops—on "the Camp" at Scotia opposite Schenectady for his march up the Mohawk Valley, en route to Oswego and Montreal.

While Amherst and Johnson were anxiously awaiting news from Quebec, troops and supplies of the army were passing westward up the Mohawk Valley and over its roads. All the forts bore a part in this great epoch-making military movement, which was to finally conquer New France and eventually make North America an English-speaking continent. Amherst wrote Johnson that he would leave not even a guard at Fort Hunter and Fort Hendrick and suggested that Sir William do the same with Fort Johnson. All possible strength was now to be brought to bear against the French and this probably included a great part of the militia, including that of the Mohawk Valley.

Amherst's plan of a concentration of British forces upon Montreal was an admirable one and, with Quebec safe, it seemed cer-


NEW FRANCE (CANADA) CONQUERED THROUGH THE MOHAWK VALLEY-1760
AND OVER THE MOHAWK-ST. LAWRENCE-CHAMPLAIN TRIANGLE
DIAGRAM MAP ESPECIALLY SHOWING MOHAWK RIVER FORTS, TOWNS AND INDIAN CASTLES IN 1760-ONLY FORTS THEN EXISTENT SHOWN
KEY TO ARMY ROUTES ETC:-AMHERST
HAVILAND
MURRAY AND ROLLO
ENGLISH FORT
IROQUOIS FORT
FRENCH FORT
Town Names like (Utica) show Towns, Cities, etc., now on sites
SEPT. 6, 1760, GEN. AMHERST'S AMERICAN AND BRITISH ARMY LANDED AT LACHINE, MARCHED NINE MILES TO MONTREAL AND PREPARED TO ATTACK-WITH GEN. MURRAY'S ARMY JUST BELOW MONTREAL, AND GEN. HAVILAND'S ARMY ON THE SOUTH RIVER SHORE, GEN. AMHERST'S FORCE NUMBERED OVER 17,000 MEN-THE FRENCH GOVERNOR VANDREUIL (WITH ONLY 2400 FRENCH TROOPS LEFT) SURRENDERED MONTREAL AND NEW FRANCE (CANADA) SEPT. 8, 1760
JULY 15, 1760, GEN. MURRAY'S ARMY LEFT QUEBEC FOR MONTREAL-2,450 MEN IN 32 BOATS GEN. ROLLO'S 1,300 MEN FROM LOUISBURG FOLLOWED-MURRAY LANDED BELOW MONTREAL SEPT. 7, 1760
MONTREAL (FORT)
St. Lawrence River
Richelieu River
FT. RICHELIEU (Fr.) (Sorel)
FT. CHAMBLY (Fr.)
FT. THEROSE (Fr.)
FT. ST. JOHNS (Fr.)
FORTS CHAMBLY THEROSE AND ST. JOHN'S TAKEN BY GENERAL HAVILAND'S AMERICAN BRITISH ARMY AND NAVY AFTER THE BATTLE OF ISLE AU NOIX
Ottawa River
ISLE AU NOIX → TAKEN BY HAVILAND'S ARMY AND NAVY AUG. 27, 1760 IN ONLY BATTLE OF THE CAMPAIGN
Lake Champlain
FORT LEVIS (French) TAKEN BY GENERAL AMHERST'S ARMY AUG. 25 1760
FORT DE LA PRESENTATION (French) also then called OSWEGATCHIE (now Ogdensburg)
St. Lawrence River
FT. FRONTENAC (Fr.) (Kingston)
Thousand Islands
HAVILAND'S ARMY SAILS DOWN LAKE CHAMPLAIN IN ARMED FLEET FOR MONTREAL
GEN. HAVILAND'S ARMY OF 3400 AMERICAN MILITIA, BRITISH REGULARS AND INDIANS LEFT FORT CROWN POINT ABOUT AUG. 12, 1760
FORT TICONDEROGA
Lake Ontario
GEN. AMHERST'S ARMY REACHED OSWEGO IN JULY, 1760-EMBARKED ON LAKE ONTARIO IN 800 BOATS AUG. 10, 1760 FOR MONTREAL
AMHERST'S ARMY (MAIN BODY) HAD 6000 AMERICANS 4000 BRITISH AND 600 INDIANS UNDER SIR WM. JOHNSON 11000 IN ALL
Lake George
Hudson-Lake George Portage
FORT EDWARD
FORT OSWEGO
Oneida L.
Onondaga R.
Wood Creek Portage (Rome)
FORT STANWIX (Rome)
FORT SCHUYLER (Utica)
GERMAN FLATS (Herkimer)
Wolf Path Portage
Little Falls Portage
MANHEIM
FORT CANAJOHARIE (opposite East Creek)
SAND HILL (Fort Plain)
STONE ARABIA
FREY'S
JOHNSTOWN
CAUGHNAWAGA (Fonda)
FORT JOHNSON
GEN. AMHERST'S MAIN BODY OF AMERICAN-BRITISH ARMY OF 17,000 MEN MOBILIZED AT OSWEGO, 160 M., JUNE 17, 1760 AND LEFT THERE, OVER MOHAWK RIVER AND ROADS
Hudson River
Albany-Schenectady Portage
ALBANY WAS THE COLONIAL MILITARY BASE OF THE BRITISH-AMERICAN FORTS OF THE UPPER HUDSON AND MOHAWK VALLEYS
FORT BREWERTON
Onondaga Lake
ONONDAGA CASTLE
ROYAL BLOCKHOUSE
ONEIDA CASTLE
Tuscaroras
ORISKA
Mohawk River
FORT HERKIMER
ANDRUSTOWN
SPRINGFIELD
CHERRY VALLEY
CANAJOHARIE
SCHOHARIE
FORT HUNTER
LOWER MOHAWK CASTLE
ONISKAYUNA
ALBANY (FORT)
COBLESKILL
MIDDLEBURG
VROOMAN'S LAND
(Indian Castle) FORT HENDRICK CANAJOHARIE CASTLE
GREENBUSH
SCHODACK
KINDER HOOK
Hudson River
(MAP DRAWN BY THE AUTHOR)

tain of success. Parkman describes the British commander's plan of campaign as follows:

"Amherst had resolved to enter the colony by all its three gates at once and, advancing from east, west, north and south, unite at Montreal and crush it as in the jaws of a vise. Murray was to ascend the St. Lawrence from Quebec, while Brigadier Haviland forced an entrance by way of Lake Champlain, and Amherst himself led the main army down the St. Lawrence from Lake Ontario. This last route was long, circuitous, difficult and full of danger from the rapids that obstructed the river. His choice of it for his chief line of operation, instead of the shorter and easier way of Lake Champlain, was meant, no doubt, to prevent the French army from escaping up the Lakes to Detroit and the other wilderness posts, where it might have protracted the war for an indefinite time; while the plan adopted, if successful, would make its capture certain."

On July 2nd, Murray sailed from Quebec with 2,500 men in thirty-two vessels. Lord Rollo followed with 1,300 men from Louisbourg. Haviland set out from Crown Point, with 3,400 regulars, provincials and Indians.

The troops of the main army had been going westward for several months when General Amherst left his base at Schenectady on June 22nd, 1760, and rode, with members of his staff, westward along the Mohawk, and stopped at Fort Johnson to see Sir William. Not until the previous day, did Amherst know of the French failure at Quebec. The main army covered the hundred miles of the Mohawk Valley, which lay between Schenectady and Wood Creek, while the supplies and ordnance went over the Mohawk in innumerable boats. From Wood Creek the batteaux men made the difficult passage into Oneida Lake, while the soldiers marched overland to Oswego. Here the army made ready for the long and difficult water trip to Montreal, while the Indians, who were to form Johnson's command were coming in. On August 10th, 1760, Amherst's army left Oswego in 400 boats and headed for Montreal. It numbered 10,142 men and about 600 Indians, of whom 402 were of the Six Nations, 111 being Mohawks.

About August 15th, Amherst captured Oswegatchie (also called Fort Presentation and La Galette) where Ogdensburg is now located. Fort Levis, below Oswegatchie on a rocky islet, was bombarded and captured. When it surrendered and the Indians were not allowed to massacre its garrison, three-fourths of them left Johnson and wandered back home. The army passed the St.

Lawrence rapids with the loss of forty-six boats wrecked and eighty-four men drowned. On September 6th, Amherst's force landed on the island of Montreal. The other armies now came up and the total British-American force amounted to 17,000 men. Montreal surrendered on September 8th, 1760, and all Canada passed under the sway of England.

The main army of the American and British forces which conquered Canada in 1760 went through the Mohawk Valley on their route to Montreal, the capital of New France. From the beginning of King William's war, in 1689, to the end of the second war with Great Britain in 1815—a period of 126 years—many expeditions were directed toward the conquest of New York and New France, in the Colonial wars, and toward the subjugation of New York or Canada, in the first and second wars between America and England. Most of these movements were sent out along the Lake Champlain route. All of them failed ingloriously, with the exception of Amherst's American-British army movement of 1760 through the Mohawk Valley. It was the Mohawk Valley—Gateway to the West—that enabled the American and British armies to conquer the French Canadian empire and make all North America eventually an English-speaking continent.

Although Canada was conquered through the Mohawk Valley in one of the great epoch-making campaigns of world history, yet there is scarcely a reference to this hundred miles of Amherst's route in the histories of America. In the Johnson Papers (University of the State of New York, 1921) there is a letter from Amherst to Johnson, under date of June 21, 1760, which is worthy of being reprinted here, as it speaks of the beginning of the commander's march from Schenectady. Captain Jelles Fonda kept a journal of his connection with the movement of Amherst's army, from the time he left Fort Johnson on his mission to the Six Nations until his return to Caughnawaga (Fonda). This journal, in manuscript form, is now in the library of the New York Historical Society. That portion of it, relative to the expedition from Oswego to Montreal and from there back to the Mohawk Valley, is here given in full, as a most valuable document concerning one of America's most important military campaigns.

Amherst's letter to Johnson, under date of June 21, 1760 (Johnson Papers, Vol. III, p. 259), follows:

Schenectady, June 21, 1760.

Dear Sir:

I Have this morning received a Confirmation of the Enemy

having Raised the Siege of Quebec, and left all their Cannon behind, marching off in a very great hurry.

Monsr. de Vaudreuil has sent me all the Officers and Men who were taken Prisoners on the 28th of April (Except Colo. Young) and some others who have been taken at different times, to the Number of 123 in the Whole, among which the Eldest Captain Jacobs of the Indians is Included.

Lieuts. Goddard & Sherriffe, who left Montreal the 14th Instant, paint the Distresses and Dispair of the French in the Strongest Colours; that they lost on the 28th of April, above an hundred Officers and Men in proportion, and their Failure in the Attempt of the Siege after the Success of that day, which cost them such Numbers, with seeing Provision Ships taken, and our Fleet at Quebec, which effectually puts a stop to any Stores, Ammunition or Succours, Joining them, has thrown the Whole Colony into the utmost Dejection.

Colonel Haviland sends me some Intelligence which I transmit to you; Major Rogers is doing very well on the farther End of Lake Champlain, keeps the Enemy in constant Alarm, for the more We can force them to Assemble, by which they must Consume their Provision, is hastening them so much sooner to their Fall.

I am getting every thing on as fast as the Arrival of the Provincial Troops would let me; I should have been glad to be Earlier, but I doubt not in the least but We shall have time Enough to Compleat the Intended Work of this Campaign.

I think I shall be able to get forward to Fort Hunter tomorrow, and I Intend to Pay Respects to You to Settle the time of the Indians our Friends Assembling, who, under Your Direction, I am confident of the greatest Success from their Assistance, and I shall be glad to Seize every Occasion that may offer, that I may Convince you that I am, with great Truth & Esteem,

Dear Sir,

&ca,

Jeff. Amherst.

SIR WM. JOHNSON, Bart.

The hitherto unpublished journal of Captain Jelles Fonda of Caughnawaga, is here printed in part. The sections covering the movement of Amherst's army to Montreal and Fonda's return to his home in the Mohawk Valley are given in full. These portions of Fonda's journal, follow:

Sir Wm. Johnson Set of the 10 of agust 1760 in Compeny with

Genl. Amhost [Amherst] and the Most of army whent with them. Jenral gage Set of at None (noon) and Retorned the Same Day for fear of hard wind and

the 11 Early in the Morning he set of a gane with Coll. Potman and fitch with there Redgments a wile after the Indians was Sober where we was left for to Bring them we Set of with all we Could get and as we was in the lake we found the winde so hard that we Turned Back to oswego at none. Set of from oswego and Lodged this night Below Caiahago.

the 12 Set of at Break a Day and Came of with Sir Wm. at none By the Stone Rever the Same Day whent on ontil we overtook Jeneral amhost and most of the army. nothing material this day.

the 13 Set of with Jeneral amhost and most all the army. this night Lodged opon an Ey land neare Caderochque. in the morning I heard from our Indians that the Indians who was gone to Swegatia [Oswegatchie, Fort La Presentation, now Ogdensburg] was Returned and Said whould Cep them selves Nuteral when we would Come there. theay futher Said that one of the french vessels who had Bene parsued By our Vessels was Stove and after Burned. now the french have only one Vessel more this is

the 14 of agust this night Lodged on an Ey land. nothing Material.

the 15 in the Morning set of and about nine o Clock pased our two Vessels and there we met Thomas an Indian who had Bene opon Business to Swegata. nothing material this Day. we laid ware the Rever was Narrow.

the 16 in the Morning, we sent two Indians to Swegatia with Some of the Light Inventry. this night laid Just as we landed we was fired on By the french vessel who laid at ancer ware we was to Land.

the 17 we Sent out four Row galles [row galleys] to take the french Vessel wich theay Did in about 3 our thime. then we marced on to Swegatia ware we landed at the Indian Town Some Indians Ron of for fear of ous and them that Stayed at home Receved ous Cindely. laid this night. Capt. Lotteredge and I was ordered to go to the french post and Reconiter the fort with two Ingenes at Both Sides of the Rever wich we Did to our Sadisfachtion.

the 18 Retorned to Swegatea and the same Day Came of Below Ele gallow ware we Incamped.

the 19 Layed Still in our Incampment and Sent Mr. Hare on a Scout. Saw noting. our pepile is a Recting Bateryes on both

sides of the Rever, the one on the Eyland & ye other on the mane shore.

the 20 Sent Mr. Nelles on a Scout with 10 Indians. this day about 12 aClock I was Sent with 2 weale Bots [whaleboats] & 20 Indians Down the Reaver to See How the pasadge was By water. I found it Verry passebile and Returned the Same Day. noting Material this Day. laid in Camp.

the 21 Sent Mr. Wemp. on a Scout with Seven Indians. Saw noting. our 3 Bateryes was fyring on the fort Like men.

the 24 the Fort Serendered to ous and we toock prosession of the fort this Day & Toock Monsure Puscho with all his men preseners and

the 26 Sent him and all his men to Albany or futher.

Septr 8th day in the morning as we Laid Before Moreial (Montreal) ye french Sent a flag of Truse to Jenral amhost That theay would Capetelate and give op all the Contry to ous. agreed opon and the graneders Marched in Montereial this Day and placed centrys Round the Cetty.

Septr. 26th. Set of from Moreial for oswego. Lodged this night at Cachnewago [Caughnawaga, above Montreal].

the 27. Remaned Still at Caihewago for the Bad weather.

the 28. Set of this night & laid at ye Seders. Sunday.

the 29. Set of in ye morning and this night laid nere ochquesasne on an Eyland.

the 30. Reaned and Stayed at ochquasasne.

the 1 of October. Set of from ochquasasne & layed at Tarunque.

the 2. Set of & layed at Euerraghquandaera.

the 3. Set of in ye morning and laid at Swegatia [Ogdensburg] where I found Most of all the Indian houses Destroyed, and theay where Still Cotting and Dustroying the houses for fire woud. Lieut. Erwill Commander there he said would hinder them as he had the command only yesterday. he Said that Liet. Rede of the Royl. Hilanders had had the Command Before Him. I spoke to the commanding offeser and thould Him that it might Be a thing of Bad Conseques and Said thougt would Be more than theay Could answer for. he Said he would hinder it now. I wrote this to Coll. Schuyler after I had wrote it to Coll. Schuyler I thought Best to go my Self & Did go back from Swegatia to fort Wim. augustus to let Coll. Schuyler now the huts was almost Destryed and would all Be Destryed if there was no other orders given to them. he thould me yt Jenral amhurst read it; futher I thould him that the Sick Men was in the Indian Huts and that the Indians be-

longing to Swegatia would Be here this Day or tomoro at furthest and would have no Houses to go in when thay Came here. he then thould me that he would See and get them out of the Indian huts. this is

the 4 of this Instent. this Day at None Set of from Swegatia and layed this night about 10 mile above Swegatea.

the 5. in the Morning Set of and Had a feare winde and Sealed with a fare winde ontil none and layed about 40 miles from Swegatia.

the 6. in Morning Sat of and over took Mr. Gilland the Sutter and a wile after over took Caoechiago an Indian and this night laid here Caiahaso.

the 7. The wind Bluw and Was forsed to stay ontil none and then Set of and went all night And at Break a Day came to oswego.

the 8. Stayed at oswego.

the 9. Set of from Oswego and Layed half way the fales [Oswego Falls].

the 10. Came to the fales.

the 11. Stayed at the fales.

the 12. Still Stayed at the fales.

the 13. Still wated at the fales for the provision Batows. Stayed at the fales ontil

the 16 and Set of with the provision Batowe. this night Laid above the Rever and

the 17 Set of and at none Came to the oneida Lake and onloaded the Batows in the Vessel and Laid on Board with all the goods. the was no winde.

the 18. in the Morning the wind Bluwe Right a head and about one a Clock the winde turned and Came fare and got over Just at Dusk at the Est End of the lake. this night laid on Bord of the Vessel.

the 19. Set of and laid this night in would [Wood] Creek.

the 20. Came to Fort Stanwix.

the 21. Early in the Morning I got the goods Read over and laid this night Nere fort Schuyler [present Utica].

the 22. Set of Before Day light. this night laid at Caneiore at Mr. Temererman.

the 23. Set of Just at Day Break and the Same Day Came home.

Lodged this night in Mr. Dagbous Demupaur Mrs. Darevere Demupaur, Mrs. Demaysue Demupaur.

this is 27 Day of Septr. 1760. this day Saw a Childe Belong-

ing to one pellenger [Bellinger] a Forener [foreigner] from the flats [German Flats] and one from Hendrick Frank a gerl about 15 years.

Captain Jelles Fonda was in the Indian service, under Sir William Johnson. The mission he was entrusted with, by Johnson, to make the final arrangements for the upper Six Nations joining the Amherst expedition, shows that Fonda was a man of power, capability and influence with the Iroquois—and this despite his lack of knowledge of spelling and English. Fonda was also a close personal friend of Sir William. Captain Fonda made a census of the Indians with the American-British army. The statement that this Indian contingent numbered 1,600 warriors is erroneous. The number, who left Oswego with the army was probably about 600. Two days after the capture of Fort Levis, Fonda made a "Memorandom of how N. Y. Indians now heare 1760 agust 28th Day", which appears at the end of his journal. This was probably before the Indians left in large numbers because they were not allowed to murder the captured French garrison "in cold blood". The list is as follows:

"Mohoks, 37; Canieore (Canajoharie Castle Mohawk Indians), 74; Tuscororas, 16; Canuseragos, 18; Ondagos (Onondagas), 146; Cayugos, 50; Tutraderighrenes, 21; Senneces, 79; Squores (Schoharies), 9; River Indian, 20. Totel, 470. Suseshana (Susquehanna) Indians, 34. Totel all, 504".

Of the foregoing 504 Indians, 402 were of the Six Nations, and 111 were Mohawks. After General Amherst forbade the Indians the bloody pleasure of killing defenseless men, the Indians left for their homes in a much disgusted frame of mind. On the 4th of September, 1760, Fonda made another census of the Indian party, showing that only 185 had remained. Of these, 136 were Iroquois from the Six Nations. The Mohawks showed their allegiance to Sir William Johnson, as 88 of the party were Mohawks, showing that few of them had left. Like Sir William Johnson, Captain Fonda differentiates between the Mohawks of the Upper Canajoharie Castle (at present Indian Castle, Herkimer County), and those of the Lower Castle (at Fort Hunter, Montgomery County). The Mohawks of the Lower Castle, are listed as "Mohoks," while those of the Upper Castle are down as "Canieore", meaning "Canajoharies". Fonda's spelling of Indian names is not to be taken as in any way correct, judged by his general orthography.

Of the Indians, 163 made the full journey to Montreal. 111 of these were Six Nations Indians and 76 of them were Mohawks.

It is probable that as many of the Mohawk Valley militia as could be safely spared were joined to the conquering army which finally subdued Canada. This Valley militia force may have numbered 500 or more soldiers. Although there is no way of ascertaining the exact number of these Valley soldiers, Amherst's order to strip the Valley forts of even their guards, in order to swell his strength as much as possible, would indicate that as many of the 800 or more Valley militia would have been taken as could have been done and, at the same time, have left a few to safeguard their homes and settlements. Several of the Mohawk Valley militia officers are mentioned in Fonda's diary.

On October 24th, 1760, Sir William Johnson addressed a letter to Sir William Pitt, Prime Minister of England, detailing his major activities, during the war just brought to a close by the capture of Montreal. Much of the matter covered in this important letter, deals with the Seven Years War, as it concerned the Mohawks, the Mohawk Valley and the Mohawk Valley militia, as well as the great military movements through the Valley. Johnson also says that he had not received any salary as Major General or Indian Superintendent. This letter appears in the "Sir William Johnson Papers", Vol. III, pages 269-275. That General Sir William Johnson's services had received favorable attention from the English government is shown by Johnson's letter to General Amherst, under date of January 18th, 1761, in which he says: "The notice his Majesty was pleased to take of my small Service, (as Signified to you by Mr. Pitt) does me great Honour, and at the same time that it demands my most grateful acknowledgments, it lays me under the greatest obligations to your Excellency, from whose favourable representations it must proceed, of which I shall ever retain a due Sense." Pitt's commendation of Johnson's great services, during the war, appear in Pitt's letter to Amherst, under date of October 24th, 1760, the same day on which Johnson wrote Pitt the aforementioned letter.

On November 8th, 1760, Amherst wrote Johnson that a reduction of the military forces was necessary and instructed Sir William to drop the following Indian Officers from the rolls: Captains John Butler and Jelles Fonda and Lieutenants William Hair and Henry Nellus (Nellis). Indian officers were military messengers and deputies, who had a general supervision or command of Indian forces on military expeditions, as we have seen in the case of Captain Fonda, as detailed in his journal, here published.

CHAPTER 50.

SCHENECTADY IN COLONIAL WARS.

PART OF AN INTERESTING CHAPTER ON THE MILITARY PART PLAYED IN AMERICA'S COLONIAL WARS BY THE TOWNSHIP OF SCHENECTADY, FROM 1700 TO 1762—FROM HISTORY OF SCHENECTADY COUNTY, BY HON. AUSTIN A. YATES.

From Yates' History of Schenectady County:

All through the eighteenth century the names of the Schenectady burghers are proportionately more numerous than any of the then military divisions of the Province. The Mohawker was born in the midst of war's alarms, baptized to the music of the twang of the bowstring and crack of musketry. Often and often the hands that sprinkled his forehead, or made the sign of the cross above it, had become familiar with the stain of blood, as priest or parson performed the last duty to the dying. Among the old names, all the blood is soldier's blood. Beginning with the year 1700 the roll of fighters is long and heroic. Some of the names are still well known and prominent, some have died out. It is surprising to know of so many whose ancestors, two centuries ago, fought and suffered, and died for God and King, whose record is among the easily attained archives of New York, and yet who know nothing about that recorded story of ancient valor that may well be the pride of their children's children.

From as exhaustive an examination of Colonial Mss., as their immense volume will permit, we give here the companies and regiments from Schenectady, then part of Albany County, which did duty in the protection of home and in the service of William and Mary, Anne and the three Georges of England. By examination of the genealogical records that follow, it will be possible for thousands of her people to learn just the fighting stock from which they came.

The first roll is that of a company of foot. The official record is John Sanders Glen, Captain, Adam Vrooman, Lieutenant and Harman Van Slyck Ensign, in the years 1700-14. [Given in Chapter 29 of this work.]

In 1717 there were two companies in existence in the city. Glen, Capt., Gerrit Symonse, Lieut., and John Wemple, Ensign, of the one; Harman Van Slyck, Capt., Hendrick Vrooman, Lieut., Jacob Glen, Ensign, of the other. Niskayuna furnished a

company of foot, Jacob Van Schoonhoven was Capt., Hans Hansen, Ensign and John Wendell, Lieut.

In 1733 there were three companies of infantry in Schenectady, officered as follows:

The First Company. Wilhemus Veeder, Capt., in the room of Jacob Glen, Lieut. John Vedder, Lieut. Abraham Truax, Ensign, Jan Baptiste Van Eps.

The Second Company. Capt. Abraham Glen, Lieut. Andries A. Bradt, Lieut. Jan B. Wemple, Ensign Hendrick Wemple.

The Third Company. Jacob Van Slyck, Capt., William Teller, Lieut., Myndert Mynderse, Lieut., John A. Bradt, Ensign.

In the meanwhile Daniel Campbell in 1754 came here and settled in Rotterdam to enter the service of the king. Very soon after his coming, John Duncan came the year following, to not only serve under the king, but to remain in it all through the Revolution, and to take command of a company under Sir John Johnson and attack the settlements on the Mohawk River.

Joseph Yates had emigrated from Albany and had settled at the Aalplaus, where is now the property of Mr. Pierre Hoag, and must have prospered as he owned a large plantation, cultivated by slaves, which extended from the Aalplaus Creek, along the north bank of the river to what is now Freeman's Bridge. He had two sons, Christopher (Stoeffle) and Jelis, the Dutch for Giles. These men were fort officers in the service of the king. The soldiers of that militia did as much duty as either, in fact had seen more brave fighting in many instances than either of the others. They certainly had in the Mohawk Valley. The militiaman did not, as did his successors long years afterward, enlist for his personal beauty, his gaudy trappings, the pomp and circumstances of holiday parade, but to be ready at a moment's call to guard his and his neighbor's home. And in the early latter half of the century, the system of keeping the rolls and records was established which enables us to find out just who were those who did soldierly duty for their king, as long as such duties were consistent with patriotism.

One of the best known old soldiers of Colonial days was Jellis Fonda, father of the heroic Major Jellis of the Revolution. He was a lieutenant in Mathews Company in 1755. He was major under Sir William Johnson of the Third Regiment of Albany. He was the close companion, comrade and friend of Sir William Johnson.

Two of the most ferocious old fighters of Colonial days were Captains Jonathan Stevens and William McGinnis, both killed

beside King Hendrick and Col. Williams, founder of Williams College [at the battle of Lake George in 1755]. They both commanded Schenectady companies. Sir William Johnson reported officially that McGinnis, Stevens and the Schenectady men fought like lions. Stevens was killed at the age of twenty-eight, leaving no lineal descendants.

[In the Yates History of Schenectady County at this point appears the diary of Lieutenant Christopher Yates in the Fort Niagara expedition of 1759. It is given in Chapter 48 of this work.]

* * * * *

Captain Cornelius Van Dyck commanded a company in 1762, mustered at Schenectady. But two Schenectady names appear on the roll of privates, Peter Prunus and John Dauce. Van Dyck was afterwards one of the most heroic officers of the Revolution. As colonel of the First Regiment of the line he participated in Monmouth, Yorktown and almost every battle. His descendants are numerous. Van Dyck was present at the surrender of Colonel Wallace.

Daniel Campbell, Andrew Truax, John Vrooman and Gerrit Lansing were commissioned captains in 1762.

On the roll of Captain Campbell's company appear only the following Schenectady names: Philip Truax, Arent Wemple, Barent Wemple, Isaac Jacob Swits, Daniel DeGraff, Isaac I. Swits, Thomas Little, Simon Samuel, John and Joseph Brougham, Dirck and Philip Van Patten and Robert Shannon, William, James and Matthew Thornton.

Captain Gerrit A. Lansing's company was composed of Schenectady men. The names are spelled with perfect devotion to Dutch pronunciation, but in absolute contempt of correctness, yet the reader will readily distinguish the familiar titles.

Capt. Gerritt A. Lansing's Company. A list of the officers and men in the Second Schenectady Company of Militia, with the dates of officers' commissions, 1767:

Capt. Gerritt A. Lansing, 2d day of November, 1754.

First Lieut. John S. Glen, 23d day of October, 1758.

Second Lieut. Abraham Wemple, 23d day of October, 1759 [afterwards colonel of Second Albany Co. Militia].

Ensign Samuel Van Slyck, 23d day of October, 1759.

Sergt. Harman Hagadorn, Sergt. Mass Van Vranken, Sergt. Hendrick Veeder, Sergt. John Fort. Corporal Peter Steers, Corporal Cornelius Barhydt. Drummer, Abraham N. Leythall [Lighthall].

Privates: Robert Hagadorn, Wm. Beth [Bath], Albert Vedder, Robert Beth, Peter Van Vorst, Phillip Van Vorst, Arent Stevens, Tobias Luypard, John S. Van Eps, Cornelius P. Van Slyck, Cornelius Van Slyck, Jr., Elias Post, Gerrit Tellor, Cornelius Van Guyseling, Jacob Van Guyseling, Elias Van Guyseling, Ryer Schermerhorn, Simon Schermerhorn, John Schermerhorn, Carel Scherfer, John Mercelis, Jakel Mercelis, Nicholas Vedder, Symon Groot, Barent Mynderse, Johannes Jure Kraft, John Dinny, Symon Janson, Peter Veeder, John Steers, Abraham Fonda, Tekeris Van De Bogart, Bartal, Frederick Clute, John Hall, Frederick Luypard, Hendrick Charlo, Abraham Van Vorst, Teron Barhydt, Jacob Farlie, Petrus Van Der Volgen, Jacob S. Vrooman, Johannes Bastianse, Martin Van Benthuisen, Gerrit Wendell, Abraham Groot, Rikert Van Vraken, John Meb, Richard James, Samuel Bradt, Samuel S. Bradt, Arent Bradt, Jacob Bradt, Frederick Bradt, Johannes Schoenmaker, John Tellor.

Officers 4, sergeants 4, corporals 2, drummer 1, privates 55. Total 66.

Captain John Duncan's company contains the honored names of Wemple, Wendell and Samuel Fuller, very probably the remainder followed their captain into war. Schenectady was devoted to the King to the day of the Revolution.

CHAPTER 51.

The Mohawk Valley From 1760 to 1774.

HISTORY OF SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON AND THE MOHAWK VALLEY FROM THE CLOSE OF THE FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR IN 1760 TO THE BEGINNING OF THE REVOLUTION IN 1775—SIR WILLIAM A GREAT COLONIAL LEADER—THE VALLEY'S GREATEST PERIOD OF BUILDING AND DEVELOPMENT—THE TORY-WHIG PARTY DIVISIONS—SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON A STRONG LOYALIST—1755-9, SETTLEMENT OF JOHNSTOWN—1760, FIRST SETTLEMENT AT ROME—BUILDING OF THE CHURCHES OF ST. GEORGE'S, SCHENECTADY, 1762; CAUGHNAWAGA, FONDA, 1763; FORT HERKIMER, 1767; INDIAN CASTLE, 1769; PALATINE, 1770; ST. JOHN'S, JOHNSTOWN, 1771; SCHOHARIE, 1772—1761, INDIAN TROUBLES MENACE THE FRONTIER—JOHNSON'S DETROIT TRIP PRODUCES TEMPORARY CALM—MOHAWKS ANGERED BY LAND FRAUDS—1762, BUILDING OF JOHNSON HALL; SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON MOVES FROM FORT JOHNSON TO JOHNSTOWN—1763, OSWEGATCHIE INDIAN VILLAGE—1763, PONTIAC'S WAR—1764, JOHNSON HOLDS GREAT INDIAN COUNCIL AT NIAGARA—SETTLEMENT OF NEW PETERSBURG, (EAST SCHUYLER)—BUILDING OF GENERAL HERKIMER HOME—1765, SCHENECTADY MADE A BOROUGH—1766, KIRKLAND A MISSIONARY AT ONEIDA CASTLE—1766, JOHNSON HOLDS COUNCIL WITH PONTIAC AT OSWEGO, ENDING PONTIAC'S WAR—FORMATION OF ST. PATRICK'S LODGE, NO. 4, F. AND A. M., AT JOHNSON HALL—BUILDING OF GUY PARK—1768, GREAT TREATY OF FORT STANWIX WITH SIX NATIONS, SETTLING IROQUOIS BOUNDARY LINE—1772, FORMATION OF TRYON COUNTY—BUILDING OF JOHNSTOWN COURT HOUSE AND JAIL—1773, FIRST SETTLEMENT OF UTICA—FIRST SETTLEMENT OF EPHRATAH—1774, DEATH OF SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON—1774, FORMATION OF ST. JOHN'S LODGE, F. AND A. M., NO. 6, AT SCHENECTADY—1774, AUGUST 27, FORMATION OF PALATINE DISTRICT COMMITTEE OF SAFETY.

The story of the Mohawk Valley, from 1760 to 1775, covers the relatively greatest period of development in our three hundred years of growth as a civilized region.

The population of Albany County, in 1756, was 14,805 whites and 2,656 blacks, a total of 17,424. Figuring the Mohawk Valley's population as one-third that of Albany County would give a total of about 5,500 in our Valley in 1756. The population of the Province of New York was then 96,765, with Albany County having the largest population of any of the ten counties of the Province. This population of the Mohawk Valley (5,500 in 1756) had been greatly depleted at the end of the Seven Years war in 1760.

In 1771, the population of Albany County had increased to 42,706, or two-and-one-half times that of 1756. The population

ALBANY SONS OF LIBERTY FLAG

Flag of the Sons of Liberty of Albany, organized in 1766. Carried by the First New York Line Regiment in the Revolution. Now in Schenectady County Historical Society collection.

GUY PARK, 1766

Erected 1766 by Sir William Johnson for his daughter Mary, or "Polly," who married Col. Guy Johnson. Built between King's Highway (where Central tracks now run) and the Mohawk river, then a waterway of commerce. Guy Park is seen from Central railroad and the Turnpike. Now state property, under care of Amsterdam Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution, with historical collections open free. Photo by C. M. Vander Veer, Amsterdam.

of the Mohawk Valley probably formed one-third of that of Albany County and may have been about 14,000 in 1771. The population of the Province of New York was 168,007 in 1771.

The rapid increase of population continued up to 1775 in Albany County and the Mohawk Valley, which had been set off from Albany County and formed part of Tryon County in 1772. It is probable that, by the year 1775, the population of the Mohawk Valley had grown to over 20,000 people, of whom over 1,000 were negro slaves. This estimate does not include the Indian population which was probably not much more than 2,000, as the Mohawks were then depleted in numbers, and only a few Oneidas lived within the limits of the Mohawk watershed, while the number of the Schoharies was then lessening. The Mohawks probably numbered only 500 or 600 people in 1775. Frothingham estimated the population of Tryon County to be 10,000 at its formation in 1772, which is probably low. Including present Schenectady County and the Mohawk River outlet section, the Mohawk Valley white population must have numbered 20,000 or more at the outbreak of the Revolution, while that of the Province of New York must have been close to 200,000.

People who had fled from their homes, on the exposed frontier of the Mohawk Valley returned to them at the end of the French war. Newcomers came in and cleared land for themselves. Most of the new settlers were Americans of Holland Dutch descent from the Hudson River and New Jersey, with a number of New Englanders and Germans and a considerable proportion of Scotch and Irish and a few people of French descent. Some of the settlers of this period also came directly into the Mohawk Valley from Great Britain, Holland and Germany.

In 1770, Sir William added to the Scotch population by locating Scotch Highland families of 400 people on his baronial estate about and to the north of Johnstown. They became the chief Tory element in the Mohawk Valley and the greater part of them moved to Canada at the beginning of the Revolution.

Only the western section of the Mohawk Valley comprised in German Flats, suffered from the devastation of the Seven Years war, but that region had been frightfully ravaged and desolated. The two French-Indian raids of 1757 and 1758 had completely destroyed the Palatine settlements in the Upper Mohawk Valley region, now comprised in the Mohawk River section of Herkimer County.

Following the erection of Fort Stanwix in 1758, the surviving settlers again began to erect houses, barns and mills on the Ger-

man Flats but it was well on toward the early years of the Revolution before the ravages of the French and Indian war had been repaired in this fertile and picturesque Mohawk River section.

In these fruitful years, preceding the War of Independence, there was general building activity, land clearing and a general bustle and active, robust life in all the settled regions of the Mohawk Valley. Five important Valley churches, now standing, were erected during the last years of the Colonial period—1760-1774. With the dates of their erection, they are—St. George's Protestant Episcopal Church of Schenectady, stone, 1762; Caughnawaga (Fonda) Reformed Dutch, 1763; Fort Herkimer Reformed Dutch Church, stone, 1767; Indian Castle Mohawk Mission Chapel, 1769; Palatine Lutheran Church, 1770; Schoharie Reformed Dutch Church, 1772. Besides these, a number of Valley houses were built, which were considered large mansions for that period. The chief of these were—Johnson Hall, frame, Johnstown, 1762; General Herkimer Home, brick, Danube, Herkimer County, 1764; Guy Park, stone, Amsterdam, 1766; Jelles Fonda house, brick, Schenck's Hollow, Montgomery County (burned in the Revolution). The majority of the houses, which were erected during this and former periods in the Mohawk Valley west of the present Schenectady County line, were burned by enemy raiding parties during the Revolution.

The time, from 1760 to 1775, was one of the greatest development periods the Mohawk Valley has ever witnessed. Churches, school houses, mills, taverns, stores, shops, houses and barns were erected in great numbers. River traffic was brisk and the highways were developed and improved. The Revolution was later to eliminate practically all of this great material progress, leaving the few survivors practically to recreate civilization along the Mohawk at the end of this terrible scourge of diabolical devastation.

This pre-Revolutionary time was one not only of material growth, but also one in which the two forces which caused the Revolution developed in acute opposition to each other. As elsewhere in the English Colonies, the people of the Mohawk Valley were violently stirred by the principles and events which brought on the war. Although our Valley was a great patriot, or Whig, stronghold, still there was much Loyalist, or Tory, sentiment. Families were divided and much bitter feeling prevailed along the Mohawk and Schoharie long before the first gun of the Revolution was fired.

October 26th, 1760, George III came to the throne of England.

His ministers soon undertook to enforce obnoxious and repressive trade laws which dated from the Navigation Act of 1651, the main object of which was to force the American Colonists to buy and sell only among themselves or in England. These laws had been allowed to lapse, by force of American public opinion. Upon opposition to them by the people of Boston, so-called "writs of assistance" were issued, which were virtually blanket search warrants enabling customs officers to go over a citizen's premises in a search for smuggled goods. An English army was then sent to America, with the avowed object of its protection from attack but, in reality, to enforce the hated laws. The Colonists were informed that taxes would be levied on them for the support of its unwanted and detested foreign army. This brought out the cry of "No taxation without representation." The Mohawk Valley people were soon divided into Whigs and Tories. The uncompromising struggle between the despotic stupidity of George the Third and his arrogant ministry and the spirit of American liberty was soon on in full force. In this violent turmoil and conflict of ideas and opinions, Sir William Johnson remained a firm bulwark of the English Crown and the Loyalist cause. His letters of the period absolutely contradict the modern supposition that he might have sided with the Colonies had he lived until the actual beginning of warfare.

Great rejoicing filled the Colonies at the final conquest of New France in 1760. This was particularly marked in the Mohawk Valley, which, for many years of the preceding century, had been open to attack from the French and Indians of Canada. In the hundred years prior to the fall of Montreal, there had been twenty-eight years of actual warfare with New France and many other years when scalping parties committed depredations, although the rival powers had been nominally at peace. The red Mohawks and the white militiamen of the Valley had borne their full share of conflict and our long, narrow mountain pass had enabled Amherst to execute his successful expedition against Montreal. Indeed, it is a historical fact that Canada was conquered through the Mohawk Valley.

No man in all America emerged from this dreadful conflict with higher honors than Sir William Johnson. His keen intellect, boundless energy, and masterful diplomacy had held the Six Nations in the covenant chain of friendship, through the first five years of almost constant English disaster, while the same qualities enabled him to take full advantage of the turn of the tide and the last two years of English success.

Amherst, Wolfe, Johnson and Washington are outstanding figures of the great French war. It is the writer's opinion that, aside from the two British commanders, Johnson is the greatest figure of the closing years of the conflict and the succeeding interval lasting until the beginning of the Revolution. Johnson's services in holding the Iroquois in allegiance or neutrality, through the seven years of warfare was one of the main causes of final English success. Sir William certainly was one of the most powerful influences in the eventual making of North America into an English-speaking continent.

Sir William Johnson's life subsequent to the French and Indian war, was of great value and beneficial effect on Mohawk Valley life and progress. His greatest works of this period were first, his final settlement and treaty, made with Pontiac in 1766, after the latter's western warfare; second, his founding of Johnstown in 1759-62; third, his creation of Tryon County, which was set off entirely through his influence. Through all this time, Johnson may properly be considered New York's first citizen, in spite of the general neglect by most historians of the potency and value of the life and works of Sir William. Many chroniclers pay far more attention to Johnson's real or fictitious amours and the fact that he was not legally married to Molly Brant than they do to his epoch-making deeds, with their world-wide influence. His fame has suffered at the hands of certain Valley historians from the fact that his son, Sir John Johnson, conducted several bloody raids through the Mohawk Valley during the Revolution. The name of Johnson became despised hereabouts on that account and, among the ignorant, the deeds of the son are often credited to the illustrious father.

During this constructive period of Mohawk Valley history, the life and widespread activities of Sir William Johnson are considered in connection with the general annals of the Valley. More detailed mention of Sir William's new baronial seat of Johnson Hall and his founding of Johnstown, together with mention of his children, John, Anna, and Mary, their marriages and homes, enter into a separate chapter covering these subjects.

In 1760, Johannes Roof made the first settlement within the borders of present Oneida County, locating at Fort Stanwix, on the present site of Rome, where he cleared land and built a farm house and barns, as well as working as a carter on the Fort Stanwix portage. There had been a military post there, garrisoned by British and American soldiers, from a period as far back as 1728, but Roof made the first settlement as a farmer. He was

compelled to leave his home on the approach of St. Leger's army in 1777, when his buildings were burned. He then went to Canajoharie and bought Schremling's tavern. In 1760, Gose Van Alstine built the first mill on Canajoharie Creek. Sir William Johnson, in 1760, built a fishing lodge at Northampton on the Sacandaga, which he called Fish House.

Far from retiring to a quiet and peaceful life at the end of his strenuous exertions during the French and Indian war, Sir William Johnson's duties as Colonial Indian Commissioner now kept him in the saddle a great part of the time. The frontiersmen had expected an end to the menace of Indian forays at the close of the war with Canada, but a new danger now confronted the Colonies. Prior to the victory over New France, the Canadian Indians, the Six Nations and the Indians of the Northwest occupied a commanding position in every military situation. The English and French then had made strenuous efforts to gain or retain their friendship. Now the Indians of Northeastern America began to realize their inevitable fate. They were generally embittered at the white man. It only needed leadership to make them rise against the frontiersmen throughout the Colonies. Again the borders were in danger and this was particularly true of the Mohawk Valley. The Indians, with the exception of the Six Nations, generally were inimical to the English. Even the Mohawks were embittered by the land frauds from which they had suffered. Practically all their Mohawk Valley domain had been taken away from them. The Indian towns were also full of rapacious white traders and rum sellers, many of whom were hated by the red men.

A plot of the Senecas to unite all the Indians against the English was revealed to Sir William Johnson early in 1761. At that time the Cherokees had already started war on the Georgia and Carolina frontiers. Johnson decided to make a journey to Detroit to placate the Indians and investigate the fortifications and trade of the Great Lakes.

On July 1, 1761, he met the Mohawks at Fort Johnson and, on July 5th, he started for Detroit with 182 medals given him by General Amherst which were to be presented to the red men who had accompanied the British-American army to Montreal in 1760. On this journey, Johnson met and conferred with the Oneidas, Chippewas, Wyandots, Senecas, Ottawas and other Indians, besides visiting over ten forts and posts. At Detroit, Johnson made a treaty of peace in a great council with the Indians. Sir William considered the results of the journey satisfactory,

INDIAN CASTLE CHURCH

Built by S. W. William Johnson in 1769 as a Mission Church for the Mohawks of the Upper Castle here. This is the sole remaining structure associated with the 18th century Mohawk Indian villages in the valley. The famous Indian missionary, Samuel Kirkland, frequently preached here.

PALATINE CHURCH, 1770

Midway between Fort Plain and St. Johnsville, and the best known landmark on the Old Mohawk Turnpike.

ST. GEORGE'S CHURCH, SCHENECTADY, 1762

St. George's Church is the oldest church in the Mohawk Valley and the fourth oldest in New York State. Photo from Robert's "Old Schenectady," published by Robson & Adee.

but it only postponed the Indian trouble which broke out as Pontiac's war, in 1763.

The Colonial troubles and the oppression of the Colonies by England now started in motion the forces which eventually caused the American Revolution. Massachusetts was on fire with anger against the "writs of assistance" which were considered a violation of the rights of citizens and the sanctity of their homes and property. The people of New York were enraged also at the appointment of Benjamin Pratt of Massachusetts to the seat in the Governor's council made vacant by the death of Governor De Lancey. Cadwallader Colden now became Lieutenant-Governor and Major General Monckton, Governor. The course of events gradually tended toward the complete break between England and America, which came in 1776.

From February 1st to 8th, 1762, Sir William Johnson held a council with sachems of the Onondagas, Oneidas, Tuscaroras and Mohawks. The first Indian council, at the new baronial seat of Johnson Hall, was one held there with the Six Nations which lasted from April 21st to 28th, 1762. In this year, George Klock was arraigned for land frauds which he had perpetrated on the Mohawks. He was brought to justice through the efforts of Sir William. The Mohawks, at this time, had but few lands left in the Valley, having given them away or sold them for comparatively trifling sums during the century of the white man's occupancy of the Mohawk Valley, since the settlement of Schenectady in 1661.

On July 7, 1762, Johnson attended the Provincial Council and, on July 31, he ordered troops to Fort Herkimer at German Flats.

The building of St. George's Church at Schenectady, and of the Fort Herkimer Reformed Church had been suspended because of the French and Indian, or Seven Years' war. The construction of these historically important churches was now resumed. St. George's Protestant Episcopal Church of Schenectady was organized as a society in 1735 and met for a period in the Dutch Church, through the courtesy of that organization. The foundation of the present church edifice was laid in 1759 by the Rev. Henry Barclay, rector. Sir William Johnson was a liberal contributor toward its erection and had a pew with a canopy for his particular use. Services began in 1762. It is the next oldest Episcopal Church now standing in New York State, being antedated only by the Fishkill (Beacon) Episcopal Church, built in 1761. Although St. George's date of completion is given as 1762, it was reported to "be finishing" in 1769. St. George's is the

fourth oldest church structure in New York State and the oldest church in the Mohawk Valley. The Sleepy Hollow (Tarrytown) Reformed Church (built before 1699), the Fishkill Reformed (1760), Fishkill Episcopal (1761) and St. George's (1762) rank in the order named, in point of age. The first resident pastor was Rev. William Andrews, who preached his first sermon here January 6th, 1771. During the Revolution its rector, the Rev. Mr. Stuart was a Royalist and was sent within the British lines. The building was used for a period as a barracks by the Continental troops.

The church has been enlarged to about four times the size of the original structure, which, however, has been left unchanged. St. George's is an attractive example of Colonial architecture, and with its old graveyard, is one of Schenectady's most picturesque Colonial features.

There is a constant and unsettled controversy between the people of St. George's Church of Schenectady and those of the Fort Herkimer Reformed Church as to which one of the two churches was first completed and ready for services, and which one is, therefore, the oldest church in the Mohawk Valley.

In 1763 the famous old Caughnawaga stone Reformed Church was erected in the present Caughnawaga section of Fonda village. Unfortunately, it was demolished in 1868, after over a century of service. A marker, erected by the Caughnawaga Chapter of the D. A. R., now marks the site.

On April 11, 1763, the principal officers of the township of Schenectady petitioned the Governor and Council for a city or borough charter. The appeal was signed by John Fisher, John Glen Jr., Isaac Vrooman, Justices; B. Vrooman, Minister of the Gospel; Jacobus Van Slyk, Collector; and Joseph R. Yates, Town Mayor. The officials and people of Albany immediately attempted to prevent the granting of such a charter to Schenectady, thinking that it would hurt the interests of Albany.

An unusual addition to the population of the Mohawk Valley was that of 400 Oswegatchie Indians in 1763.

A village of 3,000 Catholic Oswegatchie Indians was located at La Presentation (Ogdensburg) in 1748, controlled by Father Picquet. In 1763, all but 400 died of smallpox, a disease most fatal to Indians. Sir William Johnson settled the survivors of the Oswegatchie tribe, probably where the section of Palatine called McKinley is now located. The neighborhood has since been locally called Swe-gau-chy. This locality is 1¼ miles north of the Turnpike, opposite Sprakers. Following the turmoil of the

Revolution (1775-1783) the remnant of the once powerful Oswegatchie tribe was settled at the St. Regis reservation on the St. Lawrence.

In the days of the Oswegatchie (McKinley) village (1763-1775), the Mohawks and Oswegatchies held a great feast under the Big Nose. A great mass of rocks became dislodged and fell upon the savage band of merrymakers, killing many.

An Indian conspiracy to destroy the English settlements now took form in Pontiac's war, which broke out in June, 1763. Nine British frontier posts were taken and many settlers were slain by the Indian forces under the remarkable Indian leader, Pontiac. The whole western frontier was threatened. Fort Detroit was besieged for a year, but finally relieved. Colonel Bouquet saved Fort Pitt and Fort Niagara was not attacked. Sir William Johnson's friendship with the Mohawks saved the Mohawk Valley frontier from attack, while his diplomacy and energy kept all the Six Nations, except the Senecas, from going over to the enemy. For four years, Johnson was active in combating the Indian alliance under Pontiac and the war was ended by his final treaty with the Indian leader at Oswego in 1765.

On April 4th, 1763, Johnson sought, through the Lords of Trade, a patent to Indian lands in the district of Canajoharie. At this time he was considering Indian complaints against alleged frauds which had deprived them of their lands. Johnson also opposed the entrance of Connecticut settlers into the Wyoming Valley, the occupation of which had strong opposition from the Indians. May 26-27, Sir William held a conference with the Six Nations and, on June 15th, he held an Indian Council at German Flats. On May 21st, he was visited at Johnson Hall by 139 Indian sachems and warriors.

On January 20, 1764, Johnson advised the abolition of Jesuit missions. On February 9, he sent a war party against Canisteo, and, on April 3rd, he framed a preliminary treaty with the Senecas, who had at first joined Pontiac's forces. April 28th, Johnson sent an Indian party to coöperate with Colonel Bradstreet.

From July 8th to August 6th, 1764, Sir William Johnson was at Fort Niagara where he held a great council with over 2,000 Indians who covered the entire cleared plain south of the fortress. In its effects, this was one of the most important Indian councils ever held in America. Sir William Johnson here made peace treaties with the Senecas and Hurons and renewed the covenant chain of friendship with all the other nations present, chief among

which were the Ottawas, Chippewas, Nipissings, Menominees and Chenussios. This great treaty won over some of Pontiac's chief supporters and broke up the Indian insurrection.

Of this Niagara council and Johnson's journey home, Stone writes: "The Baronet set out on his return the sixth of August. The passage down Wood Creek from Oneida Lake was attended with much difficulty. The creek was so low that staunch boats were unable to come up, and the Baronet's thigh not allowing him to ride, he was forced to make the rest of his journey in a leaky boat, with no covering, and exposed to a pelting rain during the whole trip. He, however, reached Johnson Hall on the nineteenth of August, and immediately inserted in the public prints, for the benefit of their relatives, a description of all the prisoners who had been rescued by him from captivity. The peace thus made with the Indians, diffused general joy throughout the province; and Lieutenant-Governor Colden, in his opening message on the fourth of September, failed not to congratulate the assembly upon the peace lately concluded at Niagara, 'through the ability, experience, and zealous efforts of Sir William Johnson'."

In 1764, Nicholas Herkimer built a fine brick house on 500 acres of land given to him in 1760 by his father, Johan Jost Herkimer. It was situated in the present town of Danube, Herkimer County, and the land was part of the Fall Hill patent of 2,324 acres, granted to Johan Jost Herkimer and his son Hendrick in 1752. About 1754 Nicholas Herkimer moved to Fall Hill and probably built a log house in which he lived until he completed his brick house in 1764. This is considered one of the finest Colonial mansions along the Mohawk River, rivaling Fort Johnson and Johnson Hall. Barns and slave quarters were built to the rear or south of the Herkimer house, as the later General employed a score of slaves.

Herkimer was a close friend of Sir William Johnson and a member of St. Patrick's Lodge, No. 4, F. & A. M. of Johnstown, joining in 1766, the year of its inauguration. Herkimer and Joseph Brant, the Mohawk chief, were also warm friends and neighbors prior to the Revolution. Brant lived at present Indian Castle, about three miles east of Herkimer's home.

"The Home and Name of General Herkimer" has the following concerning the General Herkimer Home:

Around it cluster memories of men like Johnson, Brant and Kirkland, who here conferred with the homestead owner. Joseph Brant was a close friend of Herkimer and Samuel Kirkland, the famous missionary among the Iroquois, about 1770, lived here,

with Herkimer, and a son of Kirkland, later president of Harvard College, was born in the General's house. We can imagine the plans that were here laid for valley and Indian civilization and advancement and which were discussed between these two valley leaders of the day—plans that were rudely shattered by the outbreak of war in 1775. The Herkimer house was a center of American patriotism from the time of the first patriotic meeting in Palatine in 1774 until the General's death in 1777. Nicholas Herkimer, as captain of militia, had served at Fort Herkimer in the French war, his detachment driving off an attack of the enemy in 1758. As chairman, for a time, of the Tryon County Committee of Safety and Chief Colonel of the Valley Militia, Nicholas Herkimer made his Danube residence a center and stronghold of American patriotic activity.

The General Herkimer Home is located on the south river shore, about three miles east of the city of Little Falls and in full view of travelers on the New York Central Railroad, the Mohawk Turnpike and the Barge Canal. The West Shore Railroad passes immediately in front of the house. The Herkimer Home, as originally built, now stands in a State park of 160 acres and is managed by a commission of Mohawk Valley citizens appointed by the Governor. It holds important historical collections and is open to the public free of admission. The handsome Colonial brick house and tall monument marking the General's grave, make the General Herkimer Home one of our Valley's most famous landmarks.

In 1764, a settlement of Germans was started by Peter Hasenclever, at present East Schuyler, Herkimer County, a mile west of the present North Frankfort Central station. About 30 log houses and a blockhouse were erected and the place was called New Petersburg. It was the most western hamlet on the Mohawk at the beginning of the Revolution, during the early years of which it was abandoned and its buildings were destroyed by enemy raids. The township opposite Frankfort is called Schuyler, in honor of the Revolutionary American Major General Philip Schuyler, who held large properties in it. The later hamlet of Schuyler lies about a mile west of East Schuyler. The Hasenclever Hills, forming the western lower divide of the West Canada Creek Valley, take their name from Peter Hasenclever, the original settler at the foot of their southern slopes.

In a letter, under date of December 11, 1764, Sir William Johnson denounced the opposition to the taxation of the Colonies. In spite of the Baronet's political differences with the Whigs who

were in the majority in the Mohawk Valley, he retained his popularity with them up to the end of his life. His son, Sir John, however, was hated for his attitude of aristocratic superiority over his Valley fellow citizens.

One of the great figures of our Revolutionary history entered the Mohawk Valley in 1765. This was Rev. Samuel Kirkland who was born in Norwich, Conn., in 1744. He learned the Mohawk language in the Indian school of Dr. Wheelock. Kirkland first went through the Mohawk Valley in 1765 on his way to act as a missionary to the Senecas. His life was threatened there and he then journeyed to Oneida Castle, in 1766, and ministered to the Oneidas until his death in 1808. When the Mohawks left our Valley in 1775 and went, with Col. Guy Johnson, to join the British forces, Kirkland kept the Oneidas friendly to the American cause. The Oneida chief, Skenandoa, became the fast friend of Kirkland and this sachem, together with a number of the Oneidas, fought with the American armies in the Mohawk Valley during the Revolution. Kirkland sometimes preached to the Mohawks in the Indian Castle mission church and, as previously stated, resided for a time in the Valley at the home of General Herkimer. After the Revolution, Kirkland founded Hamilton Academy at Clinton in 1793, for the education of the Oneida Indian youths and the white youths of the surrounding country. This school became Hamilton College in 1812, four years after Kirkland's death.

On October 23, 1765, Lieutenant-Governor Cadwallader Colden granted the petition, made in 1763, by the Village of Schenectady, asking for a borough or city charter, by creating Schenectady into a borough. In 1764, Albany attempted to defeat this charter as inimical to its city and trade interests. This borough charter was the general equivalent of a village charter of the present day, although Schenectady township seemed to fall also within its jurisdiction.

On April 29, 1765, Johnson had a council with the Six Nations at German Flats, when the Iroquois offered to give up all their lands east and south of the Ohio to the English for a fair consideration. The Confederates were angered because the whites continued to settle on what they considered part of their conquered empire. Their offer was not accepted until the great council of 1768 at Fort Stanwix. On May 15, 1765, Sir William's Indian deputy, Colonel George Croghan, set out for the Illinois country by order of the baronet.

On May 23, 1766, Sir William Johnson was constituted Wor-

shipful Master of St. Patrick's Lodge, F. & A. M., No. 4 of Johnson Hall, which had been recently organized. Many of the leading men of the Mohawk Valley belonged to the lodge which met in an upper room of Johnson Hall.

In this year, Johnson built Guy Park at present Amsterdam for his daughter Mary, or Polly, Johnson. On July 10, 1766, Sir William Johnson recommended to the Lords of Trade the colonization of the Illinois country, to which Johnson had sent his deputy agent, Colonel George Croghan, in the previous year.

Johnson held a great council with Pontiac and other western sachems at Oswego, July 23-31, 1766, where a treaty of peace was signed which marked the conclusion of Pontiac's bloody Indian uprising. Johnson returned to Johnson Hall on August 5, 1766, and wrote, "Everything is settled to my entire satisfaction with Pontiac and the western chiefs, on whose fidelity I think I can safely trust." Pontiac kept his faith with Johnson. In 1769, he was assassinated by an Indian who had been bribed to do the foul act by an English trader.

The British Parliament passed the Stamp Act in 1765. It was a virtual tax upon the Colonists by means of stamps attached to legal and other documents. This obnoxious measure of King George and his ministry aroused immediate and fierce opposition in the Colonies. A congress of representatives from nine Colonies, comprising some of the ablest Americans of the day, was held in New York to consider means of resistance to this measure. The tempest was temporarily quieted by the repeal of the act in 1766, which caused great rejoicing in the Colonies. The Sons of Liberty appeared on the American political scene in 1765. The opponents of the Royal governors had been called "Sons of Liberty" as early as the famous Zenger "liberty of the press" trial in 1735. They now appeared as the chief active opponents of the Stamp Act. A branch of the Sons of Liberty was formed in Albany in 1766, and its famous flag is now in the collection of the Schenectady Historical Society. It is probable that a number of Mohawk Valley patriots were members of the Albany Sons of Liberty, which Society probably embraced members from all parts of Albany County of which the Mohawk Valley then formed a considerable part.

In Johnson's correspondence of 1765-1766, he upheld the Stamp Act and the Royal prerogative; sustained the British connection; and censured the so-called excesses of the Whig party. On October 4, 1766, Johnson purchased 40,000 acres of land of the Oneidas.

The Fort Herkimer Reformed Church of stone was completed in 1767, after thirty years of effort to build a church edifice there. Its original dimensions were 48 by 58 feet and 17 feet high, with a conical Dutch steeple typical of the Reformed Dutch churches of that day. The entrance was then on the north side. Johan Jost Herkimer, father of General Nicholas Herkimer, was the chief spirit in the construction of this historic building, as well as its builder. The church was stockaded in 1776 and became the famous Fort Herkimer of the Revolution.

People all up and down the Valley subscribed to the building of the Fort Herkimer Reformed Church. The pastors of the Fort Herkimer Church, from its organization, about 1723, were: Rev. Johan Peter Ehle, 1725-1733; Rev. Johannes Schuyler, 1733-1746; Rev. George Michael Weiss, 1746-1752; Rev. Abraham Rosenkrantz, 1752-1796. The first two pastors, Ehle and Schuyler, served all the Schoharie River and Mohawk River Reformed Church societies. From 1723 to the end of the pastorate of Rev. John F. Spinner in 1848 (165 years), the present Fort Herkimer and Herkimer churches had a dual pastorate. Dominie Rosenkrantz settled near Fall Hill about 1765 and, after 1769, seems to have served the present Herkimer and Fort Herkimer churches exclusively. Prior to this, like all the Reformed ministers of the Mohawk Valley, he acted as a missionary preacher serving the Mohawk and Schoharie River churches as needed.

On May 10, 1767, Sir William Johnson held a council with the Six Nations at German Flats. On July 26, the Lords of Trade approved the so-called Canajoharie grant, more generally known as the Royal Grant, a tract of 60,000 acres west of East Canada Creek and north of Fall Hill. This is said to have been the land which figured in the celebrated "dream story" contest between Johnson and King Hendrick which has been previously recounted.

The British government spoiled all the good feeling produced by its repeal of the Stamp act in 1766, when Parliament passed the Townshend act of 1767, levying a tariff duty on paper, painter's colors, lead and tea. Two British regiments were sent to Boston to aid in enforcing the collection of these duties, which act aroused the usual storm of popular indignation and opposition throughout the Colonies. All of these unjust measures of the British Crown formed subjects of violent discussion in the Mohawk Valley, as elsewhere in English North America.

In February, 1768, Sir William Johnson was made Brigadier-General of the militia of the Northern District of the Province of New York. The district covered all the territory of the Prov-

ince north of the Highlands, including Albany County and its Mohawk Valley section.

From March 4th to 12th, 1768, Sir William Johnson held a council with the Six Nations, the Cherokees and Canadian Indians at Johnson Hall. They were incensed at the recent outrages and Indian murders committed by the frontiersmen of the western border, and their settlement on lands claimed by the Six Nations. The Senecas threatened war. An Indian orator said: "When our young men wish to go hunting in our country, they find it covered with fences, so that they are weary crossing them; neither can they get venison to eat or bark to make huts, for the beasts are run away and the trees are cut down"—all of which was considerable of an exaggeration, as the Seneca country was then an almost complete wilderness.

The Six Nations had offered to sell their western lands at the council of 1765 and the English government now determined to fix a boundary between the Indian country of the Six Nations and other tribes, and the English Colonies. The March council terminated satisfactorily, with the distribution of lavish presents and the chiefs departed for home after promising to aid later in the settlement of the boundary. A large number of Indians had been present at this council which was held outdoors in the snow in raw March weather. Johnson was taken violently ill with a severe cold and was confined to his room for several weeks. Late in April he went to the seashore at the advice of his physician. The indications are that this was the beginning of a serious breakdown in Sir William's health.

In August, 1768, Johnson settled the Kayaderosseras land dispute with the Mohawks, which had been pending for some time. In 1768, Johnson had an improved road built from Johnstown to Stone Arabia, a distance of about twelve miles. This was one of the many improvements with which Johnson was constantly occupied in Johnstown, its neighborhood and the Mohawk Valley at large.

In 1703, Samson Shelton Broughton and twelve others obtained from Governor Cornbury a license to purchase a tract of land of the Indians, which was later known as the Kayaderosseras tract or patent. The Mohawks then sold what they considered to be enough land "to make a small farm". In 1708, a patent from the Crown, of land north of the Mohawk and west of the Hudson, to the extent of 700,000 acres, was granted to these thirteen proprietors, the grant being based on the Indian sale. The patent was so evidently fraudulent that the proprietors hesitated

INDIAN COUNCIL, JOHNSON HALL, 1772

From the painting by E. L. Henry, owned by Mrs. Charles B. Knox, Johnstown. The scene depicts an Indian council at Johnson Hall in 1772. Sir William Johnson is seen presenting a medal to an Indian. The block house on the left has been burned, the one on the right is still standing. Photo by courtesy of Mrs. Charles B. Knox.

to have it surveyed for fear of the opposition of the Mohawks. In 1764, the patentees asserted their claim by settlement. The Mohawks, through Chief Abraham, brother of King Hendrick, then demanded of Johnson that the patent be vacated. Sir William took up their cause and, in spite of great opposition and delay, pressed the matter upon the Governor's attention. Governor Moore then came into the Mohawk Valley and called a council of the Mohawks which broke up in a dispute and without result. On August 5th, at a council, Johnson finally settled the question to the satisfaction of both parties.

The Indian boundary question now pressed upon Johnson, as Indian agent, particularly as he had been authorized by the British government to settle the question. The old Ohio company grant was in dispute and Governor Franklin of New Jersey wished to form a company to settle the present Kentucky, West Virginia and Tennessee region. Johnson accordingly called a council of the Six Nations to meet at Fort Stanwix on September 20th, 1768.

"On the nineteenth of September, Sir William, with his three deputies, Colonel Guy Johnson, Colonel Daniel Claus and Colonel George Croghan, accompanied by Governor Franklin of New Jersey, arrived at Fort Stanwix, bringing with them twenty large batteaux, loaded with such presents as were best suited to propitiate the Indians. On their arrival, the party found the Virginia commissioners awaiting them; and, on the following day, Lieutenant-Governor Penn, with the commissioners from Pennsylvania, also arrived."—Stone. The Indians delayed in coming, only 800 being present by October 1st. These were numerous enough to consume nearly all the provisions before the laggards arrived. By the 24th of October, 3,200 Indians had reached Fort Stanwix and one of the largest and most important Indian councils ever held in America was opened that day by Sir William Johnson.

On the 5th of November, 1768, Johnson took deed to all the lands of the Six Nations south of the settled boundary line and paid the Six Nations $10,000 for their interests. The boundary as adjusted ran from the mouth of the Tennessee, followed the Ohio and Allegheny rivers to Kittaniny and from there to the west branch of the Susquehanna to the east branch of the Susquehanna northeastward to the junction, near Oneida Lake, of Canada and Wood creeks, its northern boundary. To the north of this line lay the land of the Six Nations. South of it, they ceded

their interests to the Crown. Thus did the Iroquois barter away their birthright.

The boundary line passed through present Oneida County in a generally northerly direction. It is located today by a stone marker on College Hill west of Clinton. This boundary embraced, in the Indian country, lands claimed by New York, Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Virginia. Instead of settling the question, the Fort Stanwix treaty of 1768 and the placing of the territory of the Six Nations in the Quebec provincial lands in 1774, formed one of the causes of that intense feeling and opposition in the Colonies which brought on the Revolution. As the Six Nations disliked British forts in their territory and had protested against them, the gates of Fort Stanwix were closed after the famous council of 1768 and it was not used as a military post until the Americans occupied it in 1776, eight years later. Doubtless, river men, who passed across the portage, used it as a refuge in the intervening years.

Sir William Johnson evidently considered that the best solution had been made of a difficult problem by the Fort Stanwix treaty. On January 3, 1769, he was elected a member of the American Philosophical Society. On April 12, he was raised to the Sublime Degree of Perfection, Scottish Rite, and soon thereafter was elected Master of Ineffable Lodge, A. A. S. R., of Albany. Johnson's Canajoharie patent was confirmed in June, 1769. On July 12, Sir William held a council with the Six Nations at Onondaga.

On March 20th, 1770, Johnson was elected a trustee of Queens (now Rutgers) College. On March 22nd, he attempted to obtain the release of Indian goods held by the Sons of Liberty. On March 23rd, Sir William suggested a department for forest preservation. On May 8th, Johnson's Charlotte River patent was confirmed. From July 16th to the 23rd, Sir William held a council with the Six Nations, Cherokees and Canadian Indians at German Flats. On December 6, 1770, Sir William Johnson declined re-election as Master of St. Patrick's Lodge of Johnstown and was succeeded by Colonel Guy Johnson.

In 1769 Rev. Abraham Rosenkrantz, who had been pastor since 1752 of the Stone Arabia, Fort Herkimer and other Reformed churches of the Mohawk Valley, removed to Fall Hill and took up the pastorate of the German Flats (Herkimer) and Fort Herkimer Reformed churches, to which he gave his exclusive time. Dominie Rosencrantz served this pastorate until his death in 1796. He married Anna, a sister of General Nicholas Herki-

mer, but his sympathies were with the Loyalist cause, although he was not actively a Tory.

Sir William Johnson, in 1769, ordered the erection of a frame mission chapel at the Upper, or Canajoharie, Castle of the Mohawks, at present Indian Castle in the town of Danube, Herkimer County. Samuel Clyde of Cherry Valley had charge of its construction. It was built on land belonging to Joseph Brant, the celebrated Mohawk chief and brother of Molly Brant, housekeeper of Johnson. On June 17th, 1770, Sir William Johnson presented this little church to the Mohawks. The building, now known simply as the Indian Castle Church, is still standing, seemingly as good as the day it was built. The steeple is the only part which has been altered.

The Palatine Evangelical Lutheran Church edifice at Palatine is the oldest church building now standing within the limits of Montgomery and Fulton counties. It also was the first church structure in the Palatine or Canajoharie districts to be fittingly built of a permanent material such as the stone of which it is constructed. Others were mostly of clapboards at that time. It was constructed, in 1770, of Palatine limestone, by the generous donations of a few individuals. Peter Wagner and Andrew Reber contributed £100 each. Johannes Hess and six Nellises, namely, William Jr., Andrew, Johannes, Henry, Christian and David each gave £60, while the building of the spire, which seems to have been an after consideration, was paid for by the Nellis family exclusively. This church, unlike most others in the Valley, was not destroyed by the British raiders of the Revolution, for the reason, it is supposed, of the Tory proclivities of one or more of the Nellis family. It remained, as originally built, for a century, when it was remodeled and repaired at a cost of $4,000. The old time character of its handsome Colonial interior was then destroyed and the present ugly, barren interior was substituted. The entrance then was changed from the east to the south side of the building. The Palatine stone church is one of the most famous landmarks on the Mohawk Turnpike. Its 100th, 125th and 150th anniversaries have been the occasion of appropriate and important celebrations.

In 1770, an improved road was built from Johnstown to Caughnawaga, present Fonda.

Boston and New York continued to be the hotbeds of opposition to British oppression. The Whig feeling in the Province of New York was rendered doubly acute by the fact that the Whigs and Tories were nearly equal in number. However, the Mohawk

Valley was strongly patriotic. There was a wild riot in New York City on January 18, 1770, between citizens and British redcoats. In Boston, on March 5, 1770, a taunting crowd surrounded British soldiers who fired on the people and killed and wounded several of the citizens. This is known as the "Boston Massacre" and it aroused the people of Boston to a fury of resentment, hatred and revenge. It affected the entire country, only in a lesser degree. To prevent actual warfare, the British troops were removed from the city to an island in Boston harbor.

In 1771 St. John's Episcopal Church of stone was built at Johnstown on the site of the present St. John's Church. It took the place of the "small and very ill built church" of 1761, which stood on the site of the present Colonial cemetery. The church of 1771 was burned in 1836, when the present one was erected. More extended mention is made of this historic church in the chapter relating to the founding of Johnstown. Rev. Richard Mosely was the first pastor, arriving in 1772.

In 1772 the Schoharie Reformed Dutch Church was built near present Schoharie village where the Palatines made a settlement known as Brunadorf in 1712. Shortly after their location here the Palatines built a wooden church on a knoll a short distance to the east of the present Old Stone Fort and near the west bank of the Schoharie River. Rev. Johannes Schuyler officiated in the old and new churches, from 1733 to 1773, one of the longest pastorates on record in the Schoharie Valley. He was also a dominie who preached in the Mohawk River churches at different periods. The stones in the walls of the Old Stone Church are of hard Schoharie limestone and many of them bear the names of the congregation who furnished them to the building as souvenirs of their financial support in its erection. Some of these names are beautifully chiseled. The Schoharie Reformed Church was stockaded and fortified in 1777 and became the Lower Schoharie Fort of the Revolution. It is now known as the Old Stone Fort and is filled with Colonial and Revolutionary relics of the Schoharie Valley. Here are monuments to Schoharie Revolutionary heroes —David Williams, one of the captors of Major Andre; Colonel Peter Vrooman, commander of the Schoharie militia, and many others. The Old Stone Fort is a mecca for automobile visitors, who annually visit it by thousands.

The names inscribed on the Old Stone Church are as follows:

Bartholomeus Vroman, Barthos Swart, Dennes Swart, Peter Schuyler, Peter Schneider, Wilhelm Hammer, Johannes Werth, Henrich Werth, Johannes Lawyer Esq., John Domnick, Willem

Brown, Josies Swart, Johan Schuyler, Anna Schuyleren, Johannes Rickert, Johannes Becker, Jacob Zimmer, Christina Lawyer, Archebald Camel, Jacob Enders, Jacob Enders, Jur., Peter Enders, Johannes Enders, Jacob Schneyder, Johannes Dietz, Willem Dietz B. M., Harmenes Sillenieh, Johannes Ball, Philip Schuyler, Nicholas Rickert, Jacob Bartholomew, Maria Elizabeth Werth, George Richtmeyer, Christian Richtmeyer, Wilem Endes, Gertruy Swart, Anna Ziellie, Christina Cambell, Adam Zimmer, George Becker, Johannes Rickert, Catherina Rickert, Marcs Rickert.

Of these forty-three names, eighteen are Holland Dutch in their origin, twenty-three are Palatine German and two are Scotch—which will serve to give a good idea of the racial strains of the Americans living along the Schoharie in 1772.

In 1772, Colonel Hendrick Frey removed from the north side of the Mohawk to the south side and built a house and mill at the outlet of the gorge of Canajoharie Creek near the southern limits of the present village of Canajoharie. John Frey succeeded to the old Frey house (built 1739) and farm in present Palatine Bridge. Hendrick Frey was a Loyalist or Tory and John Frey was a Patriot or Whig. Many Mohawk Valley families were similarly divided in opinion at this period.

In 1772, Sir William Johnson built a carriage road, fourteen miles long, from Johnson Hall to the summer house which he had built on the Sacandaga at the Vlaie or Vly (Dutch for "Swampy Meadow"). This site will be covered by the great lake (thirty-five miles long) which will be formed by the building of the Conklingville dam on the Sacandaga, otherwise known as Sacandaga Lake.

1772 was the great year for Sir William Johnson and the Mohawk Valley. It marked the setting up of the great county of Tryon, which included all of the Mohawk Valley west of the Schenectady township line, near present Hoffmans. On January 29, 1772, Johnson divided the proposed county into the five districts of Mohawk, Stone Arabia (later Palatine), Canajoharie, German Flats and Kingsland. This great event in our Valley history is covered in the next chapter.

On July 14th, Governor William Tryon visited Sir William Johnson at Johnson Hall. He remained until July 30th. This must have been a brilliant period of great military, civic and social importance at the Hall, and we would have an interesting and romantic picture of the times if we could visualize the groups of gold-laced, red-coated officers, silk-gowned, bepowdered ladies,

staid valley citizens, and dusky warriors who then gathered within the portals of Johnson Hall and on its spacious lawns and in its beautiful Colonial gardens.

On July 30th, the Provincial Council, presided over by Governor Tryon, met at Johnson Hall. During this visit, Governor Tryon made Sir William Johnson Major-General of militia of the Northern Department. Together, Governor Tryon and Major-General Johnson reviewed Mohawk Valley militia regiments at Johnstown, German Flats (Herkimer), and Burnetsfield (Fort Herkimer). From July 28 to August 1, Governor Tryon and Sir William Johnson held a council with the Canajoharie Castle Mohawks and other Indians at Johnson Hall.

In the year 1772, the Tryon County Court House and Jail were built at Johnstown. The cornerstone of the Court House was laid on June 26, 1772, in the presence of Governor Tryon, Sir William Johnson and a crowd of military and civic leaders, a number of their ladies and a crowd of white settlers and Indians from the surrounding country. To the little town, in this little cultivated wilderness, came Britisher, Hollander, Palatine and the Mohawk warrior. "The presence of Sir William Johnson, with an attendance of British officers and soldiers, gave dignity and brilliancy to the event, while over all the group, asserting the power of the Crown, waved the broad folds of the British flag." The men of the throng here gathered were soon to engage each other in bloody combat and many, in that crowd, felt the impending danger.

Sir William Johnson here presided in the Tryon County court house from 1772 to 1774. Many distinguished American jurists have been called by business to this ancient edifice. It has been honored by the presence of such men as Alexander Hamilton, Aaron Burr (who killed Hamilton in a duel), Daniel Cady, Abram Van Vechten, Elisha Williams, Joshua Spencer, Nicholas Hill and others.

The Tryon County Court House and Jail were built at a cost of £1,000 ($2,500) in 1772. In the tower of the court house is a bent bar of iron which, for a century and a half has served as a bell. The Court House is built of brick and the Jail of stone and they served the great County of Tryon from 1772 until 1784 when the name of the county was changed to Montgomery. They served Montgomery County from 1784 to 1836, when the county seat was moved to Fonda. In 1838 the County of Fulton was formed and Johnstown became its county seat and these structures became the Fulton County Court House and Jail.

During the Revolution (1776-1783) the Tryon County Jail was stockaded with blockhouse additions and became the strong American fortification of Fort Johnstown as well as a civil and military prison, where many a Tory, a captured enemy or a traitor was confined during those stirring years. The fifty British, Tory and Indian captives taken at the battlefield of Johnstown were confined here following that historic fight on October 25, 1781.

The Johnstown Jail (Fort Johnstown) is one of three portions of Revolutionary American forts remaining in the Mohawk Valley, the others being the Fort Herkimer Church and the Schoharie Church at Schoharie on the Schoharie River.

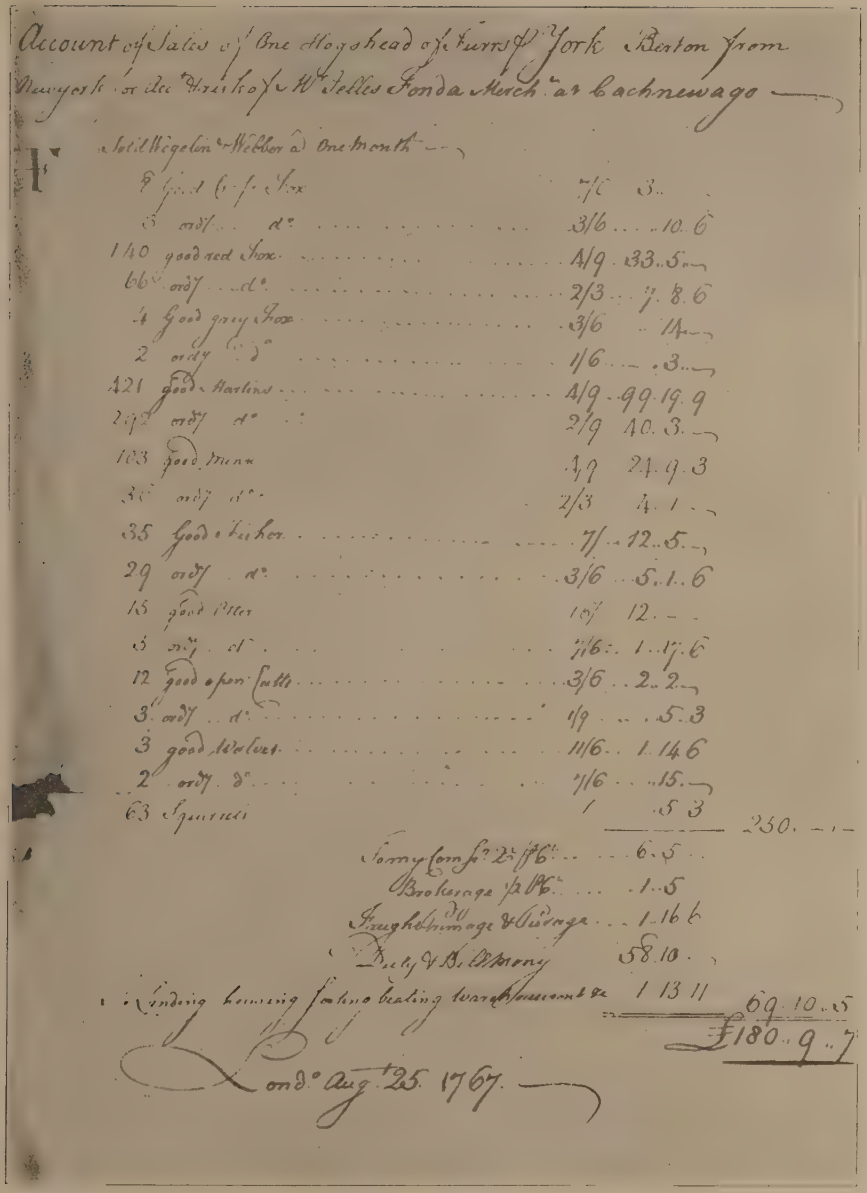
About October 20th, 1772, Sir William Johnson held a congress with the Six Nations at Johnson Hall.

On December 8th, 1772, a document was drawn up and signed by sixty-nine of the leading men of Tryon County, in which they professed allegiance both to King George III and the Protestant religion and expressed their absolute rejection of all Stuart claims to the throne of England. This peculiar paper suggests that the Johnson party was employing a subterfuge in an endeavor to unite the warring political elements of Tryon County on a common ground of religious belief. It is given more extended mention in a later chapter.

February 11th, 1773, Sir William Johnson attended a meeting of St. Patrick's Lodge of Johnstown for the last time. From April 7th to April 10th, he held a council with the Six Nations. He spent most of July and August at the seashore, at New London and on Long Island, for the benefit of his health, which was failing. On December 20th, he attended a council between the corporation of Albany and the Mohawks at the Lower Castle at Fort Hunter and on December 21st and 22nd, both parties conferred with Johnson at Johnson Hall.

In 1773, twenty or more German families settled along Garoga Creek in the present town of Ephratah and some at the present site of Kringsbush. These Germans were part of a shipload of immigrants, mostly from the district of Nassau near Frankfort-on-the-Main, which landed at Baltimore in 1773. Many of them settled in the Mohawk Valley. On this voyage very rough weather was encountered on the Atlantic, the masts went by the board and the ship nearly foundered.

The settlement of Ephratah was so called after a place of that name in Germany. Prominent among these settlers was Nicholas Rechtor, whose father, Johannes Rechtor, came from Hesse in



Account of Sales of One Hogshead of Furrs p. York Barton from Newyork on Acc.t Risk of Mr. Jelles Fonda Merch.t at Cachnewago

Sold Wegelin & Webber 1 month

8 Good b. f. Fox	7/6	3..	
5 ordy do	3/6	..10.6	
140 good red Fox	4/9	33..5	
66 ordy do	2/3	7.8.6	
4 Good grey Fox	3/6	..14	
2 ordy do	1/6	..3	
421 good Starlins	4/9	99.19.9	
242 ordy do	2/9	40.3	
103 good Mink	4/9	24.9.3	
36 ordy do	2/3	4.1	
35 Good Fisher	7/	12..5	
29 ordy do	3/6	5..1..6	
15 good Otter	16/	12..	
3 ordy do	7/6	1..17.6	
12 good open Faults	3/6	2..2	
3 ordy do	1/9	..5.3	
3 good Wolves	11/6	1.14.6	
2 ordy do	7/6	..15	
63 Squirrels	1	3	
			230..
Sorry Comp.n 2½ p.C.t		6.5	
Brokerage ½ p.C.t		1..5	
Draught Drawage & Cartage		1.16.6	
Duty & B. Money		58.10	
Landing housing Salvo bealing Warehouse &c		1 13 11	69.10.5
			£180..9..7

London Aug.t 25. 1767.

(*From the collection of Samuel Ludlow Frey, Palatine Bridge.*)

Account of the sales in London in 1767, of "One Hogshead of Furrs" for account and risk of Mr. Jelles Fonda, a merchant at Cachnewago.

Germany and settled at Niskautau, six miles below Albany. These early Ephratah families all built log houses, except Rechtor, who put up a frame house and barn. Simms says this house was still standing (in 1882), "just back of a public house in Garoga, so called after the creek passing through it—the original name still attaching to the settlement." Rechtor was located about three miles west of the stone grist mill which Sir William Johnson had built for the use of that region which was then known as Tilleborough. Within a radius of five or six miles from Nicholas Rechtor's house the following were located: Jacob Appley, Jacob Frey, John Hurtz, Conrad Hart, John Smith, Henry Smith, John Cool, Jacob Deusler, Leonard Kretzer, Henry Hynce, Flander, Phye, John Spankable (now Sponable), John Winkle.

Among the settlers in the Kringsbush section were Matthias Smith, Leonard Helmer, Joseph Davis and his brother-in-law, John Kring, after whom the settlement was named.

The first settlement within the limits of present Utica was made, in 1773, in present North Utica at Deerfield Corners, by George J. Weaver, Mark Damuth and Christian Reall and their families. These were people of Palatine German ancestry from the German Flats (Herkimer) neighborhood. Reall's Creek takes its name from Christian Reall, whose house stood near it. These first settlers of Utica were all Whigs or patriots. As they did not have, in their front yards, the Tory emblem of a horse's skull on a stake, they had to flee to their old homes on the approach, in 1776, of a Tory and Indian raiding party, which burned their homes, but they relocated on their old sites in 1784.

The years, between the close of the Seven Years' war and the beginning of the Revolution, witnessed considerable improvement in the highways of the Mohawk Valley. Compared with our present-day Macadam and concrete State roads they were rough and difficult but they were a great advance over the first Indian paths or trails and the cart roads of the first pioneers. They made settlement and communication possible in regions north and south of the Mohawk River, to which stream Valley settlement had been originally confined. There was considerable road improvement at this time, in the Canajoharie and Palatine districts of Tryon County. One of the roads constructed was the Canajoharie-Cherry Valley highway which was built in 1773, at which time the following were road commissioners of the Canajoharie district; Nicholas Herkimer of the Fall Hill-Dutchdorf section; Hendrick Frey of the Canajoharie Creek-Freysbush-Otsquago Creek section; Frederick Young of the Sproutbrook-

Turloch (present Sharon Springs) division; Robert Wells of the Cherry Valley-Springfield section.

In March, 1773, the Virginia House of Burgesses appointed a committee of correspondence to communicate with the other Colonies and thus attempt to secure unity of action in opposition to the constant oppressive acts of England which were like so many insults to the Colonists. Virginia's action was the first step toward a real union of the Colonies and Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New Hampshire, and South Carolina agreed to the suggested course. They appointed committees of correspondence soon thereafter. This was the beginning of the celebrated Committees of Safety of the Revolution.

In 1773 the British government lifted all tariff duties on goods coming into America with the exception of tea. The ships bringing tea into New York and Philadelphia were warned not to land. On December 16, 1773, the "Mohawks" of Boston held the famous "Boston Tea Party", when a shipload of tea was thrown into Boston Harbor. Both sides of the great American conflict were now aligned in two bitter parties—Whigs and Tories—between whom there could be no compromise and concerning whose problems there were only two solutions—subjection or liberty. Neither side was in a large majority anywhere with the exception of New England, where the Whig sentiment was overwhelming. It is estimated that the two sides were about equally divided in the Province of New York. However, in the Mohawk Valley there were two Whigs to one Tory.

Sir William Johnson made his last will on January 27th, 1774. He must have had a premonition of his approaching end because, on April 17th, he recommended Colonel Guy Johnson to the Earl of Dartmouth as his successor. From April 15th to the 28th, Johnson held a council with the Six Nations at Johnson Hall. In a letter under date of May 27th, Sir William condemned "the refractory Boston people". On June 19th, he was visited by a delegation of Onondagas.

"Johnson died July 11, 1774, aged 59 years. He had long been liable to attacks of dysentery. In combating his disease he had, in 1767, visited and drunk of the spring, now famous as the High Rock of Saratoga. He is believed to have been the first white man to visit this spring, whose medical virtues had been reported to him by the Mohawks, a band of whom accompanied him to the spot, bearing him part of the way through the wilderness on a litter. His cure was only partial but even that becoming known, was the foundation of the popularity of the Saratoga

Springs. At the time of Sir William's death, the Indians were exasperated over the outrages committed upon them by the Ohio frontiersmen, including the butchery of the famous Logan's kindred. The Iroquois [Six Nations] had come with an indignant complaint to Johnson Hall. On the day the baronet died, he addressed them for over two hours under a burning sun. Immediately after he was taken with an acute attack of his malady and shortly died. Johnson had prophesied that he would never live to take part in the struggle which all saw was then impending.

"The baronet's funeral took place on the Wednesday following his death and the pallbearers included Governor Franklin of New Jersey and the judges of the New York supreme court. Among the cortege of 2,000 people who followed the remains to their burial, under the chancel of the stone church which Sir William had erected in the village, were the 600 Indians who had gathered at the Hall. These, on the next day, performed their ceremony of condolence before the friends of the deceased, presenting symbolic belts of wampum with an appropriate address." —Frothingham, History of Montgomery and Fulton Counties.

And so passed Sir William Johnson from the scene of his life's labors in the Mohawk Valley, of which he was the greatest citizen.

One of the chief events in the Mohawk Valley in 1774, was the foundation of St. George's Lodge, No. 6, F. & A. M., of Schenectady.

St. George's Masonic lodge, of Schenectady, received its warrant from Sir John Johnson, the last Provincial Grand Master of the Province of New York, in the year 1774, and its charter from the Grand Lodge of England, constituting the lodge as "St. George's Lodge, Number One, in the Township of Schenectady," is dated September 14, 1774. Under this old English charter the lodge worked until 1822, when it received its first charter from the Grand Lodge of New York, being the last of the "Old Lodges" to surrender its old warrant. It has had a continuous and consecutive existence since 1774.

The lodge met regularly during the Revolution—being one of four lodges active in New York during that war. Its meetings were attended by many of the officers of the Continental army, a number of whom were made Masons in the lodge. Of its own members, seventy-eight out of the 150 carried on its rolls, from 1774 to 1800, served during the Revolution.

The English Parliament determined to outdo itself when it heard of the Boston Tea Party and soon after, in 1774, passed several laws known as the "Intolerable Acts", which formed the

last straw to the patience of the Colonists. Active and armed resistance to further oppression was now inevitable.

The "Intolerable Acts" are usually reckoned as four. The first was a disciplinary measure known as the "Boston Port Bill" which forbade shipping commerce in or out of Boston Harbor. This ruined a large number of people. The second was the "Transportation Bill" which provided for the shipment to and trial in England of Americans accused of committing murder while resisting the enforcement of the laws. The third act, called "the Massachusetts Bill", robbed that Colony of its charter and set up a military dictatorship by a Royal Governor. The fourth bill was the "Quebec Act" which took control of the Indian Empire of the Six Nations and other tribes north of the Ohio River and placed it under the jurisdiction of Quebec or Canada, which had no representative government but was ruled by absolute authority of the British Crown. This last oppressive act enraged New York, Massachusetts, Connecticut and Virginia which had claims to territory in the Indian country. The Quebec Act also brought British oppression close to home with the people of the Mohawk Valley, inasmuch as the affairs of the Six Nations and other tribes had previously been administered from Albany, Fort Johnson and Johnson Hall in the Province of New York, while the Indian boundary line began near and crossed the extreme southwest region of the Mohawk Valley.

One of the first committees of safety formed within the Province of New York was the Palatine District Committee of Tryon County. Its organization marked the beginning of the famous Tryon County Committee of Safety which administered military, civil and judicial affairs in Tryon County during the early years of the Revolution. Revolutionary activity in the Mohawk Valley was probably hastened by the removal by death of the powerful figure of Sir William Johnson from the scene of his earthly activities, on July 11th, 1774. Six weeks later, on August 27th, 1774, the first meeting of the Palatine District Committee of Safety was held at the tavern of Adam Loucks in Stone Arabia. This meeting and the later formation of the Tryon County Committee is covered in a later chapter.

Colonial times in the Mohawk Valley came to an end with the year 1774, and the Revolutionary period began with the year 1775.

CHAPTER 52.

1759. SETTLEMENT OF JOHNSTOWN AND BUILDING OF JOHNSON HALL.

1755, PLANNING AND SETTLEMENT OF JOHNSTOWN—1762, JOHNSON HALL BUILT—SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON MOVES TO JOHNSTOWN FROM FORT JOHNSON—LIFE AT JOHNSON HALL—JOHNSON'S PROGRESSIVE FARMING METHODS—HIS SCOTCH HIGHLANDER RETAINERS—1772, TRYON COUNTY AND JOHNSTOWN ITS COUNTY SEAT—SIR WILLIAM'S FAMILY—JOHN JOHNSON, ANNA AND MARY JOHNSON—THE TORY ARISTOCRACY OF TRYON COUNTY—THE BUTLERS—JOSEPH AND MOLLIE BRANT, HOUSEKEEPER FOR SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON—THE "BROWN LADY" OF JOHNSON HALL.

The settlement of Johnstown, 1755-1760, and Sir William Johnson's removal to Johnson Hall, in 1762, mark the beginnings of the development of present Fulton County and its present township of Johnstown, which includes the important cities of Johnstown and Gloversville. These years also may be generally considered to have inaugurated the historical period of Fulton County, just as the settlement of Schenectady by the Dutch in 1661-2 marks the beginnings of Schenectady County; the location of Frey at Palatine Bridge, in 1689, marks the start of Montgomery County; the settlement of the Palatines on the Schoharie, in 1712, inaugurated the history of Schoharie County; the location of Palatines, in 1723, on the German Flats started Herkimer County; and the erection of Fort Stanwix in 1758 on the site of present Rome, was the beginning of Oneida County.

The present cities of Johnstown and Gloversville lie in the township of Johnstown, Fulton County. The lands comprising this town were originally included in the following patents: Stone Arabia, 12,700 acres (1723); Walter Butler, 4,000 acres (1735); Sacondaga, or Gansevoort, 28,000 acres (1741); Kingsborough or Stevens, 20,000 acres (1753). Sir William Johnson purchased his Johnstown lands from the owners of these patents but principally from the last.

The Johnstown section probably appealed to Johnson because it gave him an opportunity to create a town and a large baronial estate, somewhat removed from the Mohawk River, along which the lands were generally taken up at this period. The location of this new estate was sightly and healthful and the farm lands were generally good. An Indian trail ran through the proposed

INDIAN CASTLE CHURCH, 1769

Built in 1769 by Col. Samuel Clyde for Sir William Johnson, who presented it to the Canajoharies (Mohawks of the Upper or Canajoharie Mohawk Castle) in 1770. The only Colonial Indian mission church standing in New York State and the only surviving Colonial building of any of the Mohawk or Iroquois Castles. It stands on the south shore highway, but is seen from Central Railroad and Mohawk Turnpike. Photo by H. V. Bush, Canajoharie.

JOHNSON HALL, 1762

One of America's most famous historic buildings, erected by Sir William Johnson in 1762, on the western limits of present Johnstown.

town from Tribes Hill to Timmerman Creek at the site of present St. Johnsville. It cut off a considerable distance, compared with the river road, and avoided the generally miry King's Highway, which ran along the Mohawk in this twenty-six mile stretch of the important Mohawk Valley transportation route. Johnstown was the center of other Indian trails which added to its value as a trading and Indian council center. One trail ran from Saratoga to the West Canada Creek at present Middleville and from thence to the Black River Road at Remsen; another trail ran northward to the Sacandaga and from there to Lake George and so on to Canada. Trails branched from Johnstown to Mohawk River points at or opposite to present Tribes Hill, Fonda (Caughnawaga), Stone Arabia, Canajoharie-Palatine Bridge, Fort Plain-Nelliston, Palatine Church and St. Johnsville.

Sir William Johnson began to plan Johnstown and Johnson Hall as early as 1755, but he could not give his new location much of his attention until after his return from the Montreal expedition with Amherst. He was back at Fort Johnson on October 11, 1760, and doubtless then began active planning and building operations in connection with his proposed town and baronial hall. Probably he already had in mind the creation of a new county, of which Johnstown would be the county seat, and in which he would be the unofficial overlord.

Johnson was always seeking to enlarge his landed estate and, on January 6, 1761, applied for a patent for Canajoharie land. On March 11, 1761, he was commissioned by King George III as superintendent of Indian affairs for all the English colonies.

On March 28th, 1762, Sir William gave 50 acres of land to the Johnstown Episcopal Church, when the first frame church was erected on the site of the Colonial cemetery. He was then busily engaged in the construction of Johnson Hall, which was probably nearly finished about this time.

Johnson Hall is a frame building, sixty feet long, forty feet wide, and two stories high, facing southeastwardly across lands sloping to the neighboring creek. On each side and slightly to the rear two stone blockhouses were built as part of the defences of the Hall. They were constructed in 1763, when Pontiac's war began. The northern one was burned, but the southern one still exists and is the only blockhouse now standing in the Mohawk Valley, where scores of them once served as refuges from the enemy.

Life at Johnson Hall was picturesque and interesting. The story of this baronial mansion, on the Mohawk uplands overlook-

ing the Cayadutta, is one of the most entertaining chapters in Mohawk Valley history.

Sir William appreciated the value of education and made early provision for a school in his new town. In 1763 he built a house for Peter Drumm which is still standing. This became the site of Johnson's free school. Johnson endeavored to secure the removal of the Moor Charity School from Lebanon, Connecticut, to Johnstown, without success. In 1771 he advertised in the newspapers of New York and Philadelphia for a person "Proficient in reading, writing and arithmetic" to teach a free school which he was about to open in the village. The teacher engaged was an Irishman named Wall, who, it is said, did not spare the rod, except with the offspring of his employer, the baronet. The Johnstown free school has been erroneously stated to have been the first free school in the Province of New York.

The schoolhouse was an oblong yellow building, standing on the corner of Main and William Streets. In the streets before it stood the public stocks and whipping post, in the former of which the delinquent scholars sometimes figured. Forty or fifty children attended this school, among them being three children of Molly Brant and the baronet. Mr. Godfrey Shew, who lived a mile west of the Hall, sent his children to the school. In passing the Hall they were sometimes frightened by the Indians, who often were lounging about Sir William's house. Johnson quickly put a stop to this.

The following "list of scholars at the free school Johnstown" is given in Vol. IV, Documentary History of the State of New York, with no date appended:

Richard Young, Peter Young, Hendrick Young, Richard Cotter, Hendrick Rynnion, James Mordon, Daniel Cammel, Samuel Davis, Renier Vansiclan, Jacob Veder, Randel McDonald, John Foilyard, Peter Rynnion, Peter Potman, Jacob Doran, David Doran, Jeromy Doran, Adam McDonald, Abraham Boice, Caleb McCarty, Hendrick Colinger, Jacob Servos, John Servos, John Miller, James McGregar, George Binder, Christian Rider, Bernard Rider, Simeon Scouten, Frencis Bradthau, John Everot, Sarah Connor, Lany Rynnion, Betsy Garlick, Baby Garlick, Rebecca Vansiclan, Caty Cammel, Caty Garlick, Mary McIntyre, Peggy Potman, Eve Waldroff, Leny Waldroff, Margaret Servoss, Catherine Servoss.—45.

The school was free but education was not compulsory and these scholars formed only a small part of the children of the Johnstown neighborhood. About 17 of these names are British

(English, Scotch, Irish, Welsh), about 19 are Holland Dutch and about 8 are Palatine German. These figures give a fair idea of the proportionate racial strains in the Johnstown neighborhood as well as the names of some of the pioneer families.

The first settlers, merchants, shopkeepers and tradesmen of Johnstown, are known to a certain extent. Sir William Johnson erected the first grist mill, on the Hall Creek to the north of Johnson Hall. Peter Young was probably the first miller. Gilbert Tice kept the first tavern. Robert Adams was one of the first storekeepers. He built a house on the site of the later Sir William Johnson Hotel. Johnson willed Adams this "dwelling house, other buildings, and the lot and one acre, whereon he now lives, the potash laboratory and one acre of land with it; also the farm which he holds by deed from me." William Phillips was a wagon maker. Adrian Van Sickler was the Johnson Hall blacksmith, in Sir William's day. Peter Yost conducted the tannery. Edward Aiken built and operated the first carding mill. James Davis was a hatter. Dr. William Adams was a physician.

Among others who lived in or near Johnstown from 1760 to 1774 were Daniel Claus, John Butler, Hugh Fraser, Bryan Lefferty, Hugh McMonts, William Crowley, Major John Little, Zephaniah Batchelor. The following were a few among the many pioneer farmers of the present township of Johnstown: John Hollenbeck, Johannes Wert, John Boshart, Henry Gross, Douw Wemple, Sampson Sammons. Col. George Croghan, Col. Daniel Claus and Col. Guy Johnson were deputy Indian agents under Johnson. Croghan was at Fort Pitt a large part of the time, keeping in touch with the affairs of the western tribes. Joseph Brant, the young Mohawk chief, was secretary to Sir William at one time. Croghan subsequently settled on the site of Cooperstown.

The pre-Revolutionary Johnstown settlement, of about a dozen buildings, was small, although it was a neighborhood center for a great extent of country, even before it became the county seat, in 1772. The Hall and its outbuildings probably held as large a population as the village, in Sir William's day. A guard of British soldiers was kept at the Hall, making its headquarters in one of the blockhouses.

St. Patrick's Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons was constituted by warrant, dated May 23d, 1766, granted by the Provincial Grand Master of New York, to Sir William Johnson, Baronet, Master, Guy Johnson, S. W., and Daniel Claus, J. W., of Johnstown, New York. The lodge was organized at Johnson Hall on the 23d day of August, 1766, and worked under the supervision

of Sir William Johnson, as Master, until the 6th day of December, 1770, when (he having been elected Master of the "Ineffable Lodge at Albany") Col. Guy Johnson was chosen in his stead, which station he occupied until the 5th day of May, 1777, although he was in Canada as an active Tory from 1775 to 1777. The Hall room in which these meetings were held has been fitted up as a lodge room and is a place of especial interest to Masons.

During the Revolution (1775-1783) and for a period of about ten years, the meetings of the lodge were discontinued. Many of its members were engaged in the military service, on one side or the other, both as officers and privates. Among the officers in the American army were Gen. Nicholas Herkimer, of Oriskany battlefield fame, Majors Peter Ten Broeck and Jelles Fonda. Samuel Kirkland, a missionary to the Mohawk and Oneida Indians, and the founder of Hamilton College, was also one of the early members of this lodge. Of the forty-three members when the war commenced only three remained after its close to assist in its reorganization. Some, of course, fell on the battlefield, while others, having taken sides with the Royalists, under the lead of Sir John Johnson, had their property confiscated and left the country. Sir John, on leaving for Canada, took the original charter and jewels of St. Patrick's Lodge. These have since been returned, so that a visitor to the lodge may now see the first charter, the first Master's jewel and all of the minutes of the earliest meetings.

In 1762, Sir William Johnson moved from his former baronial fortress to his new home, Johnson Hall on his great baronial estate at Johnstown. For twenty years the Fort Johnson location had been the seat of William Johnson, Colonial general, member of the Governor's Council and finally Sir William Johnson, Indian agent, commander of the Six Nations and of the frontier militia. Fort Johnson and Johnson Hall are the only two baronial mansions standing in America today. Johnson had made his home at Fort Johnson during the most eventful period of his life. It was there that he held his chief councils and from it he went forth to his greatest diplomatic triumphs and military successes.

Johnson Hall was the scene of Johnson's later years when he reaped the reward of his earlier efforts. It was the baronial seat of the chief citizen of the great county of Tryon, which he later created when his Johnstown became the county seat.

Sir William's first letter from Johnson Hall is dated March 30th, 1762. He probably did not move into his new home at that time, as a number of his letters within the next few months

are dated from Fort Johnson. His son, John Johnson, who was then twenty years old, became an ensign in the 4th Battalion, Royal Americans and succeeded to Fort Johnson in 1762.

The following relates principally to Sir William Johnson's days at Johnson Hall and the development of Johnstown as a social and trading center and county seat, together with some reference to Johnson's family life. Johnson's activities, in connection with the Mohawk Valley and the Province of New York, are given in the former chapter. It is impossible to enter into much detail with regard to Sir William's public life, within the limits of this history, so numerous were the Baronet's activities and so far reaching were his governmental works. Only the briefest summary of Johnson's life and deeds during this important period is possible here. For further information, the reader is referred to "Life and Times of Sir William Johnson, Bart.," by William L. Stone, "The Papers of Sir William Johnson" published by the University of the State of New York, and to other publications regarding Johnson.

In 1763 Johnson Hall was fortified at the beginning of Pontiac's war. The two stone blockhouses were erected on each side and just to the rear of the Hall and it was surrounded by a stockade. Secret underground passages were dug, leading from the Hall to the stone blockhouses. Like many other frontier homes, the Hall had a well in the cellar, to ensure a water supply in case of siege and to avoid all possibility of an enemy poisoning the water, which could be done if it was brought from outside. Johnson kept all the Six Nations, except the Senecas, true to the English cause, during the Pontiac Indian uprising, and in 1766 concluded a treaty, with that great Indian leader, at Oswego, which ended this bloody border conflict.

"Whatever time Sir William's official duties left him, was actively employed in the improvement of his estate and the condition of agriculture in the settlement. We find him obtaining superior seed oats from Saybrook, Conn., scions for grafting from Philadelphia, fruit trees from New London and choice seed from England. He delighted in horticulture and had a famous garden and nursery to the south of the Hall. He was the first to introduce sheep and blooded horses in the Mohawk valley. Fairs were held under his supervision at Johnstown, the baronet paying the premiums. His own farming was done by ten or fifteen slaves under an overseer named Flood. They and their families lived in cabins built for them across Cayadutta Creek from the Hall. They dressed very much like the Indians, but wore coats made from

blankets on the place. Sir William's legal affairs were conducted by a secretary learned in the law, named Lefferty, who, it seems, was the surrogate of the county at the time of his employer's death. A family physician named Daly was retained by the Baronet, serving also as his social companion in numerous pleasure excursions, and a butler, a gardener, a tailor, and a blacksmith were among the employes at the Hall, across the road from which the last two had shops.

"Sir William took a constant and lively interest in the welfare of his tenants, not only extending his bounty to their material needs, but providing for their intellectual and spiritual wants in many ways. * * * One of his devices for their entertainment was the institution of 'sport days' at the Hall, at which the yeomanry of the neighborhood competed in the field sports of England, especially boxing and foot racing. In the latter, the contestants sometimes ran with their feet in bags, and more amusement was afforded by horse races in which the riders faced backward; by the chase of the greased pig and the climbing of the greased pole; and by the efforts of another class of competitors to make the wryest face and sing the worst song, the winner being rewarded with a bearskin jacket or a few pounds of tobacco." (Frothingham.)

Johnson Hall had a picturesque and dignified mistress in the full-blooded Mohawk, Molly Brant, who was the housekeeper of Sir William Johnson, and by whom he had several children. Molly Brant, "the brown lady of Johnson Hall," was the sister of Joseph Brant, the famous Mohawk chief, who is said to be the "most remarkable Indian of history." Johnson educated the young Mohawk and made his lithe and beautiful sister the mistress of Johnson Hall. Regardless of all this, both Brant and his sister revealed their native savage traits during the Revolution.

"Sir William Johnson was an empire builder, like several other strong Americans of Colonial days. Beloved by his red and white neighbors, his fine manly figure looms large and clear in the light of history. William Johnson founded a school, churches, forts and a town; he built roads and aided his neighbors to improve their conditions and their farming methods. He imported seed, plants, trees and animals into the Mohawk Valley. His battles for his country found a record in a bullet in his thigh."

Johnson gradually succeeded in getting the local farmers to raise hay. Himself a progressive farmer, he bewailed the obstinate backwardness of his neighbors. A keen mind, and a true student, Johnson possessed probably the only library west of

Schenectady and made frequent purchases from London bookstores.

On August 21st, 1767, Sir William visited Saratoga Springs. His health was not good and his Indian friends had told him of the healing virtues of the mineral waters of Saratoga. He is said to have been the first important person to visit the springs and his visit is stated to have first given Saratoga publicity as a health resort. Saratoga was then only a wilderness.

February 22, 1768, Johnson was made Brigadier General of the Militia of the northern district of New York—the region north of the Highlands of the Hudson.

On January 3d, 1769, Johnson accepted election as a member of the American Philosophical Society, and, on April 12th, he was, by dispensation at Johnson Hall, raised to the Sublime Degree of Perfection, Scottish Rite. About the same time he was elected Master of the Ineffable Lodge, A. A. S. R. of Albany. On December 27th, St. Patrick's Lodge and the Ineffable A. A. S. R. went to church, St. John's Day, Johnson and Dr. Stringer accompanying as the two grand inspectors. On December 6th, 1770, Sir William declined reelection as Master and he was succeeded by Col. Guy Johnson.

Before 1760 Johnson brought in some eighty families of Scotch Highlanders, numbering about 400 people, who were generally settled in the northern part of the present township of Johnstown in the Kingsboro section. They formed the chief Loyalist or Tory support of Sir John Johnson at the beginning of the Revolution, when many of them removed to Canada, where numbers of them enlisted in the British army. In 1770 the village took the name of Johnstown, in honor of Sir William. In 1770 Sir William Johnson was made a trustee of Queens (now Rutgers) College. On March 23d Johnson suggested a New York Provincial department of forest preservation. On June 17th he presented the Indian Castle Church as a mission chapel for the Mohawks of the Canajoharie Castle.

In 1771 Johnson planned St. John's Protestant Episcopal Church of Johnstown and in 1772 the first church of stone was built, which was burned in 1836. In this year Johnson promised aid for an academy at Schenectady. The creation of Tryon County and the building of the Johnstown Court House and Jail in 1772 belong to the chapter on Tryon County.

Mr. John T. Morrison, the well known historian of Johnstown, has kindly furnished the following sketch of the Johnstown of 1772, which he has especially written for this work:

JOHNSTOWN JAIL

Built in 1772, the Fort Johnstown of the Revolution. (Photo by H. V. Bush, Canajoharie.)

JOHNSTOWN COURT HOUSE, 1772

This ancient structure was built by Sir William Johnson in 1772, as the Tryon County Court House. It is now the Fulton County Court House and is the only Colonial Court House now standing and used as such in New York State—and probably one of very few in the United States. Many distinguished jurists have appeared in this historic building, which still uses a bar of bent iron as a bell. (Photo by H. V. Bush, Canajoharie.)

The advent of the white man, and the founding of the Johnstown settlement, dates back to 1755 or 1756, or seven or eight years before Sir William Johnson erected Johnson Hall and removed thither from Mount Johnson, or Fort Johnson as it is now called. The original white settlers were Scotch, Irish, German and Dutch—mostly Scotch, or "Highlanders," as they were popularly called, who were induced to immigrate to this country by Johnson and take up their residence on lands north of the Mohawk river and embraced within the bounds of the Kingsborough patent. In seeking an annulment of the Kayaderosseras grants, because of gross frauds which had been perpetrated upon the Indians by dishonest and unscrupulous whites, in a letter addressed to General Gage, dated May 14th, 1769, Johnson declared that during the heat of the French and Indian war, he settled one hundred families on lands north of the Mohawk river and within the bounds of the Kingsborough patent. This fixes the date of the original white settlement approximately at 1755 or 1756.

The original Johnstown settlement was widely scattered and had no definite bounds. The Butler house on Switzer Hill, home of the notorious Tories, Col. John Butler, and his infamous son, Major Walter Butler, and other places of equal or even greater distance from the Johnstown of today, were included in the original Johnstown settlement. It was not until Sir William Johnson took up his residence at Johnson Hall that a plan for an orderly settlement was adopted and carried out. In 1770 Johnson caused several streets to be laid out, including Melcher, William, Johnson (Market), Globe (Perry), Old Sacandaga (Green), New Sacandaga (Main), Clinton and Montgomery. These streets all intersected at right-angles and were of uniform width, 66 feet, except William Street, which was made wider and more spacious, and was intended for the principal business street, and, indeed, for many years was the principal business street, and while it has lost this distinction, it has evoluted into the most attractive residential section.

On January 2nd, 1772, Sir William Johnson forwarded to the Colonial Assembly, through James De Lancey, a petition from the inhabitants of this section, praying for a division of Albany County, and on March 12th of the same year the prayer of the petitioners was granted. A new county was created to which the name "Tryon" was given in honor of Sir William Tryon, one of the Royal governors. On May 10th, Johnstown was named as the county seat of the newly created county. Sir William immediately commenced the erection of a court house and jail. The

former was completed in August, and the first court of Quarter General Sessions was held therein on Tuesday, September 8th, 1772. (The 150th anniversary of the "setting up" of Tryon County was fittingly celebrated at Johnstown, September 8th and 9th, 1922, and one of the most interesting pageant features connected therewith was an enactment of the scenes incident to this first court session in Tryon County.)

Let us for a moment draw upon our imaginations and take a retrospective view of the quaint little village scattered largely along William Street more than 150 years ago. At the southeast corner of William and New Sacandaga streets stood Sir William's free school, an oblong, framed gable-roofed building, painted yellow, the front gable-end facing William Street, the first absolutely free, non-sectarian school in the Province of New York. In front of the school building stood the stocks and whipping-post, common and popular instruments for the penalizing and punishment of culprits and violators of the criminal law a century and a half ago. It was not an infrequent sight in the early days to see a motley crowd of whites and Indians congregated in front of the school house, watching the high sheriff or one of his subordinates, plying the lash with great vigor on the bare back of some unfortunate, who had been adjudged guilty of violating some provision of the penal law. Nor was it an infrequent sight in those early days to see large numbers of Indians, sometimes hundreds, including the most distinguished of the race, passing silently through the village, following the trail, leading from the Grand Central Trail of the Iroquois at Tribes Hill, to Ko-lan-e-ka (Johnson Hall), enroute to the latter place, for the purpose of conferring with their beloved white brother, War-ragh-i-ya-gey (Sir William), Superintendent of Indian Affairs for all of British North America.

At the head of William Street, at the intersection of Old Sacandaga Street, stood the residence of Edward Wall, the old schoolmaster, an Irish pedagogue, who presided efficiently, with great dignity, and maintained the strictest discipline and decorum at Sir William's free school. This building is one of six, erected by Sir William at the same time, in 1763, all of the same size and style of architecture, and all like the schoolhouse, painted yellow. All have long since disappeared except the residence of the old schoolmaster, which survives and is now known as the "Drumm House."

At the northeast corner of the intersection of William and Clinton streets stood the famous tavern of Gilbert Tice. The

original owner, Tice, a zealous and over-bearing Tory, after the Tryon County Committee of Safety directed that he and Joseph Brant (Thayendenegea) be apprehended, fled with Col. Guy Johnson, Brant and the Butlers to Canada. Tice's tavern is noted principally because of the fact that it was from this building that the first shot in the War of the Revolution west of the Hudson River was fired. This shot was fired by Alexander White, the first high sheriff of Tryon County, another over-bearing and offensive Royalist, and was aimed at Sampson Sammons, an indomitable patriot, one of a mob, organized for the purpose of arresting White and liberating John Fonda, a brother of Jelles (Giles) Fonda, who was incarcerated at the jail because of an assault committed on the person of White, during a heated argument between the two men over political questions that at the time were agitating the minds of the inhabitants and dividing the people into two hostile camps, Whigs and Tories. Following the flight of Tice to Canada, his property was confiscated, and the tavern was sold by the Committee of Forfeitures to Michael Rawlins, who continued the same under the name, Rawlins House.

Just northerly of the court house stood the store of Robert Adems, Johnstown's pioneer merchant, and for twenty-five years the confidential agent, private secretary and bookkeeper for Sir William Johnson. Robert Adems, and his brother, Dr. William Adems, natives of Dublin, Ireland, accompanied Major General Johnson (Sir William), in the expedition against Crown Point (1755) and Dr. William Adems, in the capacity of army surgeon, rendered invaluable medical and surgical aid to both General Johnson and Baron Dieskau, the French commander, and dressed the gunshot wounds both received in the battle of Lake George. During the Revolution, the Adems store building was used as a Colonial warehouse, and in it were stored the personal effects of Sir John Johnson, and which were found at Johnson Hall subsequent to the hasty flight of the baronet in 1775.

Directly opposite the Adems store, at what is now the intersection of Church Street, stood the private entrance of Sir William to St. John's churchyard. The original St. John's Church, on the site of the present church edifice, erected in 1772, faced northerly and the Colonial cemetery, and the churchyard were enclosed by an iron fence. At the spot indicated stood two large stone pillars, supporting two massive iron gates, used only by Sir William, members of his family, and distinguished guests. The site of the first St. John's church is in the Colonial cemetery,

just easterly of the Drumm house. This was erected in or about the year 1760.

* * * * *

On June 26, 1872, at Johnstown, was held the centennial celebration of the erection of the court house and the jail which was the Johnstown fort of the Revolution. Gov. Horatio Seymour was the chief speaker. The following extract, from the address of this truly great Mohawk Valley orator, gives a vivid picture of the first days of the little frontier village of Johnstown in its role as the shire town or county seat of Tryon County:

The edifice and its objects were in strange contrast with the aspect of the country. It was pushing the forms and rules of English jurisprudence far into the territories of the Indian tribes and it was one of the first steps taken in that march of civilization which has now forced its way across the continent. There is a historic interest attached to all the classes of men who met at that time [the laying of the corner stone of the court house in 1772]. There was the German from the Palatinate, who had been driven from his home by the invasion of the French and who had been sent to this country by the Ministry of Queen Anne; the Hollander, who could look with pride upon the struggles of his country against the powers of Spain and in defense of civil and religious liberty; the stern Iroquois warriors, the conquerors of one-half the original territories of our Union, who looked upon the ceremonies in their quiet, watchful way. There was also a band of Catholic Scotch Highlanders, who had been driven away from their native hills by the harsh policy of the British government, which sought by such rigor to force the rule of law upon the wild clansmen. There were to be seen Brant and Butler and others, whose names, to this day, recall in this valley scenes of cruelty, rapine and bloodshed. The presence of Sir William Johnson, with an attendance of British officers and soldiers gave dignity and brilliancy to the event, while over all, asserting the power of the Crown, waved the broad folds of the British flag. The aspects of those who then met at this place not only made a clear picture of the state of our country, but it came at a point of time in our history of intense interest. All, in the mingled crowd of soldiers, settlers and savages, felt that the future was dark and dangerous. They had fought side by side in the deep forests against the French and Indian allies; now they did not know how soon they would meet as foes in deadly conflict.

* * * * *

The following is a brief sketch of the three children of Sir William Johnson by his wife, Catherine Weissenburg—John, Anna, Mary.

Sir John Johnson, second baronet of Fort Johnson and Johnson Hall, was born in 1742, at the first house built by his father, Sir William Johnson, at the eastern limits of the south side section of the present city of Amsterdam. Sir William Johnson, on October 22d, 1760, made a recommendation for the division of a company of valley militia of 160 men, then commanded by Capt. Hendrick Hansen and recommended his son, John Johnson, as captain of one of the three companies into which the original company was to be divided. John Johnson became colonel of a regiment of cavalry in the northern district of New York in 1773 and major-general of the northern district militia in 1774, on the death of his father, its prior commanding officer. His escape to Canada in 1776, and service in the British army is described in later chapters of this work, relative to the Revolutionary War. After Sir William removed to Johnson Hall, John Johnson succeeded to Fort Johnson. When he was knighted in 1765, Fort Johnson became Sir John Johnson's baronial mansion, while Johnson Hall was the baronial seat of Sir William. Thus there were two baronial mansions in the Mohawk Valley in the ten years from 1765 to 1774. Sir John was knighted on a trip to England made especially for that purpose.

Johnson inherited but few of the traits which made his father a popular favorite with all classes in the Mohawk Valley, Republicans as well as Royalists. When Sir John succeeded to Fort Johnson, he installed Clara Putman, a beautiful Mohawk Valley girl, as mistress of his household, and by her had several children. On June 30, 1773, he married Mary (Polly) Watts, daughter of John Watts, one time president of the governor's council of New York. Polly Watts was a member of one of the wealthiest and most socially prominent families of New York. She was the fourth daughter of John Watts and Anne De Lancey, youngest daughter of Etienne (Stephen) De Lancey. Anne was a sister of Lady Warren, wife of Admiral Sir Peter Warren, uncle of Sir William Johnson. Anne's and Lady Warren's mother was a daughter of Stephanus Van Courtland. By these marriages, Sir William Johnson and Sir John Johnson became connected with some of the leading Colonial families of New York, a fact which caused complications during the Revolutionary War. This is noted in Gen. Van Rensselaer's pursuit of Colonel Johnson during his great Mohawk Valley raid of 1780.

One of the most peculiar historical works, relative to the Mohawk Valley, is the "Orderly Book of Sir John Johnson," which is an elaborate attempt to make a hero out of the unpromising material afforded by Sir John Johnson's character. It is also extremely poor history, being a rabid glorification of Revolutionary Tories and Toryism with various misstatements of facts to accomplish that end.

Sir John Johnson died in Montreal, Canada, January 4th, 1830, aged 88 years. Lady Johnson died August 7th, 1850. The baronetcy descended through Sir John's son, Sir Adam Gordon, 3d Baronet, John Jr.'s son, Sir William George, 4th baronet, to Sir Edward Gordon Johnson, 5th and present (1925) baronet of Montreal.

Mr. John Fea, of Amsterdam, says that Johnson moved to Mount Johnson on the north side in 1739 and that his three white children were born there.

In 1762, Anna or "Nancy" Johnson, Sir William's eldest daughter, married Captain, later Colonel, Daniel Claus. Johnson installed them in the first small stone house which he built at "Mount Johnson" about one-half mile east of Fort Johnson and which was burned in the Revolution. Sir William presented Nancy with the house and a square mile of land. Claus was born in Germany. Johnson called the low hill, east of present Fort Johnson by the name of "Mount Johnson" and so designated his first two north side houses. Fort Johnson was called "Mount Johnson" until late in 1755. Fea says that the first Mount Johnson was not built by Johnson but bought by him from one of the Phillips family who first built it.

September 4th, 1763, Guy Johnson and Mary or "Polly" Johnson were married. Guy was a nephew of Sir William who had appointed him a deputy in the Indian department. Johnson presented Polly Johnson, Guy Park which, like his wedding present to Nancy, consisted of a plot of land one mile square.

Guy Johnson, the husband of Mary or "Polly" Johnson, was born in Warrenstown, Ireland, about 1740. Johnson was a lieutenant in the Independents. He made an unsuccessful attempt to be appointed secretary of Indian affairs, and soon after was seriously injured by a fall from his horse. He then exchanged his commission for lands in the Mohawk Valley.

Elma Strong Morris, in the pamphlet on "Fort Johnson and Guy Park," says:

"Sir William's daughters were busy the following days planning for their new homes. Each 'plantation' was one mile square

and both were east of Fort Johnson on the King's Highway. Great consideration was given to the gardens and to the fruit trees. The cherry, plum and pear trees had arrived in good condition from England and also 'an apple of a curious sort.' The gooseberry bushes had been packed with the rose bushes and magnolia shrubs and the same shipment had also brought the sun dial. The gardener had been engaged and in the spring they were to plant seeds from Cuban melons that had been successfully grown at Niagara. Sir William was looking after the building and he wanted Mr. Samuel Fuller to understand that he would not pay more than five shillings per day to any man whom he, the builder, might employ. * * * The one for Guy Johnson was destroyed by fire—it is said that it was struck by lightning. The main part of the stone house, now standing, was built [in 1766] to take its place. Later the furnishings for the house began to arrive. 'The fashionable furniture,' carpets, crimson damasks, etc., came from London as did also the silverplate and dishes and, somewhat later, Guy Johnson purchased the organ in New York City. Most of these articles came by sloop up the Hudson to Albany and were poled up the Mohawk River."

Guy Johnson, his wife and a little two year old Polly were settled in the new stone Guy Park in 1766. Johnson became a Mason in Union Lodge No. 1, in 1766 and Master of St. Patrick's Lodge No. 4, of Johnstown, in 1770. On the formation of Tryon County, in 1772, Guy Johnson became Judge of the Court. In 1773 he became a member of the Assembly. In 1767 Guy Johnson became a colonel of the northern New York department under his uncle, Brig.-Gen. Sir William Johnson. The Six Nations seem to have much esteemed Colonel Guy, and, after the death of Sir William, he was appointed superintendent of the northern Indians, as he said, "at the agreeable desire of the Indians." His activities as a Tory at the beginning of the Revolution belong to later chapters.

For his day Guy Johnson was a talented man of considerable education, who inherited much of his uncle's shrewdness in his diplomatic dealings with the Indians. Johnson was skilled in map-making and was also clever as an artist. His sketch of Fort Johnson, printed in this volume, shows his ability. In 1777 he is described as "a short, pursy man about forty years of age, of stern countenance and haughty demeanor, dressed in a British uniform, powdered locks and a cocked hat."

Johnson Hall, Fort Johnson, Guy Park and the Claus home

[the first Mt. Johnson] were centers of aristocratic Colonial social life in the Mohawk Valley during the ten years before the Revolution, and, particularly, in the pre-Revolutionary period following Sir William Johnson's treaty with Pontiac at Oswego in 1766, which removed the menace of Indian invasion along the Mohawk.

Guy Park was designed and built by Samuel Fuller, the Colonial architect of Schenectady, who built the Johnstown court house, Johnson Hall, St. George's Church, Schenectady, the General Herkimer Home and other historic Valley buildings.

The account of Johnson Hall and Johnstown, prior to the Revolution, would not be complete without reference to Brant and the Butlers.

Joseph Brant was the strongest supporter of the Tory cause among the Iroquois. He was a full-blooded Mohawk. His father was a chief of the Mohawk nation and had three sons, including thirteen-year-old Joseph, in the army with Sir William Johnson, under King Hendrick, in the battle of Lake George in 1755. Joseph Brant, his youngest son, whose Indian name was Thayendanegea, which signified "a bundle of sticks," or, in other words, strength, was born on the banks of the Ohio in 1742, whither his parents went hunting from the Mohawk Valley. His mother returned to Canajoharie Castle with Mary or Molly and Thayendanegea or Joseph. His father, Tehowaghwengaraghkwin, was a chief of the Wolf Tribe of the Mohawks. Thayendanegea became known as Joseph Brant. Sir William Johnson sent the young Mohawk to the school of Doctor Wheelock of Lebanon Crank (now Columbia), Connecticut, and, after he was well educated, employed him as secretary and as agent in public affairs. He was employed as a missionary interpreter from 1762 to 1765 and exerted himself for the religious instruction of the tribe. When the Revolution broke out, he attached himself to the British cause, and in 1775 left the Mohawk Valley, went to Canada and finally to England, where his education, and his business and social connection with Sir William Johnson, gave him free access to the nobility. The Earl of Warwick commissioned Romney, the eminent painter, to make a portrait of him for his collection, and from this celebrated painting most of the pictures of Brant have been reproduced. Throughout the Revolution, at the head of the Indian forces, he was engaged in warfare chiefly upon the border settlements of New York and Pennsylvania in connection with the Johnsons and Butlers. He held

a colonel's commission from the King, but he is generally called Captain Brant.

Joseph Brant was engaged in nearly all the military movements and raids of the enemy into the Mohawk Valley, during the Revolutionary War. His chief and most terrible exploits of the war were the ambuscade he prepared for Herkimer's men at Oriskany and his share in the Cherry Valley massacre. Brant was a terrible, desperate and bloodthirsty savage. It is difficult to understand the latter day efforts to make him a hero. He posed as a merciful foe, but he slaughtered dozens where he spared one for theatrical effect. For a century after the Revolution, the names of Brant and Butler were justly despised by the people of the Mohawk Valley. They were not soldiers but wholesale murderers and assassins.

After the peace in 1783, Brant again visited England, and on returning to America devoted himself to the social and religious improvement of the Mohawks, who were settled upon the Grand River, in Ontario, or Upper Canada, upon lands procured for them by Brant from Haldimand, governor of the province. This territory embraced six miles on both sides of the river from its mouth to its source. He translated the Gospel of St. Mark into the Mohawk language and in many ways his efforts for the uplifting of his people were successful. He died at his residence at the head of Lake Ontario November 24, 1807, aged 65.

Col. John Butler was one of the leading Tories of Tryon County during the war of the Revolution. Before the war he was in close official connection with Sir William Johnson and, after his death, with his son and nephew, Sir John and Col. Guy Johnson. When he fled with the Johnsons to Canada, his family were left behind and were subsequently exchanged for the wife and children of Col. Samuel Campbell of Cherry Valley. He was active in the predatory warfare that so long distressed Tryon County, and commanded the 1,100 Tories and Indians who perpetrated the infamous Wyoming massacre in 1778. He was of the Tory and Indian force that fought Sullivan and Clinton in the Indian country in 1779. He accompanied Sir John Johnson in his Schoharie and Mohawk Valley raid of 1780, which ended so disastrously for them at Klock's Field. After the war he went to Canada. His property upon the Mohawk was confiscated, but he was made a Canadian Indian agent, succeeding Col. Guy Johnson at a salary of $2,000 per year, and was granted a pension, as a military officer, of $1,000 more. Like his son, Walter, he was detested for his cruelties by the more honorable English

officers and, after the massacre at Wyoming, Sir Frederic Haldimand, then Governor of Canada, sent word that he did not wish to see him. Col. John Butler died in Canada about 1800.

Capt. Walter Butler, son of Colonel Butler, was slain in the battle of Butler's Ford on West Canada Creek, October 30th, 1781. There is a strong suspicion that Walter Butler was mentally diseased and that his abnormal mind found delight in murder and bloodshed. He is one of the most grewsome, abominable and revolting characters of American history.

COACH OF COL. GUY JOHNSON

Property Montgomery County Historical Society at Fort Johnson, Amsterdam, N. Y. This picture was taken at the Fort Johnson Pageant of 1919.

CHAPTER 53.

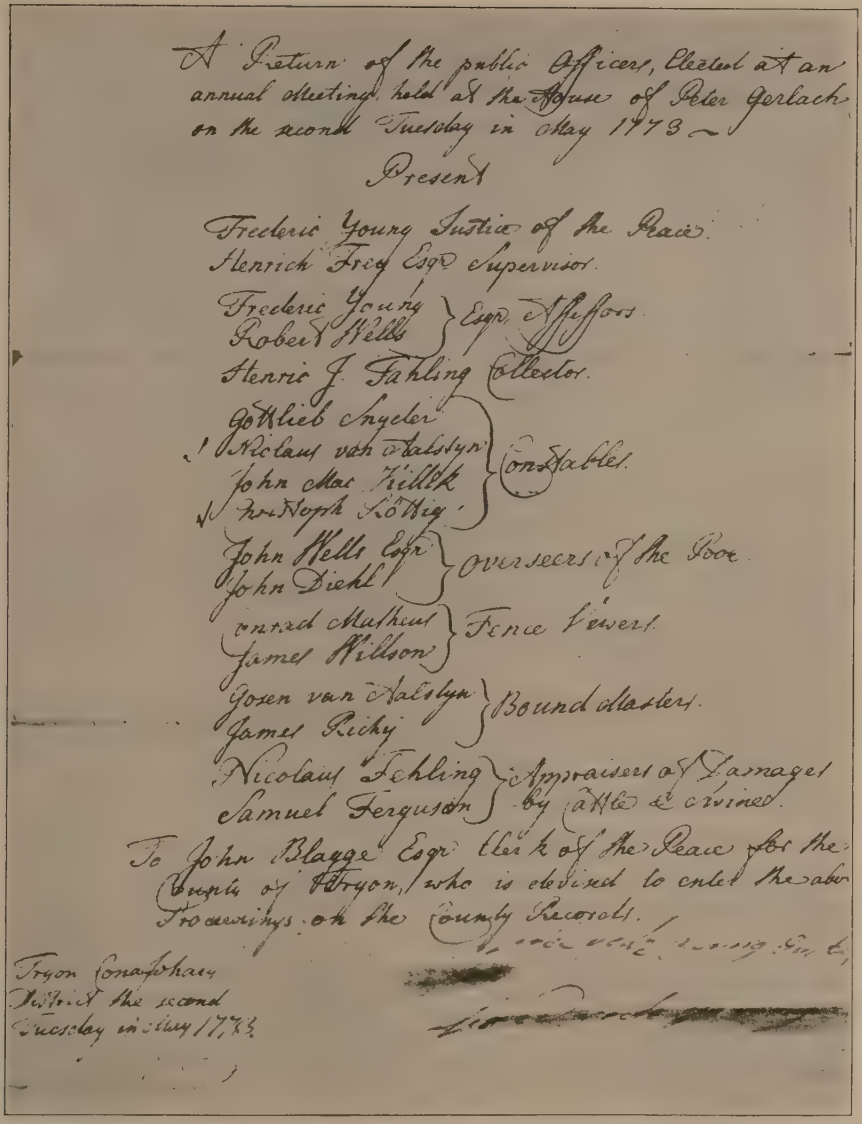
FORMATION OF TRYON COUNTY—1772.

THE FIVE COUNTY DISTRICTS OF MOHAWK, CANAJOHARIE, PALATINE, GERMAN FLATS, AND KINGSLAND—JOHNSTOWN MADE THE COUNTY SEAT—COURT HOUSE AND JAIL BUILT.

On March 24th, 1772, the great County of Tryon was set off from Albany County. Tryon included all that part of the Mohawk River watershed west of the western boundary of present Schenectady County and a line running roughly north and south therefrom, while the new civil division comprehended all of the former territory of Albany County, westward to the boundary line of the Six Nations, as set up by the treaty of Fort Stanwix in 1768.

Sir William Johnson, of course, was the moving spirit in this eventful act of legislation and Johnstown naturally was made the county seat. Sir William now became the uncrowned prince of a great principality. The Royal governor, William Tryon, was flattered by having his name given to the new county.

Since the settlement of Schenectady in 1661, the people of the Mohawk Valley had been compelled to go to Albany on all legal and other public business. Their new county of Tryon with its county seat of Johnstown, not only enabled them to conduct their civil and judicial proceedings with a great saving of time, expense and energy, as compared with the days when they were citizens of Albany County, but it also gave them a new sense of independence and importance. The people of the Mohawk Valley, in their gratification at this advantageous change, naturally felt kindly toward Sir William Johnson and the Royalist or Tory party, in the Valley, was not long in taking advantage of the local era of good feeling which followed, as is shown by certain transactions which are later described for the first time. Whig and Tory differences seem to have been buried for a short period following the creation of the famous County of Tryon, which was to play such a large part in the Revolutionary war. It was a favorable act for the cause of American independence when the new county was erected, as the patriots would have been at a great disadvantage, had all the conduct of affairs on this distant and exposed frontier, been directed from Albany. Sir William Johnson un-



A Return of the public Officers, Elected at an annual Meeting held at the House of Peter Gerlach on the second Tuesday in May 1773 —

Present

Frederic Young Justice of the Peace.
Henrich Frey Esqr Supervisor.
Frederic Young, Robert Wells } Esqrs Assessors.
Henric J. Fahling Collector.
Gotlieb Snyder, Nicolaus van Alstyn, John Mac Killick, Henry Hoyt } Constables.
John Wells Esqr, John Diehl } overseers of the Poor.
Conrad Mathew, James Willson } Fence Viewers.
Gosen van Alstyn, James Richy } Pound Masters.
Nicolaus Fehling, Samuel Ferguson } Appraisers of Damages by Cattle &c viewed.

To John Blagge Esqr Clerk of the Peace for the County of Tryon, who is desired to enter the above Proceedings on the County Records.

[redacted]

Tryon Canajoharie
District the second
Tuesday in May 1773

[redacted]

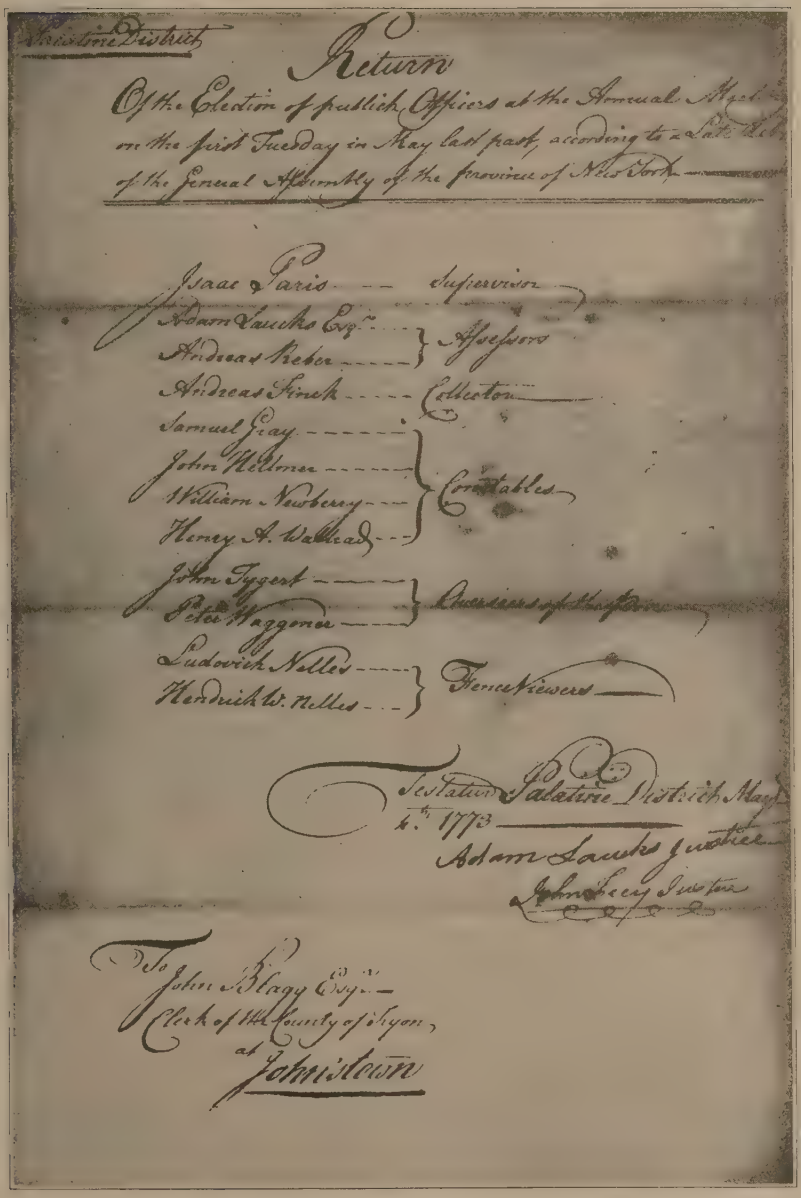
Officers elected in the Canajoharie District of Tryon County, 1773; the first election after the formation of the county in 1772. From the collection of Mr. S. Ludlow Frey, Palatine Bridge.

wittingly aided a movement, which he openly and strongly condemned, when he secured the formation of Tryon County. With its own Committee of Safety and its strong local militia and its powerful Whig majority, the Mohawk Valley, during the Revolution, formed a rampart of liberty which, although violently assailed, held out through eight years of blood and fire.

The lower Mohawk Valley, including Schenectady township or borough, was retained within Albany County, of which the entire Mohawk Valley had formed a part since the creation of Albany County in 1684. The greater part of the Schoharie section also continued as part of the County of Albany. This division of the Valley between two counties often proved unfortunate for the patriot cause, during the Revolution, but the general effect of the setting up of Tryon was most advantageous for the Whig majority.

Much of the confusion, attending the names of localities in reading local history, can be avoided by a knowledge of the boundaries of the five districts of Tryon County, which was formed in 1772, from the County of Albany. Most of its inhabitants then were settled along the Mohawk River and in the Schoharie Valley but these five districts had a tremendous extent.

The eastern border of Tryon County, named after the governor of that day, ran from the Pennsylvania border due north from the Delaware River through what is now Schoharie County and along the eastern limits of the present counties of Montgomery, Fulton and Hamilton to the Canadian border and embraced the territory westward to Fort Stanwix. Instead of townships it was divided into five large districts. The most eastern of these was called Mohawk and consisted of a strip of the state between the east line of the county already mentioned and a parallel line crossing the Mohawk River at the "Noses." The Palatine district extended indefinitely northward from the river between the "Noses" on the east and on the west a north and south line crossing the river at Little Falls. With the same breadth on the opposite side of the river the Canajoharie district extended south to the Pennsylvania line. North of the Mohawk and west of the Palatine district as far as settlements extended was the Kingsland district, while south of the river extending westward, from Little Falls to Fort Stanwix and southerly to the Pennsylvania line, was the German Flats district. These divisions were made March 24, 1772, and were suggested by Sir William Johnson. The name of the Palatine district was at first Stone Arabia, but was changed to Palatine a year after this division. All these names except



Palatine District

Return

Of the Election of publick Officers at the Annual Meet-
on the first Tuesday in May last past, according to an Act
of the General Assembly of the Province of New York

Isaac Paris — Supervisor
Adam Loucks Esq.
Andreas Reber — Assessors
Andreas Finck — Collector
Samuel Gray
John Wellmer
William Newberry — Constables
Henry A. Wallrad
John Tygert
Peter Waggoner — Overseers of the Poor
Ludovick Nellis
Hendrick W. Nellis — Fence Viewers

Palatine District 4th May
4th 1773
Adam Loucks Justice
John Frey Justice

To John Blagg Esq.
Clerk of the County of Tryon
at Johnstown

Return of the Officers of the Palatine District of Tryon County elected in 1773, the first held after the formation of Tryon County in 1772. From the collection of Mr. Samuel Ludlow Frey, Palatine Bridge.

Kingsland, are retained in townships in the counties of Herkimer and Montgomery, comprising minute areas compared with their original size.

The district of Palatine took its name from the German settlers from the Palatinate while that of Canajoharie was derived from the name of the famous creek. This stream's name comes from the huge pothole located almost at the beginning of the picturesque gorge leading to the falls. The title, Canajoharie, according to Brant, means, in Mohawk dialect, "the pot which washes itself." From the foregoing it will be seen that the affairs of Fort Plain are more immediately concerned with the districts of Canajoharie and Palatine, of the County of Tryon. Also that the Revolutionary name Canajoharie, applies to a large district, extending over twenty miles along the river, and not to the present comparatively small township of that name. A reference to Canajoharie of that time might mean any point in the present towns of Root, Canajoharie, Minden or Danube, or the districts back of these from the river.

Fort Canajoharie in 1757 was located in Danube and the upper Mohawk village near the same place was called the Canajoharie Castle. Herkimer's residence was in the Canajoharie district near its western end and he represented that district in the Tryon County committee of safety and was also the colonel of the district's militia as well as brigadier general of that of the entire county. A realization of the extent and boundaries of the district of Canajoharie of the Revolution will aid in acquiring accurate knowledge of the history of that time.

Johnson was ever mindful of the necessity of maintaining good relations with his Mohawk Indian neighbors and the names of the Mohawk and Canajoharie districts of Tryon County may have been given to gratify our Valley Iroquois. The Lower Castle at Fort Hunter was that of the "Mohawks" while the Upper Castle was the town of the "Canajoharies," according to the designations of the time by Sir William Johnson. The Indians of both castles were Mohawks and the names were probably adopted by Johnson as a matter of convenience. The old Indian district of Canajoharie had been so called since the earliest days and it was therefore a natural title for the south shore district of Canajoharie in the new County of Tryon. However, it is probable that Sir William ostensibly bestowed these names as a compliment to his "Mohawk" and "Canajoharie" brethren.

The first Tuesday in January the voters in each district were to elect a supervisor, two assessors and one collector of taxes.

THE BUTLER HOUSE, 1742

On Switzer Hill, one mile north of Fonda. The home of Col. John Butler and his son, Capt. Walter Butler, the Tory villian-murderer of the Revolution. Photo by Mr. Harry V. Bush, Canajoharie.

Four judges, six assistant judges, a number of justices of the peace, a clerk and a coroner were appointed by Governor Tryon, all but the clerk being Sir William Johnson's nominees. The first court of general quarter sessions was held at Johnstown, the county seat, on September 8, 1772. The bench consisted of Guy Johnson, John Butler and Peter Conyne, judges; John Johnson, Daniel Claus, John Wells and Jelles Fonda, assistant judges; John Collins, Joseph Chew, Adam Loucks, John Frey, Peter Ten Broeck and —— Young, justices.

It will be seen that Sir William Johnson was practically dictator of the new county as the majority of the above officers were his Tory henchmen. Sir William Johnson was also major general commanding all the militia north of the highlands of the Hudson. He took great pride in his militia and their soldierly appearance. Governor Tryon in his tour of the Mohawk Valley in 1772 reviewed three regiments of Tryon County militia at Johnstown, Burnetsfield and German Flats, respectively, numbering in all 1,400 men. This military training of the Mohawk Valley men was undoubtedly of great value to them in the following conflict.

It was almost entirely the influence of Sir William Johnson which made the eastern section of Tryon County a region unfavorable to the cause of independence. He had created a county seat at Johnstown and a powerful following about him. As Indian commissioner and general of all the militia he was supreme as a director of affairs. Johnson had practically absolute power over the Iroquois and an almost equally strong influence over a large portion of the white population. His domains in the Mohawk Valley included the 66,000 acres, mostly in what is now Herkimer County and which in 1760 were given him by the Mohawks, in the possession of which he was confirmed by the crown and which led to its being called the Royal Grant. Aside from this his landed estate was large and his henchmen and numerous tenantry added to his political strength, which was increased still further by his great personal popularity with all classes. By the Indians, not only of the Six Nations, but also of the western tribes, which had fallen within the circle of his influence, the baronet was regarded with the greatest veneration in spite of his unassuming sociability and his familiar manners incident to a border life. This tremendous influence over these Indian warriors was on his death in July, 1774, transferred to his son, Sir John Johnson, who succeeded to his position as major-general of the militia, to his title and most of his estate, and also to his son-in-law, Colonel Guy Johnson, who became superintendent of Indian affairs. The John-

sons had the added support of Molly Brant, a Mohawk, who had been Sir William Johnson's housekeeper, and who with her brother, Joseph Brant, had great influence with their tribe. Joseph Brant had been in the service of the elder Johnson and upon his death became secretary to Guy Johnson. Thus a great, though diminished, Tory influence still emanated from Johnson Hall. Its proprietor was in close official and political relations with Col. John Butler, a wealthy and influential resident of the county, and his son Walter, whose names are infamous on account of their brutal and bloody deeds during the Revolution. The Johnson family, together with other gentlemen of Tory inclinations, owned large estates in the neighborhood and so far controlled a belt of the Mohawk Valley as to largely prevent the circulation of intelligence unfavorable to England.

Unlike Sir William Johnson, his successors at Johnson Hall were very unpopular with the farming population, which was composed in the main of the Dutch and Palatines.

The first election in the county occurred pursuant to writs issued November 25, 1772. Colonel Guy Johnson and Colonel Hendrick Frey were chosen to represent the county in the state assembly, where they took their seats January 11, 1773.

The men of the Johnson party and others aforementioned will be found deeply concerned in later Revolutionary movements and actions in Tryon County.

* * * * *

William Tryon was a native of Ireland and an officer in the British service. He married Miss Wake, a relative of the Earl of Hillsborough, secretary for the colonies. Thus connected, he was a favorite of government, and was appointed lieutenant-governor of North Carolina in 1765, later becoming governor. In 1771 he was called to fill the same office in New York. The history of his administration in North Carolina is a record of extortion, folly and crime. During his administration in New York the Revolution broke out and he was the last royal governor of the state, though nominally succeeded in office by General Robertson, when he returned to England. His property in North Carolina and New York was confiscated.

CHAPTER 54.

1772. TRYON COUNTY RELIGIOUS ALLEGIANCE DOCUMENT.

A PECULIAR, PREVIOUSLY UNPUBLISHED PAPER, SWEARING ALLEGIANCE TO GEORGE THIRD, ON THE GROUNDS OF PROTESTANTISM, AS AGAINST STUART PRETENSIONS—A SEEMING TRICK TO STEM THE RISING WHIG TIDE ALONG THE MOHAWK—SIGNED BY LEADING WHIGS AND TORIES OF TRYON COUNTY—BRIEF SKETCHES OF THE SIGNERS—A FINAL FEATURE OF COLONIAL DAYS, IN THE MOHAWK VALLEY, AND AN EVIDENCE OF THE TEMPORARY GENERAL GOOD FEELING CREATED BY SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON IN THE ERECTION OF TRYON COUNTY.

The following curious document hangs on the walls of the Fort Rensselaer Club in the old Van Alstyne House in Canajoharie. It is not known from what source it came. This parchment is one of the most important Colonial papers relating to the Mohawk Valley. It has never been previously published to the author's knowledge. The document takes on unusual interest and historical value because it bears the signatures of the greater part of the leading Whig and Tory leaders of the Mohawk Valley in the troubled times just antedating the beginning of the Revolution. An illustration, of that part of the document bearing the signatures, accompanies this chapter.

To the student of history, this Tryon County paper looks like a trick to get the Valley patriot leaders to swear allegiance to King George on account of his religion—an oath to support a Protestant monarch, which later might be construed into a blanket oath of allegiance and endorsement of all the acts of the English sovereign and the English government. Perhaps the mask and the trick were recognized by the Whig signers. If so they probably regarded their signing as a mere formality done to please Sir William Johnson. They may have considered the document to be in no way binding on their political acts.

The year 1772 seems to have been one of comparatively good feeling in the Tryon County region of the Mohawk Valley. Early in that year, Sir William Johnson had secured the setting up of Tryon County with Johnstown as its county seat. Johnstown was very centrally located for the inhabitants of Tryon County and the fact, alone, that the County people could now make an easy and comparatively short journey to the new county

seat, in itself, was enough to add to Sir William's popularity. Doubtless, the Whigs felt like pleasing their old friend and so signed this paper.

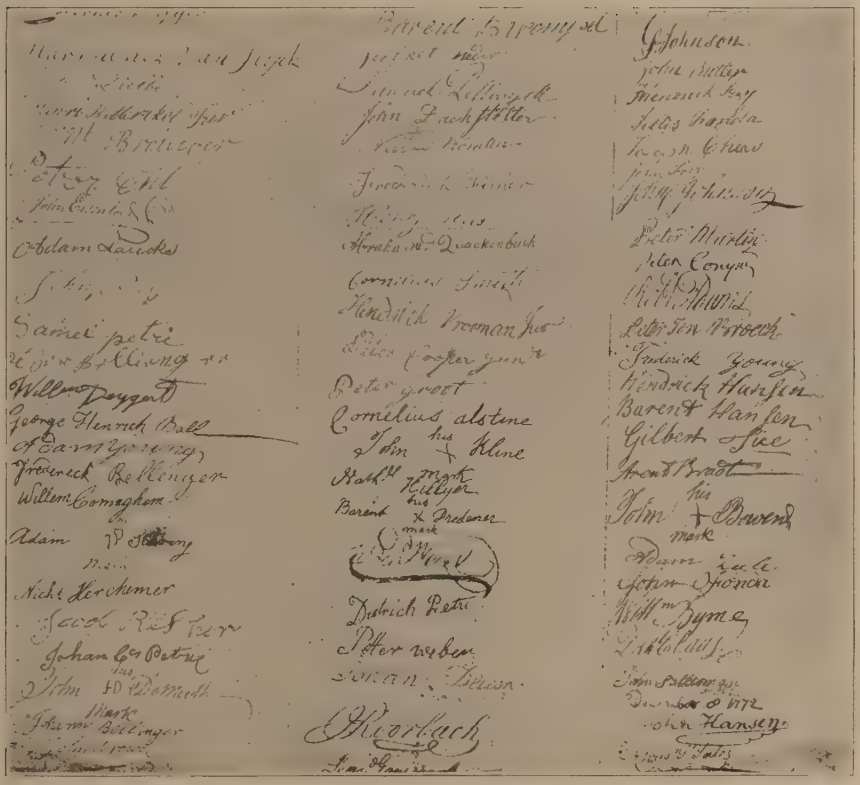
1772 had been a noteworthy year for the Mohawk Valley. Governor Tryon, with a brilliant party of Provincial aristocrats, had visited Sir William at Johnson Hall, where the Governor's council had also met. Three impressive reviews of the complete military forces of the new County of Tryon had been held at Johnstown, German Flats (Fort Herkimer) and Burnetsfield (present Herkimer). Social events probably had made the Hall a brilliant and lively center for the Tory aristocracy and the Valley Whig leaders. It is not surprising that all parties and their leaders united, in a feeling of good will, and signed this curious piece of jumbled verbosity. The document, in verbatim form, and its signatures, follow:

* * * * *

I. A. B. do sincerely promise and swear that I will be faithfull and bear true Allegiance to his Majesty King George the third so help me God. I. A. B. do swear that I do from my Heart abhor, detest, and abjure as impious and Heretical that damnable Doctrine and Position, that Princes excommunicated or deprived by the Power or any other authority of the See of Rome may be deposed or murthered by their Subjects or any other whatsoever, and I do declare that no foreign Prince, Person, Prelate, State or potentate hath or ought to have any Jurisdiction, Power, Superiority, Preeminence or Authority, Ecclesiastical or Spiritual within this Realm so help me God. I. A. B. do truly and Sincerely acknowledge, profess, Testify and Declare in my Conscience before God and the World that our Sovereign Lord King George is Lawful & rightful King of this Realm and all other his Majesty's Dominions & Countries thereunto belonging, and I do solemnly and sincerely declare that I do believe in my conscience that not any of the Decendants of the person who pretended to be the Prince of Wales during the lifetime of the late King James the Second and since his decease pretended to be and took upon himself the Stile & Title of King James the third of England or of Scotland by the name of James the Eight or the Stile and title of King of Great Britain hath any Right or Title whatsoever to the Crown of this Realm or any other the Dominions thereunto belonging and I do renounce, refuse & abjure any Allegiance or Obediance to any of them and I do swear that I will bear faith and true allegiance to his Majesty King George and him will defend to the utmost of my Power

against all Traterous Conspiracies and Attempts whatsoever which shall be made against his Person, Crown or Dignity & Title do my utmost endeavor to disclose and make known to his Majesty and his Successors all Treasons & Traiterous Conspiracies which I shall know to be against him or any of them and I do faithfully promise to the utmost of my power to Support, maintain and defend the Succession of the Crown against the Decendants of the said James & against all other Persons whatsoever which succession by an Act entitled (an Act for the further limitation of the Crown and better securing the Rights & Liberties of the subjects) is and stand limited to the Princess Sophia Electoress and Dutchess, Dowager of Hanover and the Heirs of her body being Protestants and all these things I do plainly & Sincerely acknowledge & Swear according to the express words by me Spoken & according to the plain common Sense & understanding of the same Words without any Equivocation Evasion or secret Reservation whatsoever and I do make this Recognition Acknowledgement Abjuration, Remuneration & Promise heartily, willingly and Truly upon the true faith of a Christian so help me God. I. A. B. do solemnly & sincerely in the presence of God profess, testify & Declare that I do believe that in The Sacrament of the Lords supper there is not any Transubstantiation of the Elements of Bread & Wine into the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ or after the Consecration thereof by any Persons whatsover, & that the invocation or adoration of the Virgin Mary or any other Saint & the Sacrifices of the Mass as they are now used in the Church of Rome, are supersticious and Idolatrous & I do solemnly in the Presence of God Profess, Testify & Declare that I do make this Declaration and every part thereof in the plain & ordinary sense of the Words rid unto me as they are commonly understood by English Protestants without any Evasion Equivocation or mental Reservation whatsoever & without any dispensation already granted me for this purpose by the Pope or any other authority or Person whatsoever or without thinking that I can be acquitted before God or Man or absolved of this Declaration or any part thereof altho the Pope or any other person or persons or power whatsoever should dispence with or annul the same or declare that it was Null & Void from the beginning.

"Werner Deygert, Harmanes Van Slyck, John Dielbe, Henri B. Merckel Jur., Arent Brouwer, Peter Ehl, John Eisenlord, Adam Loucks, John Petry, Samel Petri, Peter Bellinger, Willm. Deygert, George Henrich Ball, Adam Young, Frederick Bellen-



List of names of leading Tryon County men signed to a document of 1773 supporting George the Third as the Protestant King of England, against the Stuart Pretenders. One of the most remarkable Colonial documents of the Mohawk Valley. Now in the collections of the Fort Rensselaer Club, Canajoharie.

ger, Willem Connighem, Adam Staring, Nichs. Herchimer, Jacob Reshor, Johan C. Petry, John Demuth, Johann Bellinger, John Brown, Barent B. Wempel, Volket Veder, Samuel Pettingell, John Dackstetter, Nelles Vroman, Frederick Fisher, Henry Hees, Abraham D. Quackenbush, Cornelius Smith, Hendrick Vrooman Jun., Peter Cooper Junr., Peter Groot, Cornelius Alstine, John Kline, Nathell. Hillyer, Barent Dredener, Edw. Wall, Dietrich Petri, Petter Weber, Johan Dliem (?), J. Roorbach, Leond. Gansvoort, Guy Johnson, John Butler, Hendrick Frey, Jelles Fonda, Joseph Chew, John Frey, John Johnson, Peter Martin, Peter Conyne, Robt. Adams, Peter Ten Broeck, Frederick Young, Hendrick Hansen, Barent Hansen, Gilbert Tice, Arent Bradt, John Bowen, Adam Zeele, John Fonda, Willm. Byme, Danl. Claus, John Salltsman, John Hansen, Chrisr. P. Yates.

"December 8, 1772."

* * * * *

The foregoing names constitute a virtual cast of characters of the Revolutionary drama of Tryon County. The leading Whig, or Patriot and Tory, or Loyalist actors are all represented in the signatures to this very unusual document. Sir William Johnson's name does not appear, which is a fateful circumstance suggestive of the fact that the great figure of Colonial times, on the stage of the Mohawk Valley, would not survive to appear in its greatest drama of life, politics, warfare and national destiny. The Tories are represented by Sir John Johnson, son of Sir William; Colonel Guy Johnson and Colonel Daniel Claus, his sons-in-law; Colonel John Butler, father of the demoniacal Captain Walter Butler of bloody Revolutionary Valley raids; Colonel Hendrick Frey, who, while a Loyalist, bore no active part in the Revolution; Gilbert Tice, the first innkeeper of Johnstown, and, perhaps, one or two others.

The great majority of the men of old Tryon County, here represented, were Whigs or Patriots, as they termed themselves, or "rebels", as they were called by their Tory neighbors.

Werner Deygert was a brother-in-law of General Nicholas Herkimer and a member of the Canajoharie District Committee of the Tryon County Committee of Safety. He was slain in Brant's Fort Plain raid of 1780. He lived at Fall Hill.

Major Harmanes Van Slyck was a son of Captain Harmanus Van Slyck of Schenectady, who settled in Palatine township close to the Mohawk River, where he built a house and mill, following the granting of the Van Slyck patent of 1716. Major Van Slyck

was a great-grandson of Cornelis Antonsen Van Slyck, the famous Dutch trader among the Mohawks, and Indian interpreter, who married Otstoch, the Mohawk Indian "Queen of Hog Island," (in the river opposite Schenectady). Harmanes Van Slyck was a member of the Palatine District Committee of the Tryon County Committee of Safety and major in the Palatine Regiment of the Tryon County Militia. He was killed at the battle of Oriskany.

Peter Ehle was a son of Rev. John Jacob Ehle who was a pastor of the Stone Arabia Reformed Church and other Mohawk Valley churches as early as 1725. In 1727, Dominie Ehle built the Ehle stone house in present Nelliston. His son, Peter Ehle, built the larger addition in 1752.

John Eisenlord was the secretary of the Tryon County Committee of Safety, a major in the Palatine District Regiment and a man of education and ability. He was one of the many patriot leaders who were slain at the battle of Oriskany.

Adam Loucks kept the tavern in Stone Arabia where the first meeting of the Palatine District Committee of Safety was held on August 27th, 1777. He was elected a justice of Tryon County in 1773.

Peter Bellinger was later Colonel of the German Flats Regiment of Tryon County Militia, and a leader among the patriots of that section of the Mohawk Valley. He married Delia Herkimer, sister of General Herkimer, and fought with his regiment at Oriskany.

George Henrich Ball was a brother-in-law of General Nicholas Herkimer and a Captain in the Canajoharie Regiment of Tryon County Militia. His name is also spelled Bell. He was severely wounded at Oriskany. Capt. Ball was appointed a justice of the peace of Tryon County in 1778.

John Petrie was a son of Johan Joost Petrie, the original patentee of German Flats. John Petrie was a member of the German Flats Committee. He is listed on the Oriskany roster as having been killed at the battle of Oriskany, which could not have been so, as he was appointed a delegate to the State Convention from Tryon County in 1779. There is a John Petrie listed in the enlisted men of the 4th (German Flats and Kingsland) Regiment of the Tryon County militia. There are a number of instances of several soldiers bearing the same name in our Valley militia. It is not always possible to distinguish between them.

Frederick Bellinger, a brother of Peter Bellinger, was Lieu-

tenant Colonel of the 4th (German Flats) Tryon County Militia Regiment. He was captured at Oriskany and taken to Canada.

There was a William Cunningham who was a private in Col. Klock's 2nd (Palatine) Tryon County Regiment. He was apparently an ardent and active patriot during the Revolution.

Nicholas Herkimer was the leading Revolutionary patriot of Tryon County and member of the Tryon County Committee of Safety from the Canajoharie district and Brigadier-General of the Tryon County Militia. He was mortally wounded at the battle of Oriskany.

John Adam Staring was a pioneer of the German Flats district. Whether he was the Adam Staring who signed this paper is not known. An Adam Staring was a private in Col. Bellinger's Fourth (German Flats) Tryon County Regiment.

John Demuth was an enlisted man in the Fourth (German Flats) Tryon County Regiment.

Johannes Bellinger was an original patentee of the Burnetfield Patent and a pioneer settler of the German Flats section. He may have been the Johann Bellinger here listed.

John Brown was probably the famous Col. John Brown of the Revolution, who was slain while leading his men at the battle of Stone Arabia, Oct. 19, 1780. Although a native of Massachusetts, he started the practice of law at Caughnawaga (present Fonda) after his graduation from Yale in 1771. He was doubtless located there and acting as a King's attorney in 1772, when this paper was signed.

Abraham D. Quackenbush was probably a citizen of present Glen township, then in the old Mohawk district of Tryon County. An "Abrahand Quacenbosh" was a lieutenant in the 3rd (Mohawk District) Tryon County Regiment, who probably was the above signer.

Cornelius Smith's name appears among the enlisted men of the Tryon County Militia associated exempts, consisting of disabled men or men too old for regular military duty—that is over sixty years of age.

A Henry H. Vrooman was a lieutenant in the Third (Mohawk District) Tryon County Militia Regiment. A Hendrick Vrooman, of present Mohawk township, is on the Oriskany Roster.

Barent B. Wemple was a prominent resident of Caughnawaga where he conducted a mill and tavern. He died before the Revolution, after which his widow, Peggy (Fonda) Wemple, continued his business affairs. She was a strongly patriotic woman.

Volkert Veder was a prominent patriot and Revolutionary officer who lived at the western end of Caughnawaga (Fonda), where he conducted a mill. He was Lieutenant-Colonel of the Fifth Albany County Militia and later of Col. Fisher's Third (Mohawk District) Tryon County Militia, when he fought at Oriskany.

Samuel Pettingell was later a prominent Revolutionary patriot and farmer of the present town of Florida, Montgomery County. He was a captain in Col. Frederick Fisher's Third (Mohawk District) Tryon County Militia Regiment and fought at Oriskany.

There was a John Dachsteter enlisted in Col. Bellinger's Fourth (German Flats) Tryon County Militia Regiment. He fought at Oriskany.

Frederick Fisher was a prominent Revolutionary officer and patriot. He was a member of the Mohawk District Committee of Safety and Colonel of the Third (Mohawk District) Tryon County Militia Regiment. He was wounded at Oriskany. Later he was scalped and badly wounded at his house west of Tribes Hill, in Johnson's raid of May 22, 1780. The name Fisher was derived from the original Holland Dutch name Visscher and Col. Fisher's name is frequently spelled Col. Frederick Visscher.

A Hendrick Hees claimed land bounty rights as a member of Col. Klock's Second (Palatine) Regiment of Tryon County Militia. The Hees family was a Holland Dutch family of Stone Arabia.

A Lieutenant Petrus Groot of Amsterdam township fought with the 3rd (Mohawk District) Tryon County Regiment at Oriskany.

Cornelius Van Alstine appears as an enlisted man in the First (Canajoharie District) Tryon County Militia Regiment. He lived at present Canajoharie village. This is one of the few instances of the use of this Holland Dutch name without its "Van."

John Kline was probably a member of the Holland Dutch family by that name then resident in the Mohawk District, probably in the present Amsterdam section.

Edward Wall was Sir William Johnson's schoolmaster, as his pretentious signature flourishes would indicate.

Diterich Petry is down as an enlisted man on the muster roll of the Fourth or German Flats District Regiment of the Tryon County Militia. Peter Weber was a lieutenant in the same regiment.

Leonard Gansvoort was a lawyer and a member of the

Albany Holland Dutch Gansevoort family. He may have been resident in Johnstown in 1772.

Guy Johnson was the nephew of Sir William Johnson, who married the latter's daughter, Mary or Molly. He was Provincial Indian commissioner, following Sir William's death in 1774. He is one of the few prominent Tories of Tryon County here listed. Guy Johnson was one of the first three judges of Tryon County, being elected in 1773.

John Butler was the well known Tory Col. John Butler of the Revolutionary War. He was commander at the Wyoming massacre and was the father of the ntorious Tory Revolutionary murderer Captain Walter Butler. John Butler, Guy Johnson and Peter Conyne were the first judges of Tryon County, elected in 1773.

Hendrick Frey was a colonel of militia and had served with honor in the French and Indian War. While a Tory or Royalist, he took no active part in the war but remained unmolested at his home at present Canajoharie throughout the hostilities.

Jelles Fonda was an Indian officer under Sir William Johnson in the French and Indian war. He was a leading Valley merchant with stores and factories at present Fonda and at Schenck's Hollow (Montgomery County farm). He was a major of militia but seems to have become incapacitated by reason of a wounded or ailing leg. It was probably then that he became captain of a company of associated exempts, a home guard organization. Fonda was one of the four assistant judges of Tryon County, elected in 1773.

Joseph Chew was one of the six justices of Tryon County, elected in 1773.

John Frey was a prominent Tryon County patriot, member of the Committee of Safety, brigade major in the Tryon County Militia, and later the first elected sheriff of Tryon County. He lived in Fort Frey, at present Palatine Bridge, and was a brother of Col. Hendrick Frey. He was elected one of the six justices of the peace of Tryon County in 1773.

John Johnson was Sir John Johnson, son of Sir William Johnson, whose career is covered in various chapters of this work. He was one of the four assistant judges of Tryon County, elected in 1773.

Peter Martin was the pioneer of the section called New Town Martin in present Otsego County.

Peter Conyne was one of the judges of Tryon County, elected in 1773.

Robert Adams was one of Johnstown's first merchants, who later removed to Cherry Valley where he was slain in the massacre of 1778.

There were twenty-three Ten Broecks listed in the American Revolutionary army service. There is a Peter Ten Broeck listed in the Eighth Albany County Militia Regiment. Peter Ten Broeck was one of the six justices of Tryon County elected in 1773. He was later a major in the American service.

Frederick Young was a prominent resident of the Ames section of the town of Canajoharie, prior to the Revolution, and a road commissioner of the Canajoharie district in 1773 when the Canajoharie—Sharon Springs—Cherry Valley road was built. Young was elected one of the six justices of Tryon County in 1773.

Hendrich Hansen was of the town of Mohawk Holland Dutch family of that name. He was a captain of militia in 1760. Barent Hansen is listed among the Tryon County Revolutionary Associated exempts, (home guard). John Hansen was probably of the same family.

Gilbert Tice was the first tavern keeper of Johnstown and a strong Tory.

Arent Bradt was of the numerous Holland Dutch family of that name resident in and around Schenectady. Arent A. Bradt and Arent S. Bradt were both enrolled as enlisted men in the Second Albany County Militia Regiment (from Schenectady Township). As the signers of this document were evidently prominent citizens of Tryon County at the time, Arent Bradt was probably then resident somewhere within the county.

Adam Zeele (Zielley) was a member of the Stone Arabia family, of Holland Dutch descent, of that name.

Daniel Claus was a Tory Colonel and a son-in-law of Sir William Johnson, having married Anna or Nancy Johnson. He was an active Tory. Claus was one of the four assistant judges of Tryon County elected in 1773.

John Saltsman was probably of the Stone Arabia section, where the Saltsman family has since been numerous. There was a John Saltsman enlisted in the First Line Regiment which was formed in the Albany neighborhood. John Saltsman fought at Oriskany.

Christopher P. Yates was one of the most prominent patriots of Tryon County—a man of education and much force of character. He was major in the First New York Line in 1776, a delegate to the first and third provincial congresses. In 1777, he be-

came clerk of Tryon County, continuing in the office until 1800. He married Maria, sister of Col. Hendrick Frey and Major John Frey.

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And so the curtain came down on Colonial days in the Mohawk Valley. Sir William Johnson's death, on July 11, 1774, closed the drama of savagery and civilization of the white man's early days along the Mohawk.

The first act of the bloody and violent tragedy of the Revolution opened with the meeting of the Palatine Committee of Safety at Stone Arabia, on August 27, 1774, but six weeks after the death of Sir William, the Mohawk Valley's greatest Colonial figure.

CHAPTER 55.

COLONIAL LIFE IN THE MOHAWK VALLEY.

1772—MOHAWK VALLEY PEOPLE AND CUSTOMS—FARMING, SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS LIFE—SPORTS AND PASTIMES OF THE DAYS BEFORE THE REVOLUTION—A SCHENECTADY DUTCH COLONIAL DAME'S TEA PARTY.

There is a large element of population in the valley today which is descended from what we call the "Mohawk Dutch," for want of a better name. It has strong virtues and like all other strains of humanity certain deficiencies. Both were noted by early writers. However it is difficult to imagine a population better suited to stand the brunt of early hardships and struggles than these same so-called "Mohawk Dutch". They made ideal frontiersmen, as a rule good soldiers, and founders of American institutions and liberty in government, strong in their political and religious ideals. If they are, at that early date, criticised in their farming methods or for the number of the "tippling houses" they supported, the hardships of turning a great forest country into a civilized farming section must be borne in mind. They produced public leaders of integrity with high, unselfish ideals and the quality of their minds, as shown in their acts and writings, proved them men in every sense of the word. Necessarily of bodily strength and vigor, the average of their masculinity and equipment for true men's work was of a standard to be envied by the male population of today. They showed some inclination toward learning which writers say, at the Revolution, had resulted in the establishment of schools in many of their valley settlements.

The name "Mohawk Dutch" was at first applied to the settlers of Holland Dutch blood, who peopled Schenectady and the lower Mohawk Valley. Its later use covered both the Holland Dutch and Palatine German pioneers of the Valley. Both elements along the Schoharie were similarly called Schoharie Dutch.

Both Palatines and Dutch had suffered untold hardships for their religion. In defense of their Reformed faith in their European homes they had been murdered, robbed and persecuted to the utmost limit. The presence of the Palatines in their Mohawk Valley homes was largely due to these facts. Under such circum-

stances they took their religion seriously. Mostly of the Calvinistic belief, they established Reformed churches and some of the Lutheran faith in the Valley shortly after their settlement. The dominies of that day were frequently men of strong character and fit leaders of the spiritual and intellectual life of their parishioners. The labors of those of the Reformed faith have resulted in making the Mohawk Valley one of the strongest districts of that church.

That early farming methods in the Mohawk Valley were open to criticism is shown by the following letter to the English Society for the Promotion of the Arts by Sir William Johnson, dated Johnson Hall, February 27, 1765. The letter in part follows:

"The state of Agriculture in this country is very low, and in short likely to remain so to the great Detriment of the Province, which might otherwise draw many resources from so extensive and valuable a Country, but the turn of the old settlers here is not much calculated for improvement, content with the meer necessaries of Life, they dont chuse to purchase its superfluities at the expence of Labour, neither will they hazard the smallest matter for the most reasonable prospect of gain, and this principle will probably subsist as long as that of their equality, which is at present at such a pitch that the conduct of one neighbor can but little influence that of another.

"Wheat which in my opinion must shortly prove a drug, is in fact what they principally concern themselves about and they are not easily to be convinced that the Culture of other articles will tend more to their advantage. If a few of the Machines made use of for the breaking of hemp was distributed amongst those who have Land proper for the purpose it might give rise to the culture of it—or if one only properly constructed was sent as a model, it might Stir up a spirit of Industry amongst them, but Seed is greatly wanted, & Cannot be procured in these parts, and the Germains (who are most Industrious people here) are in general in too low circumstances to concern themselves in anything attended with the smallest Expence, their Plantations being as yet in their infancy, & with regard to the old Settlers amongst the Germans who live farther to the Westward, they have generally adopted the Sentiments of the rest of the inhabitants. The country Likewise labours under the disadvantage of narrow, and (in many places) bad roads, which would be still worse did I not take care that the inhabitants laboured to repair them according to law. The ill Condition of Public roads is a Great obstruction to husbandry; the high wages of labouring men, and the great

number of tepling houses are likewise articles which very much want Regulation. These disagreeable circumstances must for some time retard the Progress of husbandry. I could heartily wish I had more leisure to attend to these necessary articles of improvements to promote which my Influence and Example should not be wanting. I have formerly had pease very well split at my mills, and I shall set the same forward amongst the people as far as I can. I have Likewise sent for Collections of many Seeds, and useful grasses which I shall Encourage them to raise, and from the great wants of stock, even for home use, & Consumption, I am doing all I can to turn the inhabitants to raising these necessary articles, for the purchase of which, a good deal of Cash has hither to been annually carried into the N. England Collonies.

"Before I set the Examples, no farmer on the Mohock River ever raised so much as a single Load of Hay, at present some raise above one Hundred, the like was the case in regard to sheep, to which they were intire strangers until I introduced them, & I have the Satisfaction to see them at present possess many other articles, the result of my former Labors for promoting their welfare and interests. My own tenants amounting to about 100 Families are not as yet in circumstances to do much."

Pioneer life was as hard as human life could well be. It required the strongest types of manhood, womanhood and even childhood to clear and cultivate this great wooded wilderness. First went up the log house cabins and barns to be followed later by those of stone and sawn lumber. After the sturdy woodman felled the trees they were burned of their limbs and leaves and the ground was left strewn with their blackened trunks. To pile these together, when dry enough, so that another firing would consume them was the dirty job of "logging up." It was largely done by "bees," to which the frontiersmen rallied in numbers adequate to the heavy work to be done. Severe as that was, an afternoon at it left the young men with vim enough for a wrestling match, after they had rested long enough to devour the generous supper with which the housewife feasted them.

The grain grown on the fields thus laboriously cleared was threshed with the flail or by driving horses over it and winnowed by dropping it through a natural draft of air instead of the artificial draft of the fanning mill. When ready for market it was mostly drawn to Albany, some three days being required for the journey. Rude lumber wagons or ox carts, or wood shod sleighs were the common vehicles for all occasions. Much of the grain also went down the river by batteaux to Schenectady from where

it was carted to Albany. It was sent from there to New York as grain or it was ground into flour at Albany and from there shipped to New York or the West Indies.

At the beginning of the Revolution, the watershed of the Mohawk was the great wheat granary of the country, a position it continued to hold until its farmlands and farm buildings were generally destroyed by continuous enemy raids directed for that purpose.

A variety of work then went on indoors as well as out, which long ago ceased generally to be done in private houses. Every good mother taught her daughters a broad range of domestic duties, from washing dishes and log cabin floors to weaving and making up fine linen. The home was the factory as well and in it took place the making from flax and wool of the fabrics which the household needed. The houses resounded with the hum of the spinning wheel and loom and other machinery which the housewives used to make the family garments. The entire family were proud to appear in this goodly homespun even at church. Itinerant shoemakers made tours of the farmhouses, working at each place as long as the family footgear demanded, this being known as "whipping the cat." Common brogans were worn for the most part by the settlers. Many of the vegetables cultivated by their Mohawk Indian predecessors were adopted by their German and Dutch successors. Without tea or coffee, they made a drink of dried peas and sweetened it with maple sugar, the procuring of which they learned from the red man.

In regard to Christmas time in the valley the missionary Kirkland wrote as follows in his diary in 1789:

"The manner in wch. ye ppl. in yse parts keep Xmas day in commemor'g of the Birth of ye Saviour, as ya pretend is very affect'g and strik'g. They generally assemble for read'g prayers, or Divine service—but after, they eat, drink and make merry. They allow of no work or servile labour on ye day and ye following—their servants are free—but drinking, swearing, fighting and frolic'g are not only allowed, but seem to be essential to ye joy of ye day."

Schools were located in many of the Tryon County settlements at the beginning of the Revolution. The first pedagogue in Dutchtown, near present Fort Plain, was John Pickard. As showing the early settlers' superstitions regarding sanitation and medical practise it may here be related that after Fort Willett was built he kept school in a hut within the palisade. Toward the close of the war he sickened and died of some disease prevalent in the fort

at that time. A lad named Owen, living in the Henry Sanders family, caught a live skunk, which was set at liberty in the fort and "the disease was stayed." After the war, a Hessian named Glazier, who came into the state under Burgoyne, kept the Dutchtown school, instructing in both German and English. Such instruction was probably mostly confined to the three Rs. School punishments were extremely severe and whipping a scholar's hands with a ruler until they bled was no unusual means of correction. One Palatine boy is said to have been so whipped in school on eighteen different occasions.

To show the wilderness state of the country, it is said that wolves were so common in Dutchtown in the town of Minden that sheep had to be folded nights as late as 1773. All the wild animals of the present Adirondack wilderness were numerous about the Mohawk settlements in their earliest days.

That a Tryon County woman could handle a gun is shown by an anecdote of the wife of the brave Captain Gardiner, of Oriskany fame, who lived near Fultonville: "His wife, like many of her sex on the frontier, in an emergency, could use firearms. On some occasion, when her husband was away from home in the service of his country, she saw from her house a flock of pigeons alighting upon the fence and grounds not far off. She resolved to give them a salute and, hastily loaded an old musket, forgetting to draw out the ramrod. She left the house cautiously, gained a position within close gunshot, aimed at the pigeons on the fence, and blazed away. To her own surprise, and that of several of her family, who, from the window saw her fire, seven of the birds sitting upon a rail, were spitted on the ramrod in which condition they were taken to the house."

As befitted frontiersmen, their sports were rough and violent. They included rifle contests, wrestling, foot racing and horse racing. Horse races, on roads and on the river ice, were greatly in vogue in the latter half of the eighteenth century, excepting the war period. The Low Dutch of the eastern end of the Valley were famed for horse racing and even for running their horses from the foot of every hill two-thirds of the way up. Often between Schenectady and Albany were several farm wagons or sleighs trying titles for leadership at the hazard of a serious collision.

There were favorite race-roads in the Valley, near Rotterdam, at Fort Hunter, at Conyne's tavern on the north river side a few miles farther up. At Sand Flats, at Caughnawaga or Fonda was one of the most frequented. In the Canajoharie-Palatine districts there were race-courses at Seebers Lane, on the flats

at Canajoharie and at George Wagner's flats in Palatine. Every fall at Herkimer, horse racing was held on the flats at that place and it is not improbable that annual meetings such as these were the nuclei of the later county fairs. Such events were also common in the Schoharie Valley. There was much drinking and gambling at all these races and the crowds assembled like those seen at county fairs.

All these race-courses, before the Revolution, were straightaway and generally consisted of a good stretch of highway. Horse racing in sleighs, on the ice of the Mohawk River, was a favorite winter sport. It continued up to about 1880.

There is every evidence that the men of those days had mighty athletes among them who were developed by the hard life of the day, instead of by modern training methods. Besides the foregoing sports and the usual crude field sports such as jumping, hurling the stone, etc., fighting bouts for purses were not uncommon.

A few years before the death of Sir William Johnson, he had in his employ a fellow countryman named McCarthy, who was reputed the best pugilist in the Mohawk Valley. The baronet offered to pit him against anyone. Major Jelles Fonda, tired of hearing this challenge, unearthed a mighty Dutchman named John Van Loan, in the Schoharie Valley and made a journey of some fifty miles to secure him. Van Loan agreed to enter the ring for a ten-pound note. A big crowd assembled at Caughnawaga to see the contest. There was much betting, particularly on McCarthy. Van Loan appeared in a shirt and tight-fitting breeches of dressed deer-skin. McCarthy tried hard but the Schoharie fighter was too strong and agile and eventually soundly whipped Sir William's pet, who had to be carried from the ring. This was probably one of many pugilistic and wrestling contests witnessed by crowds of settlers. Brutal they were but they were the physical expression of sport among men of iron and should not be judged by the tender standards of a delicate and soft age.

It will, of course, be understood that fishing, trapping and hunting, formed a large part of the vocations of the earliest settlers, who also availed themselves largely of the skins of game for clothing and other purposes, deerskin or buckskin forming a large part of this attire, particularly for sport or work in the woods.

Autumn husking bees and country dances were recreations of the riverside folk and it is easy to see that here was no Puritan community but one which enjoyed the good things of life, after periods of strenuous toil. Barns and dwellings were raised by

"bees" in which the neighborhood participated. Sports, dancing and solid and liquid refreshments followed in profusion. The final feast seemed an indispensable part of all social and most religious observances.

As the Dutch were such a considerable portion of the valley population, particularly in the eastern end and were scattered largely through the remainder some idea of their characteristics may be gained from Mrs. Grant's word pictures of life in Albany in the middle of the eighteenth century, included in her "Memoirs of an American Lady." These things would apply to the Low Dutch of the town of Schenectady or, with a rural setting, to those in other parts of the valley and we must remember that the Dutch influence and customs were very strong in every part of the state in those days, including Tryon County.

Mrs. Grant says that the houses were very neat within and without and were of stone or brick. The streets were broad and lined with shade trees. Each house had its garden and before each door a tree was planted and shaded the stoops or porches, which were furnished with spacious seats on which domestic groups were seated on summer evenings. Each family had a cow, fed in a common pasture at the end of the town. At evening the herd returned altogether of their own accord, with their tinkling bells hung at their necks, along the wide and grassy street, to their wonted sheltering trees, to be milked at their masters' doors. On pleasant evenings the stoops were filled with groups of old and young of both sexes discussing grave questions or gayly chatting and singing together. The mischievous gossip was unknown for intercourse was so free and friendship so real that there was no place for such a creature, and politicians seldom disturbed these social gatherings. A peculiar social custom arranged the young people in congenial companies, composed of equal numbers, of both sexes, quite small children being admitted, and the association continued until maturity. The result was a perfect knowledge of each other and happy and suitable marriages resulted. The summer amusements of the young were simple, the principal one being picnics, often held upon the pretty islands near Albany or in "the bush." These were days of pure enjoyment, for everybody was unrestrained by conventionalities. In winter the frozen Hudson would be alive with merry skaters of both sexes. Small evening parties were frequent and were generally the sequel of quilting parties. The young men sometimes enjoyed convivial parties at taverns but habitual drunkenness was extremely rare.

Slavery was common in the Mohawk Valley and some planta-

tions had a score or more slaves. The price of labor was so enormously high, because of the sparse population, that the importation of negroes had become a prime industrial necessity and they were then very numerous in the province of New York. Mrs. Grant speaks of slavery in Albany and her remarks are pertinent to the valley as well. She says:

"African slavery was seen at Albany and vicinity in its mildest form. It was softened by gentleness and mutual attachments. It appeared patriarchial and a real blessing to the negroes. Master and slave stood in the relation of friends. Immoralities were rare. There was no hatred engendered by neglect, cruelty and injustice; and such excitements as the 'Negro Plots' of 1712 and 1741 in New York City were impossible. Industry and frugality ranked among the cardinal virtues of the people."

These seem to have been negro slave conditions in this section up to 1827, when slavery was finally abolished in New York. The slaves were allowed much liberty and had their full share of celebrations and jollifications such as Christmas and New Year. Many were freed by their owners, for good service or other reasons and in all the local records we find few incidents of cruelty or abuse on the part of the white man to the black.

The people generally were religious. The principal church organizations were the Dutch Reformed, the Lutheran, English Episcopal and the Presbyterian. This was due to the racial elements of the state's settlers which were Dutch, German, English, Scotch, Irish and Huguenot French, and these elements penetrated to some extent into practically all the counties of the province, including Tryon. There was much freedom of thought and action among the people that fostered a spirit of independence. They were not bound hand and foot by rigid religious and political creeds, as were the people of New England, but were thoroughly imbued with the toleration inherited from the first Dutch settlers, and theological disputes were seldom indulged in.

Here and there were men of acute intelligence and fine minds who possessed initiative and the power of expressing themselves simply, clearly and forcefully. These were the leaders who were to be in the van in the impending struggle.

All the foregoing pictures to us the Mohawk Valley people, their lands, customs, manners and play at the period just antedating the war for independence. This account is considered worthy of its length in portraying the men and women who were to be actors in and around this valley frontier in the coming bitter struggle which finally ended in American independence after

eight years of bloody warfare which left the Mohawk and Schoharie River sections trails of blackened ruins.

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One of the most delightful bits of writing ever produced in the Mohawk Valley is an ingenuous chronicle, entitled "A Narrative, embracing the History of two or three of the First Settlers and their Families, of Schenectady, interspersed with a few Anecdotal Eccentricities and Antiquities. Together with a Description of the Winter Evening Visits, Recreations and Supper, and of the Tea Parties of Olden Times. By Daniel Toll, M. D., Schenectady, February 25, 1847." Doctor Toll was a descendant of Karel Haensen Toll, one of the first Dutch settlers of Schenectady township. In his own natural, droll fashion, the Doctor of Old Dorp has produced a book which Irving himself would envy in parts. His description of that amusing Mohawk Dutchman, Karel Haensen Toll, and his pen pictures of the old Dutch life of the Schenectady neighborhood are both historical and delightful. The Doctor's description of a Schenectady Dutch Colonial dame's afternoon tea party, is as follows:

"Formerly the common appellation of woman was applied to those that were married, and that of girls and maids, or old maids, to those that were unmarried; they however, nevertheless made excellent wives and housekeepers, with a few exceptions as in all cases. Although they did not consider it necessary to spend their time in idleness, and to play up the lady, they were, however, not altogether destitute of recreation and amusement, but far otherwise; and one of those was in visiting a neighbor in parties, and which was in the following manner. The time and the place being agreed upon, they would leave home at one o'clock, but not at four or five o'clock as our ladies nowadays, and on leaving home the one would take her spinning-wheel, the other with her sowing-basket, and another with her knitting, the remainder with their etceteras; their dress generally, on those occasions, consisted of a pair of French high-heel shoes, blue stockings, with a gore of white on each side of the ankle, a callamanco petticoat, a chintz short gown, and, in high times, a black ribbon around the waist whose ends would generally be of some length and left floating in the air, a check apron and a high crowned cap with a few trimmings, a large side pocket, wrought with rich patchwork, hanging by their side, and containing various necessaries, but to the exclusion of a quizzing-glass. This constituted their going abroad dress. Now, having arrived at the dwelling of their host, they would, after the passing of the usual greetings and compliments

with their host, which follows on those occasions, they would set themselves in the room and arrange themselves in the most convenient order and commence their work, and for edification and instruction they would carry on a conversation on housekeeping, weaving and spinning, the making of linen and the art of good cooking, generally and most certainly how to do washing and cleaning house well.

"Now precisely at four o'clock, the tea-table was to be prepared and ready; but if the time could not be ascertained by a house-clock or sun-dial, three or four of the women would step out of doors and stare old Sol in the face and ascertain the precise time, at least as they supposed to their satisfaction, for the table to be prepared. This, by-the-by, was no ordinary undertaking, on account of its magnitude which was a large round table standing against the wall which had facilities of being let down and of being raised up; this was required to be brought to the middle of the room, which took almost as much labor as to move a cider-mill, and which would then be covered with a diaper table-cloth, as white as the driven snow; the teacups and saucers arranged in a circle around the outer edge of the table, and, by the side of each cup and saucer, was placed a large slice of bread, a knife, a lump of maple sugar, and, on high days, a lump of loaf sugar; in the center a large sugar-bowl, a plate of dried smoked beef, elegantly cut with a jack-plane, a tea-saucer, filled with powdered or grated pot-cheese (which, by-the-by, was equal to the best Parmesan cheese Italy produces), and not forgetting a large plate of butter, the remainder of etceteras was made up of krullas, ola kooks, and wauffles, which generally constituted the festive board. Things being all ready, the old matron would invite them to the table, saying:

" 'Come vrouwlay, sit yully baye.'

"Now, after eating and drinking with a full modicum of chit chat on the excellency of the things on the table, the teacups would become empty; they were then to be replenished but, mind, not with a salver and handed around as now-a-days, but a buxom girl, blessed with rosy cheeks and florid countenance, would get up and, with a tea-pot in each hand—the one filled with the infusion the other filled with hot water—to enable her to let them have it strong or weak according to their taste; thus equipped, she would pour the tea through the intervals or spaces left between the guests setting around the table; but should they be so hustled or crowded together so close as to make this impracticable, she would, under such circumstances, be obliged to pour

the tea over their heads and shoulders, and would, on some occasions, have the misfortune of spilling a little hot tea, or of ruffling or bruising one of their caps; then you would hear a vociferation:

"'Hara yate paussyea, up maine mutze yow voordoomda smutz.'

"This would cause a little fluttering around the table, but that difficulty, however, was soon forgot by quaffing and sipping their favorite beverage and partaking of the dainties the tea-table afforded. After finishing their tea, every one set down to her work until near sun-down and no longer, so as to enable her to reach home in good season to manage her own household affairs, as all good house-keepers feel disposed to do. We, however, would not wish to be understood that we had no ladies in former times; so far from it, that, in addition to women and girls, we had some venerable matrons who possessed all the attributes that would properly entitle them to the dignified appellation of ladies, who were richly endowed, possessing a dignified appearance, pleasing manners, a well cultivated mind, and able to trace their pedigree to an honorable ancestry, and, like unto Lucretia, the wife of Collatinus, a Roman nobleman, who would not spend her time in ease and luxury, but be spinning in the midst of her maids, cheerfully portioning out their task. And thus would our matrons instil and infuse the same industrious, frugal and dignified character of her own into their daughters which would likewise entitle them to the dignified appellation of ladies; and, if a likely, spruce looking young man should have the good fortune to obtain the hand of one of them, he would consider her a fortune in her person, independent of her feather-beds, silver mug and spoons, milch-cow and a good many other etceteras that would follow his matrimonial connection."

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Life in the Mohawk Valley in Colonial days was not all one of barbaric hardship. The elements of culture, intellectual life and fashionable society even then were present in our Valley, particularly about Schenectady, Johnson Hall and Fort Johnson. When the Seven Years War ended in 1760, Schenectady was then a century-old city—a city, in fact, in that day. Neither was society along the Mohawk entirely one of crude frontier aspect. The Johnson family formed the local center of a small aristocratic class which, perhaps, outshone in brilliancy any similar modern groups in the Mohawk Valley. The Dutch burghers of Schenectady also had acquired a measure of wealth which gave

their more sombre social gatherings an air of quality and honest merit. In intellectual matters the Valley of pre-Revolutionary days was not entirely lacking. Indeed it is the contrast of a high-type of European culture placed against the sturdy roughness of the pioneer's life and the painted, blood-stained savagery of the Indians, which gives Colonial life in the Mohawk Valley its markedly picturesque character. No other section of the American Colonies had these unusual features to such an extent as the border region of the Mohawk river—both the Gateway to the West and the Old New York Frontier.

Because, even the most educated of Mohawk Valley people could not spell correctly, does not argue against the presence of culture in Colonial Valley days. Deficiency in spelling was then a world-wide complaint.

Among the few Mohawk Valley men of marked intellect and culture, was Samuel Fuller of Schenectady. He was a descendant of Dr. Samuel Fuller one of the Mayflower's passengers in 1620. Samuel Fuller first came to Schenectady in 1758, when he was engaged as an army engineer in construction work for General Abercrombie's ill-fated expedition against Ticonderoga. He continued in the service of the British-American army until 1761, when he returned to Schenectady. Mr. Fuller was an architect as well as an engineer and his ability is evidenced by a number of structures of Colonial days now standing along or near the Mohawk. Mr. Fuller designed and built St. George's Episcopal Church in Schenectady, which has had many additions but which still retains its original structure complete. Among Schenectady houses designed and built by Mr. Fuller was the John Glen house at Washington Avenue, where General Washington passed a night in 1775. This house has been greatly injured by additions and so-called "improvements." It is a shining example of the fact that architectural changes are not necessarily improvements. Architect Fuller also designed and built the Daniel Campbell house and the Ten Eyck house, later occupied by Governor Joseph C. Yates.

Mr. Fuller built Guy Park in 1766, which has since suffered marked change; he designed and built the Tryon County Court House in Johnstown in 1772, which is now the Fulton County Court House and stands as originally constructed. It is entirely probable that Samuel Fuller designed Johnson Hall, as its architectural detail is superior to that made by an ordinary carpenter and builder of the time.

One of the most historic and interesting Mohawk Valley structures, designed and built by Mr. Fuller, during the period covered in this chapter, is the General Herkimer Home at Fall Hill, near Little Falls, which now stands exactly as erected in 1764. The detail of its interior woodwork is original in form and shows a master designer's hand.

Although the Valley structures mentioned above are simple in form, they nevertheless are of a superior Colonial style of architecture and reflect the ability of the only Mohawk Valley pre-Revolutionary architect of note. Mr. Fuller located in Schenectady and had a large family. One grandson, General William Kendall Fuller, became a pioneer at Chittenango in 1816, and one of the most prominent citizens of Madison County.

CHAPTER 56.

1774. PALATINE DISTRICT COMMITTEE FORMED.

ORGANIZATION OF THE PALATINE DISTRICT COMMITTEE OF SAFETY AT LOUCK'S TAVERN IN STONE ARABIA, AUGUST 27, 1774—NUCLEUS OF THE TRYON COUNTY COMMITTEE OF SAFETY—CHRISTOPHER P. YATES, JOHN FREY, ISAAC PARIS, JACOB KLOCK, PETER WAGNER, ANDREW FINK, GEORGE ECKER, HARMANUS VAN SLYCK, ANTHONY VAN VECHTEN, CHRISTOPHER W. FOX, ANDREW REBER AND DANIEL McDOUGALL COMPOSE THE COMMITTEE—ACCOUNT OF THE FIRST MEETING FROM "THE COLONEL AND THE MAJOR", BY SAMUEL LUDLOW FREY OF PALATINE BRIDGE—LOSSING'S ACCOUNT OF THE ORIGIN OF THE WORDS, "WHIG" AND "TORY".

The two parties—Whig and Tory—in the American colonies were now aligned and faced each other grimly ready for the decisive struggle which the wisest saw could now be avoided only by a miracle. The Whigs and Tories had long been at swords' points in the Mohawk Valley. The Tories were the Johnson family, their followers and tenantry. The Whigs comprised the greater part of the descendants of the Hollanders, Palatines, Scotch and New Englanders then resident in the Mohawk Valley. The chief patriots of the Valley will be found hereinafter listed among the members of the Tryon County and Schenectady township Committees of Safety and the rosters of the Tryon County Militia, the Schoharie militia and the names of the Schenectady soldiers. With the death of Sir William Johnson, July 11, 1774, the last link which bound the two Valley factions together was severed. The Whig element immediately became active and the first sign of its growing combativeness was in a meeting of patriots of the district of Palatine, Tryon County, which met at the tavern of Adam Loucks in Stone Arabia, August 27th, 1774. Here the Palatine District Committee of Safety was formed and a set of resolutions adopted condemning the oppression of the British government, while still voicing loyalty to the British Crown. This meeting was the beginning of the later famous and important Tryon County Committee, which exercised military, civic and judicial function during the first years of the War for Independence in the Mohawk Valley.

The account of the first meeting of the Palatine Committee of Safety is taken in part from Chapter five of a very interesting

book written some years ago by the late Samuel Ludlow Frey of Palatine Bridge, recounting the history of the committee. Mr. Frey's story, entitled "The Colonel and the Major", had to do with two branches of the Frey family—Colonel Hendrick Frey, the loyalist, and Major John Frey, the patriot.

Mr. S. L. Frey was the Honorary Chairman of the Board of Advisory Editors of the History of the Mohawk Valley—Gateway of the West, from the beginning of this work in October, 1923, until his death, March 6th, 1924. The account is only slightly fanciful in part, as the main features are historical facts. The extracts from Mr. Frey's chapter follow:

* * * * *

One day early in August, succeeding the death of Sir William Johnson, a number of the prominent men of the Palatine district were gathered at an inn in the hamlet of Stone Arabia, kept by one Adam Loucks, who having paid his excise tax was entitled to sell wine, spirits and beer to such customers and guests as chance brought to him or fortune threw in his way.

As to the landlord, he was a short, stout, red faced man who made his guests welcome and minded his own affairs, and as to the inn itself it was long and low and rambled around as a pleasant hospitable tavern should. There was a wide open stoop before the door of the travelers' room. As it was summer and a warm day, this door stood open, and looking in there could be seen the bar with its array of bottles, glasses and decanters, its pewter mugs for beer and jugs of Schiedam schnaps. On one side of the room was the fireplace, flanked to right and left with a cupboard, through the glass doors of which could be seen in all the glory of the blue and white of Holland sundry great punch bowls of delft and plates on which were pictures of the Prince and Princess of Orange in flaring and vivid yellow. Besides these were various Bellarmines and drinking mugs of stoneware and earthen vessels out of which would come strong beer and the hard cider of the Mohawk potent enough to cause the knees of a modern man to tremble.

The mantel piece was a fine specimen of the finicky carpentry then prevailing, curious elaborate patterns and mouldings, showing patience and industry and in the center a "Sunburst", an attempt to represent by carved flutings the glories of the rising sun.

Over the mantel piece against the chimney were two very long Queen Anne muskets, a cartridge box and one of those necessary and always present powder horns, covered with designs

incised by some soldier fond of the grotesque. It was smooth and yellow from long use, and on it might be seen a fairly correct map of the Hudson and Mohawk with the forts, blockhouses and settlements; likewise the owner's name with the commemorative legend "Made at Lake George, September 17, 1755", and below this the lines, "I, Powder, with my Brother Ball, a hero like, do conker all".

On the wall hung prints of Martin Luther, Frederick the Great, George III, and Louis, the latter put in the frame upside down and under it these lines in German:

"This is the man we all should hate;
Who drove us from our home;
Who burned the Old Palatinate
And sent us forth to roam."

Through an open door at one end of the bar another long low room was seen, where two men were seated busily engaged in writing, while others were standing about engaged in animated conversation.

These were the yeomen of the Palatine district of Tryon county, who had come together to discuss the alarming situation of the country and to take measures to assert their rights and to protest against the more and more aggressive acts of the British parliament.

They were either those Palatines themselves or their sons who fifty years before had sought freedom of conscience and freedom of action in the wilds of the Mohawk valley, buying, it is true, for a somewhat paltry consideration a tract of twelve thousand acres of land of the Indians.

We may look with considerable wonder at the equivalent given for this noble domain, but as both parties to the transaction were satisfied—it was "so stipulated in the bond"—we ought not to look upon the ethics of the transaction as questionable; at any rate they did not steal the land as many other patentees did.

Here in 1723 they found rest, and their great Patent had turned into cultivated fields. They were an industrious, hard working people, somewhat clannish, and disposed to carry through life their theological antagonisms; but although Lutherans and Calvinists were about equally divided, and each had a church in the little hamlet, still there was a common churchyard, in which both sects were content to mingle their dust after they had done with the controversies.

When a common danger threatened them they forgot their

squabbles over transubstantiation and original sin, and came together as one man for the general good.

Although they were far from the centres of information and activity, and lived on the most exposed frontier of the colonies, still they were well informed in regard to all the political movements of the day, and took an absorbing interest in all that was going on.

The other districts of Tryon county were more divided and torn by factions; they swarmed with Tories, followers of Sir John Johnson. This was specially true of the Mohawk district, the seat of the great Johnson family. Here stood all the great manor houses built by Sir William Johnson. Johnson Hall, Mount Johnson, Claus' Manor and Guy Park; here also lived the Butlers, intensely partisan—the "Dogs of the Johnson family". Here was being founded an aristocracy of wealth in its most offensive form, with its arrogance, its protensions, its sycophants, its retainers, its vassals. Religious factions, too, prevented the people from becoming a homogeneous body; Catholic Irishmen and Scotchmen; English Episcopalians, and Dutch and German Calvinists, and Lutherans. All this led to discord, and filled the Tory ranks with men who hated their neighbors even more than they loved King George.

This was not so in any measurable degree in the district of Palatine; so that the meeting called at the old inn in Stone Arabia was attended by all the principal inhabitants—with few exceptions—and they were inspired by common motives. Their sober looks and earnest conversation showed that they did not underrate the dangers of the situation, or fail to fully understand the serious questions that had brought them together. They did not enter blindly into the contest; they saw clearly the dilemma that confronted them.

On the one hand, were they willing to be taxed without their consent? If they were not, on the other—what? Then they were confronted with a danger, the formidable and ferocious nature of which they well understood; they had not lived for fifty years with the Mohawks not to know them well; they had not gone through the French wars not to have become fully aware of these savage neighbors. They also understood Sir John Johnson; his arrogance, and his contempt for the common people. They knew that many of their neighbors would be found on the side of the king. Then, too, they lived on the borderland of a great wilderness tenanted by the hosts of savages, and they were the barrier

that in case of war would hold back from the seaboard these savage foes, and the British power in Canada.

New England had dangers of its own, an exposed seacoast with its towns open to attack; good roads over which an enemy might pass; wealthy merchants always conservative and opposed to an interruption of trade; but at the worst they would only have to meet a civilized foe on the battle fields. There were no Indians at their doors, for the bones of King Philip and his warriors were dust. Others of the colonies had Indians within their borders, near at hand or far off, and whether near or far they were enemies to be feared; but no other section had—"The Mohawk". And although as we have seen, greatly weakened and fallen from their once proud estate, they were not an enemy to be despised. The Mohawk Valley found to its sorrow that the poor savages were just as wily and vindictive as ever.

These men then at the old inn in Stone Arabia, in the district of Palatine, were thoughtful, earnest men, who have come together on very urgent and sober business that summer day in 1774.

At the head of the table sat a large fine looking man, busily engaged in writing. He was in the prime of a vigorous manhood, and was dressed with more regard to elegance than many of the farmers around him. By profession a lawyer and more of a scholar than most of the others; and also by reason of a prominent personality, he was looked upon as a leader. This man was Christopher P. Yates. He was not one of the Palatines, but had come into the district from Schenectady, married a sister of Major Frey and was thoroughly identified with the interests and life of his district. He was to occupy in the coming years many offices of trust and responsibility; among which offices were—deputy to the first and third provincial congresses; member of assembly from 1784 to 1802; first county clerk of Montgomery county, which office he held for twenty years, surrogate from 1778 to 1787; a member of the convention that ratified the federal constitution; one of the regents of the university under the act of 1784. He was also high in military affairs, commissary of General Herkimer's brigade, captain in the Second New York Line in 1775 and major in the First New York, 1776, and he also went as a volunteer to Ticonderoga and Canada under General Montgomery, raised a company of rangers, besides organizing, directing and advising the committee of safety, and acting many times as its chairman.

And yet this man, too, met with suspicion, detraction and obloquy, from many of his own party; was called a Tory, and accused of conspiring with Colonel Hendrick to betray the colonial cause.

At the other end of the table sat his brother-in-law, Major John Frey, also busy with his pen. They were drafting a set of resolutions to be submitted to the meeting, to which duty they had been assigned by the others, as being the best qualified, on account of education and ability for this difficult task; for these resolutions must state their grievances plainly, while at the same time, they must affirm their love and allegiance for King George and the British government; for it must be understood, that at this time, neither here nor anywhere else, was the idea of absolute rebellion and separation entertained. They were all loyal yet, and supposed that their reasonable protests against wrong would be heeded.

Who were these men now seated around the tables and who are bold enough to speak out to King George and insist upon their rights? The manuscript minutes of the meeting are still in existence and we can read the names as they were written down that day:

Christopher P. Yates, John Frey, Isaac Paris, Andrew Fink. Jr., Andrew Reber, Peter Waggoner, Anthony Van Vechten. Daniel McDougall, Jacob Klock, George Ecker, Jr., Harmanus Van Slyck, and Christopher W. Fox.

There were many more present, but these twelve men took the initiative in this aggressive protest and affixed their signatures to the minutes * * *

The chairman read the resolutions one by one—his own and those framed by the major. They were discussed and finally adopted. It is well to read them carefully and to consider the date, the 27th of August, 1774. These men of Palatine were among the first in America to speak out boldly. Historians have given them little notice or credit. The resolutions were as follows:

"Whereas the British parliament has lately passed an act for raising a revenue of our representatives, abridging the privileges of the American Colonies and blocking up the Port of Boston; the freeholders and inhabitants of the district of Palatine, of the county of Tryon aforesaid, looking with concern and heartfelt sorrow on these alarming and calamitous conditions, do meet this 27th day of August, 1774, on that purpose at the house of Adam

Loucks, Esq., at Stonearabia, and conclude the resolves following, viz:

"I. That King George the Third is lawful and rightful lord and sovereign of Great Britain and the dominions thereto belonging, and that as part of his subjects we hereby testify that we will bear true faith and allegiance to him, and that we will with our lives and fortunes support and maintain him upon the throne of his ancestors, and the just dependence of these his colonies upon the crown of Great Britain.

"II. That we think and consider it our greatest happiness to be governed by the laws of Great Britain, and that with cheerfulness we will always pay submission thereto, as far as we consistently can with the security of the constitutional rights and liberties of English subjects, which are so sacred that we cannot permit the same to be violated.

"III. That we think it is our undeniable privilege to be taxed only with our own consent, given by ourselves or by our representatives. That taxes otherwise laid and exacted are unjust and unconstitutional. That the late acts of parliament declarative of this right of laying internal taxes on the American Colonies are obvious encroachments on the rights and liberties of the British subjects in America.

"IV. That the act for blocking up the port of Boston is oppressive and arbitrary, injurious in its principles and particularly oppressive to the inhabitants of Boston, whom we consider as brethren suffering in the common cause.

"V. That we will unite and join with the different districts of this country in giving whatever relief it is in our power to the poor distressed inhabitants of Boston; and that we will join and unite with our brethren of the rest of this country in anything tending to support and defend our rights and liberties.

"VI. That we think the sending of delegates from the different colonies to a general Continental congress is a salutary measure and absolutely necessary at this alarming crisis, and that we entirely approve of the five gentlemen chosen delegates for this colony by our brethren of New York, hereby adopting and choosing the same persons to represent this colony at the congress.

"VII. That we hereby engage faithfully to abide by and adhere to such restrictions and regulations as shall be made and agreed upon by the said congress.

"VIII. That we conceive it necessary that there be appointed a standing Committee of this County, to correspond with

the Committees of N. York and Albany, and we do hereby appoint

Christopher P. Yates
Isaac Paris
John Frey &
Andrew Finck junr.

who, together with persons to be appointed by the other District of this County, shall compose a Committee of Correspondence to convey the sentiments of this County in a Sett of Resolves to New York—

"IX. It is voted, by this meeting, that Copies of the proceedings of this Day, Certified by the chairman, be transmitted to the Supervisors of the different Districts of this County.—And we recommend it to the Inhabitants of the said Districts to appoint persons, to compose also a Committee of Correspondence."

After much animated discussion, in which all took part, the meeting adjourned, and as far as is known from the minutes they did not come together again until May, 1775. This meeting was held at the same old inn at Stone Arabia, and from that time on frequent meetings were held. It was the summer of Lexington and Concord, and war had begun in earnest.

This Committee of Tryon County was instantly on the alert. They organized the militia, held councils with the Indians, arrested spies, corresponded with the Johnsons, deposed the loyalist sheriff White and elected Major John in his place. Their actions were restrictive and very aggressive.

Early in the summer of 1775 each of the five districts of Tryon county had its committee, and the meetings were held in various places, sometimes at the house of Warner Dygert at Fall Hill, sometimes at Frederick Bellinger's at the German Flats, or at William Seeber's on Sand Hill, near the place where Fort Plain was built the next year. More often, however, they met at the house of Gose Van Alstine, on Scrembling's Kill, [on Canajoharie Creek in present Canajoharie village] as being more central. The manuscript records of the proceedings of thirty-one meetings of the committee are still in existence, the last date being November 24, 1775. The records for the succeeding years are lost.

It is not to be supposed that in the excitement of the time all the measures of the committee were just and wise; it was but natural that some personal spite and animosity should find vent; that some members should be narrow minded; that jealousy and suspicion should take the place of patriotism, and that mistakes

should have been made. But when all due allowance has been made for the fallability of human nature and the weakness of individuals the fact remains that the Tryon County Committee of Safety did most loyal work for the colonial cause and that against an almost overwhelming Tory influence they maintained the cause of liberty in the Mohawk valley. Many of them died in battle; many were wounded and suffered the horrors of British prisons. All of them lost friends and property, and none of them through the long struggle either flinched or wavered.

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The foregoing covers the actual historical part of Mr. Frey's description of this momentous meeting of the committee of Palatine patriots which was destined to be the nucleus of the Tryon County Committee of Safety. State Historian Alexander J. Flick has compared the resolutions of the Palatine Committee as equal in historical importance with the compact drawn upon the Mayflower. The meeting, at Louck's tavern in Stone Arabia on August 27, 1774, certainly forms one of the high spots in the history of the Mohawk Valley. It was one of the first local district Committees of Safety formed in New York Province.

Mr. Frey speaks as though the Whigs who met at Stone Arabia, were all Palatine Germans or of Palatine German descent. This was not so as only half of them were of that racial strain. Of the twelve members at the first meeting, six were Americans of Palatine ancestry or birth—Fink, Rebert, Wagner, Klock, Ecker, Fox; two were of Holland Dutch descent—Van Slyck, Van Vechten, while Yates was of Dutch and English stock; Paris was Alsatian; McDougall was Scotch and Frey, Swiss and Palatine in ancestry. The name Eker or Ecker is both Palatine and Holland Dutch. All, however, were good Americans in every sense of the word. The feeling of Americanism was just as strong or stronger than it is today, regardless of the racial stock from which the people sprang.

The population of the Palatine district was composed of elements similar to those represented in this Committee. The Mohawk District was more strongly Holland Dutch, while the Canajoharie District seems to have had relatively more Americans of Palatine ancestry than its opposite Palatine District. The German Flats District was more Palatine in its blood than the others. The German Flats and Kingsland districts of Tryon county are generally considered as one, under the name of the German Flats District, in our consideration of Revolutionary Mohawk Valley history.

Mr. Frey's sketch gives the names of twelve members of the Palatine Committee, as being signed to the minutes of this first meeting. There are no such signatures appended to the minutes of the first meeting. The only names there appearing are those of the committee of correspondence: Christopher P. Yates, Isaac Paris, John Frey, Andrew Finck, junr.

The names of the aforementioned twelve committeemen appear on the minutes of the second meeting held early in May, 1775, at the Loucks tavern. As they appear in the minutes they are:

Christopher P. Yates, John Frey, Isaac Paris, Andrew Fink, Jr., Andrew Reber, Peter Waggoner, Daniel McDougall, Jacob Clock, George Eker, junr., Harmanus V. Slyck, Christopher W. Fox, Anthony V. Fechten.

Wagner was the general spelling of the name even during the Revolution. Waggoner sounds like an attempted Anglicization. Fink and Finck are spellings of the same name. Clock is now Klock. Clock also sounds like an Anglicization of the Palatine German name of Klock. "Harmanus V. Slyck" stands for Harmanus Van Slyck, "Anthony V. Fechten" is more commonly known as Anthony Van Vechten. The name Eker was also spelled Ecker and Eacker. Many Mohawk Valley men of that day spelled their names carelessly and variously. General Herkimer was one of the worst performers along these lines.

All of the original members of the Palatine Committee saw active military service. Klock became colonel and Wagner lieutenant-colonel of the Palatine District Regiment of Militia. Both served with distinction throughout the Revolution. Frey was brigade major of the Tryon County Militia, serving under General Herkimer at Oriskany, where he was captured and taken to Canada. Van Slyck was major of the Palatine Regiment and was killed at Oriskany. Van Vechten was adjutant of the Palatine Regiment. Yates was commissary of the Tryon Brigade until 1776, when he was made a major in the First New York Line. Paris was a volunteer serving in the Palatine Regiment at Oriskany, where he was captured and killed by the Indians. Christopher W. Fox was a captain in the Palatine Regiment and was wounded at Oriskany. Reber and McDougall were privates in the Palatine Regiment. Finck was a famous Revolutionary soldier. He started as a lieutenant in the line and became a major, serving under General James Clinton. In 1781 he returned to the Mohawk Valley and became a major, serving

under Colonel Willett at Fort Plain. George Ecker was an ensign in the Palatine Regiment.

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This Palatine patriot committee was probably far from being united in its sentiments as to the proper course of action to pursue. Like the later Tryon County Committee, and the population along the Mohawk, there were all shades of opinion represented in both the Whig and Tory parties. Men like Yates deplored the violence of the more rabid whigs, which drove many good men away from that patriot party. It is said that there were as many Tories as Whigs in the Province of New York, at the outbreak of the Revolution. The patriot cause was stronger in the vicinity of Albany and in the Mohawk Valley than elsewhere in the Colony. However, it is said that more than one-third of the people of the Mohawk Valley were Tories. Only the righteousness of the patriot cause and the undying courage of the patriots won the War for Independence and America.

The activities of the Tryon County Committee of Safety are described and the complete minutes printed in "The Minute Book of the Committee of Safety of Tryon County." This work was compiled by Mr. Samuel Ludlow Frey of Palatine Bridge and J. Howard Hanson of Amsterdam. Mr. Frey was a great-grandson of Major John Frey, one of the leading patriots of Tryon County, who was active in the organization of the Palatine Committee in 1774. The book was handsomely printed by Dodd, Mead & Co., New York, in 1905.

On August 27, 1924, the 150th anniversary of the formation of the Palatine District Committee of the Tryon County Committee of Safety, was celebrated at the Van Alstyne House, headquarters of the Fort Rensselaer Club in Canajoharie. The Van Alstyne house is closely associated with the Tryon County Committee. It was centrally and favorably located for the Committee members and sixteen meetings of the Tryon County Committee are known to have been held there—more than in any other place. Many more meetings were doubtless held in the Van Alstyne House, and it was probably the accepted convening place of the Committee.

* * * * *

The First Continental Congress which met at Philadelphia, September 5, 1774, was a group of committees, such as that which we have just seen formed, at Stone Arabia in the District of Palatine, County of Tryon, Province of New York. The idea of advising together as to the general welfare of the Colonies

was the cause of its assemblage. It had no delegated authority and no power to act for the Provinces, collectively or individually. Nevertheless, it was the first nationally organized step in the direction of American independence. The tendency of the Whig influence in this Congress was away from compromise and toward the course of the Sons of Liberty. The Continental Congress signed the Articles of Association, October 20, 1774. James Duane, later of Schenectady County, was one of the delegates to this Congress from the city of New York.

The effect of this Congressional session, was the formation of further committees. The first meeting of the Albany County Committee of Safety was held in Albany, November 23, 1774.

* * * * *

Lossing gives the following origin of the terms, Whig and Tory: "They were copied by us from the political vocabulary of Great Britain and were first used here to distinguish the opposing parties in the Revolution about 1770. The term originated during the reign of Charles II, or about that time. Bishop Burnet, in his History gives the following explanation: 'The southwest counties of Scotland have seldom corn (grain) enough to serve them round the year; and the northern parts, producing more than they need, those in the west come in the summer to buy at Leith the stores that come from the north; and from a word "whiggam", used in driving their horses, all that drove were called "whiggamores" and shorter, "whigs". Now in that year after the news came down of Duke Hamilton's defeat, the ministers animated their people to rise and march to Edinburg, and then came up marching at the head of other parishes, with unheard of fury, praying and preaching all the way as they came. The Marquis of Argyle and his party came and headed them, they being about six thousand. This was called the Whiggamores' inroad, and ever after that all that opposed the courts came, in contempt, to be called Whigg; and from Scotland the word was brought into England, where it is now one of our unhappy terms of distinction. Subsequently, all whose party bias was democratic were called Whigs. The origin of the word Tory is not so well attested. The Irish malcontents, half robbers and half insurgents, who harassed the English in Ireland at the time of the massacre in 1640, were the first to whom the epithet was applied. It was also applied to the court party as a term of reproach."

The majority of the citizens of Schoharie were Whigs, although there, as elsewhere in the Mohawk Valley, the patriots

had a strong Tory element to contend with. The American faction along the Schoharie River organized a committee of safety, in 1774, but shortly after the Palatine committee was formed, as previously related. Vrooman's "Schoharie Valley Lore" has the following:

"The patriotic and military spirit of Colonel Vrooman, Christian Strubeck and Dr. Budd, the leading revolutionists of the valley, aroused the people to prepare for the vivid contest. The companies were thoroughly drilled. When the stormy period of the Revolution commenced a few of the people espoused the cause of the British, but the majority were ardent patriots. In many instances members of the same family were arrayed against each other, and the struggle assumed all the horrors of a Civil War, aggravated by Indian barbarities. A committee of safety was chosen in 1774, of which Johannes Ball was chairman until the close of the war. It consisted of the following, who were members during the war: Joseph Borst, Joseph Becker, Col. Peter Vrooman, Col. Peter Zielie, Peter Swart, William Zimmer, William Dietz, Samuel Vrooman, Nicholas Sternberg, Adam Vrooman, George Warner and Jacob Zimmer. Col. Vrooman did most of the writing for the board.

"At an early period of the difficulties, an effort was made by the settlers to induce the Indians to remain neutral. A meeting was held for that purpose at the old Council ground in Middleburgh. It is said that Brant and several other Mohawk chiefs were present and a Mrs. Richtmyer acted as interpreter. The Indians agreed to remain neutral or join the Americans. But they were too fond of war to remain inactive, and yielded to the inducement offered by the agents of the British government. Mr. Ball, the Chairman of the committee, had two sons, Peter and Mattice, who engaged with their father in their country's cause, while two other sons espoused the cause of the British."

The following is the oath of allegiance, which was taken by the patriots: "You shall swear by the holy evangelist of the Almighty God to be a true subject to our continental resolve and Provincial Congress and committees in this difficulty existing between Great Britain and America and to answer upon such questions as you shall be examined in, so help you God."

CHAPTER 57.

1775, BEGINNINGS OF THE REVOLUTION IN THE MOHAWK VALLEY.

FORMATION OF THE TRYON COUNTY COMMITTEE OF SAFETY—FIRST FULL MEETING OF THE COMMITTEE AT FALL HILL, JUNE 2, 1775—MEMBERSHIP OF THE COMMITTEE—DECLARATION OF RIGHTS BY THE SETTLERS OF CHERRY VALLEY AND NEW TOWN MARTIN, JULY 13, 1775—SIR JOHN JOHNSON'S AND COLONEL GUY JOHNSON'S TORY ACTIVITIES—MOHAWK INDIAN APPREHENSIONS—PATRIOT ACTIVITIES—CLASHES BETWEEN WHIGS AND TORIES.

Developments around Boston in the Spring of 1775, brought the hitherto bloodless conflict to a trial of arms between American Whigs and the Loyalists and the redcoated British soldiery. Within two months, a succession of events about the New England metropolis had forced the patriots to fight or surrender all thought of liberty. On April 19, 1775, the British regulars fought the American farmers at Lexington and Concord and were compelled to retreat to the city of Boston for safety. The news roused the whole country to action and everywhere preparations were made for war with the mother country. The excitement of the day spread even into the remote frontier of the Mohawk Valley and the Tryon County patriots prepared for action.

In May 1775, the Second Continental Congress met at Independence Hall in Philadelphia, and the Thirteen Colonies were all represented by delegates. Congress accepted the forces about Boston as the Continental Army and appointed George Washington as its Commander in Chief. Washington assumed command on July 3, 1775. Everywhere the patriots now organized for defense.

The New York Provincial Assembly met in New York, on January 10, 1775, it sat until April 3, 1775, when it was adjourned never to meet again. Attempts to get its members to endorse the action of the Continental Congress all failed, two of them by only one vote. On May 22, 1775, a Provincial Congress met in the city of New York. It was entirely Whig in sentiment. All the counties of the Province, except Tryon, were represented, Tryon was then still dominated by the Tory Johnson party and its militia. Albany County was represented, including several delegated from Schenectady Township. The body assumed the functions of a Provincial government and entirely ignored the Governor and his Council.

In Tryon County and in Schenectady Township, early in 1775, Committees of Safety were formed to direct both civic and military matters and to prepare for the impending conflict. These Committees were formed to act in concert with similar bodies at Albany and New York, as well as to cooperate with the New York Provincial and the Continental congresses. The Schenectady Committee held its first meeting on May 6th. The Tryon County Committee of Safety met for the first time as a county body on May 24, as detailed later. The Schenectady Committee of Safety's meetings during 1775 are given in the next chapter.

The Johnson party early in 1775 published a set of resolutions approving English acts and went about securing signatures, which excited the indignation of the majority of the Tryon county population who were Whigs. Most of the Tryon county officials signed the Johnson petition. The Whigs held meetings and the first one, of three hundred patriots, assembled at Caughnawaga to raise a liberty pole. This was broken up by an armed party of Tories headed by Sir John Johnson. Young Jacob Sammons interrupted a fiery speech of Col. Guy Johnson and was severely beaten by the Tories.

Further patriotic meetings were held and at the second held at the house of Adam Loucks in Palatine, a committee to correspond with those of other districts was formed. Johnson now armed further his fortifications at the Hall and organized and equipped his Tory Scotch highlanders. In view of these affairs the Palatine committee addressed a letter to the Albany committee setting forth the situation in the county and asking that the shipment of ammunition into it from Albany be supervised so that the Tories could not further arm themselves. Evidences soon appeared that Johnson was endeavoring to secure the support of the Six Nations. His personal army now amounted to 500 men and he had cut off free communication between Albany and the upper valley settlements. The Palatine committee, May 21, protested against Johnson's course and the German Flats and Kingsland districts were invited to cooperate with them.

May 24, 1775, the committees of all the districts but Mohawk met at the house of William Seeber in Canajoharie (at Fort Plain) and adopted resolutions of united action between the districts. Delegates were sent to Albany and Schenectady to confer with those committees. This was the first meeting of the Tryon County Committee of Safety and was held close to the site of the later fortification. May 25, the Tryon county and Albany committees held a council with the Mohawks at Guy Park without

VAN ALSTYNE HOUSE, 1750.

Built by Marten Janse Van Alstyne. The favorite meeting place of the Tryon County Revolutionary Committee of Safety. Washington stopped here in 1783. Now the home of the Fort Rensselaer Club. Photo by courtesy of the Beech-Nut Packing Co.

apparent results. On May 29, again at the house of William Seeber, near Fort Plain, a resolution was passed prohibiting all trade with persons who had not signed the article of association and slaves were not to be allowed off their master's premises without a permit. Any person disobeying these instructions was to be considered an enemy of the patriot cause. The first full meeting of the county committee was held in the western part of the Canajoharie district, June 2, 1775, at the house of Warner Tygert a neighbor and relative of General Herkimer. The names of the committee at that meeting follow:

Canajoharie District—Nicholas Herkimer, Ebenezer Cox, William Seeber, John Moore, Samuel Campbell, Samuel Clyde, Thomas Henry, John Pickard.

Kingsland and German Flats Districts—Edward Wall, William Petry, John Petry, Marcus Petry, Augustinus Hess, Frederick Ahrendorf, George Wents, Michael E. Ittig, Frederick Fox, George Herkimer, Duncan McDougall, Frederick Hilmer, John Franck.

Mohawk District—John Marlett, John Bliven, Abraham Van Horn, Adam Fonda, Frederick Fisher, Sampson Sammons, William Schuyler, Volkert Veeder, James McMaster, Daniel Lane.

Palatine District—Isaac Paris, John Frey, Christopher P. Yates, Andrew Fink, Jr., Andrew Reeber, Peter Waggoner, Daniel McDougall, Jacob Klock, George Ecker, Jr., Harmanus Van Slyck, Christopher W. Fox and Anthony Van Vechten.

Of the members from the Canajoharie district, Herkimer lived in the present town of Danube, Cox, Seeber and Pickard in Minden, Henry in Harpersfield and Campbell and Clyde in Cherry Valley.

Christopher P. Yates was chosen chairman of the county committee and Edward Wall and Nicholas Herkimer were selected to deliver a letter of protest to Col. Guy Johnson against his Tory stand. Col. Johnson returned a politic but non-committal letter to this deputation. He appointed a council at German Flats but did not hold it, but went on to Fort Stanwix, taking with him his family, a number of dependents and a great body of Mohawk Indians, who left their valley homes never to return except in war parties and against their old neighbors.

On June 11, 1775, the committee chose Christopher P. Yates and John Marlett as delegates to the provincial congress. This meeting was held at the house of Gose Van Alstine (now the Fort Rensselaer Club of Canajoharie). Rev. Mr. Kirkland arranged a council of the Oneidas and Tuscaroras with the committe and

Albany delegates at German Flats, June 28, 1775, which largely resulted in the friendly attitude of the Oneidas and Tuscaroras during the war.

July 3 the committee granted the petition of certain settlers for permission to form themselves into militia companies. The Tory mayor of Albany, who was fleeing west, was stopped by Capt. George Herkimer and the rangers and his batteau was searched but nothing contraband was found. By this time Guy Johnson and his party had pushed on to Ontario, far beyond the reach of angry patriots, and wrote back a hostile letter in reply to a pacific one sent him by the provincial congress. From Oswego Johnson went to Montreal accompanied by many warriors of the Six Nations. The Tryon county settlers feared that he would soon collect an army, and cooperating with John Johnson, sweep the valley of the patriots. The committee now assumed the civic and military functions of the county and began to have trouble with John Johnson over its assumption of the sheriff's duties and use of the jail and also over the formation of patriot companies in the vicinity of the Hall.

Late in the Spring of 1775 Colonel Frederick Visscher (a prominent and efficient American officer) paraded his regiment of Tryon County Militia at Caughnawaga for training. Sir John Johnson and Lady Johnson were riding through the village in their coach. The Tory baronet alighted and ordered Visscher to dismiss his troops. Johnson and Visscher had a struggle, in which Johnson threatened to shoot and stab the patriot colonel. Sir John made off when a young Irish militiaman told him: "If ye offer to lift a finger against my master, I'll blow ye through."

At Johnstown, in 1775, occurred what is said to have been the first shot fired in New York Colony at the beginning of the Revolution. The Tory Sheriff White arrested Jacob Fonda of Caughnawaga (present Fonda) because of his ardent patriotic sentiments and brought him to the Johnstown jail. A party of Whigs broke into the jail and released Fonda and then went to take White, who was at Mattice's tavern. The Tory official fired from a window at the approaching patriots. He then hid in a chimney and escaped capture, but was later caught and imprisoned at Albany.

Probably the foregoing were but a few of the verbal and physical clashes, brawls and fist fights which attended this period of intensely bitter feeling. The Whig and Tory divisions separated the people of all classes, from the highest to the lowest. Families were divided and brother hated brother and fathers were es-

tranged from sons because of the approaching conflict. Never before or since, in the history of America, has there been such an era of bitter feeling and savage hatreds as that which existed in the American colonies just prior to the hostilities of the Revolution.

After Johnson's flight Guy Park was confiscated by the American Revolutionary authorities and later was sold.

* * * * *

On July 13, 1775, the patriot inhabitants of Cherry Valley and New Town Martin met and drew up a declaration of rights, which aligned these somewhat remote settlers with their Tryon County brethren along the Mohawk River. New Town Martin was located within the present limits of Otsego County. There are four additional signatures to this paper which have become obliterated with time. The Declaration of Rights and its signers follow:

We, the undersigned Subscribers, Freeholders and Inhabitants of Cherry Valley and New town martin are persuaded that the preservation of the Rights and Liberties of America depends under the Almighty God on the firm union of its Inhabitants in a vigorous prosecution of the measures necessary for its safety HAVE unanimously formed ourselves into a Company to act in Consort with our fellow Brethren in Maintaining our Constitutional Rights and Privileges in order thereunto HAVE with one Consent Chosen Samuel Cloyd to be our Captain, John Campbell, Jurr., to be our Lieutenant, and James Cannon to be our Ensign and do in the most solemn manner resolve never to become Slaves; and do associate under all the Ties of Religion Honour and Love to our Country to adopt, abide by and obey our aforesaid Officers in all lawful commands and Endeavour to carry into execution whatever measures may be recommended by the Continental Congress or our Provential Convention for preserving our Constitution and opposing the execution of the several arbitrary and oppressive Acts of the British Parliament. Witness our hands July the 13th 1775 seventy five.

Jas. Richey, John McCallom, Hugh Mitchall, Wm. Galt, John Willson, Jas. Cambell, ——— Willson, Robt. Anderson, Saml Willson, Henry Dixson, Jas. Dixson, Andrew Willson, H—Mch—Killip, John MKillip, Jas. Canon, Grad Canon, Wm. Willson, Wm. Hamilton, Will Mac Killip, Jas. Moor, Samel Campbell, Wm. Mc Glachlin, Saml Willson, J—— Ferguson, J—— Conrad, H—I— Conrad, Thos. Whelig, Wm. Thomson, A. McCollam, Wm.

Dixson, Robt. Johantson, Robt. Hamill, Wm. Hamill, A. Yates, H. Hamill.

* * * * *

The Schoharie settlements were generally patriotic in their sentiments at the opening of the Revolution. The battles between the Whigs and the King's troops, around Boston, in 1775, aroused the Schoharie patriots as they did their brethren along the Mohawk and amid the Cherry Valley Mountains. The Schoharie Whigs "quickly sent a message to Boston with cheering assurance of sympathy besides supplies, such as the rich soil bountifully furnished, and a general military organization was effected."

On October 20, 1775, the Fifteenth Albany County Militia was organized, Schoharie forming a part of that county. Three companies were organized at Schoharie and Colonel Peter Vrooman of Schoharie, became the regiment's Colonel. Other regimental officers were: Lieutenant-Colonel, Peter Zielie; Major, Jost Becker; Major, Thomas Eckerson Jr.; Adjutants, Lawrence Schoolcraft, Peter Ball; Quartermaster, Jacob Winney. A fourth company was organized at Cobleskill in 1777. In 1778, another company was organized at Dorloch, which was assigned to the Fifth Albany County Militia. The roster of the Fifteenth Albany Militia (Schoharie Valley) Regiment is given in the chapter covering the rosters of the Mohawk Valley Revolutionary Militia, which includes that of the Schoharie section.

The original Schoharie Reformed Church is generally known as the Old Stone Fort or the Old Stone Church. It formed the Lower Schoharie Fort of the Revolutionary War and is one of three remaining defenses of the Mohawk Valley during the War for Independence. The others are the Johnstown Jail and the Fort Herkimer Reformed Church. All three are stone buildings of great strength and were therefore chosen as the central defenses of their respective fortifications, the Lower Schoharie Fort, Fort Johnstown, and Fort Herkimer. The Schoharie company that was closely connected with the old Schoharie Stone Fort was Company I of the Fifteenth Albany Regiment. It was composed of the residents of Fox, Brunnen, Kniskern and Becker's dorfs. The officers first selected were: George Mann, Captain; Christian Strubeck, First Lieutenant; John Dominick, Second Lieutenant; Jacob Snyder, Ensign. Later Strubeck was promoted to be Captain and later became a Major, when Peter Snyder became Captain.

* * * * *

The following concerning the apprehensions of the Mohawks and Tory activities in the Mohawk Valley during 1775, is largely taken from Hanson's "Schenectady During the Revolution:"

"On May 18, 1775, the Albany Committee had resolved that all who refused to give up arms for the American cause or sold either arms or supplies to 'inimical persons' should be held up to the public as enemies of their country. Later any one who refused public service, and on March 6, 1776, every 'non-associator', was placed in the same category. Upon the militia acting under orders from the Committees of Safety, devolved the duty of apprehending those against whom complaint had been entered.

"These complaints and subsequent arrests were incited by a variety of causes: aiding the enemy in any way; associating or corresponding with Tories; refusing to sign the Association or violating its provisions; denouncing or refusing to obey congresses and committees; writing or speaking against the American cause; rejecting Continental money or drinking the King's health, and even mere suspicion was not infrequently deemed sufficient to justify a man's seizure.

"To Albany as a concentration center to await their final disposition, were transferred the greater part of those arrested in this section, and, by December 1775, so crowded was the jail there that the Committee was obliged to provide additional quarters and secure an extra jailer.

"Both the colonists and the Mother Country had been quick to realize the important part to be played by the Confederacy of the Six Nations should their differences lead to a clash of arms. As early as 1774, efforts were made, in behalf of the colonists through the Stockbridge Indians, to secure the sympathies of the Mohawks, while to Reverend Samuel Kirkland was intrusted the matter of winning over the Oneidas. In behalf of England, Colonel Guy Johnson, acting under orders, had sought to hamper the work of Kirkland and to retain the friendship of the Indians.

"Scarcely had the Committee of Safety at Schenectady been formed when rumors began to be freely circulated to the effect that Colonel Guy Johnson, in abuse of his office as Indian Superintendent, was desirous of bringing about an Indian uprising with a view of 'cutting off' those who opposed him and that he was laying plans to that end. So persistent were these rumors that Colonel Guy Johnson, fearing the consequences were he to permit them to go unrefuted, placed the matter before the Schenectady Committee on May 18, (1775) thus stating his position:

" 'Gentlemen: We have, for some days past, heard of many

threats from the public, that give us reason to apprehend that the persons or properties of gentlemen of the first consequence, both with respect to station and property, would have been insulted in this county, and myself in particular, under color of a gross and notorious falsehood, uttered by some worthless scoundrels, respecting my intentions as Superintendent of Indian affairs. To gentlemen of sense and moderation these malicious, ill-founded charges ought to be self-evidently false, as my duty is to promote peace, and my office of the highest importance to the trade and frontiers; but as these reports are daily increasing, it becomes me, both as a subject and a man, to disavow them, and, until I can find out and chastise the infamous author, to assure the public of their mistake, and to acquaint them that it has rendered it my duty for self-preservation, so necessary, that I have taken precaution to give a very hot and disagreeable reception to any person who shall invade my retreat; at the same time I have no intention to disturb those who choose to permit me the honest exercise of my reason and the duties of my office; and requesting that you will immediately cause this to be made public to the Albany Committee.

" 'I remain, Gent'n, your very humble serv't,

G. JOHNSON.'

"Much, however, as Colonel Johnson sought to check it, the current of opinion continued to increase in its hostility to him. The gossip of the day abounded in stories, false or otherwise, circulated for the benefit of one side or the other. One, to the effect that the person of Colonel Guy Johnson was in danger of being seized and their supply of powder thereby cut off, evidently spread with a view of inciting the Indians against the colonists, so well succeeded in its purpose that, on May 20, Little Abram, a chief of the Lower Castle of Mohawks, in behalf of the Indians, thus appealed to the magistrates and committees at Albany and Schenectady:

" 'Brothers—Our present situation is very disagreeable and alarming, what we never expected, therefore desire to know what is designed by the reports that are spread amongst us. We hear that Companies and Troops are coming from one quarter to another to molest us, particularly from New England to apprehend and take away by Violence our Superintendent and extinguish our Council Fire, for what reason we know not—

" 'Brothers—We desire you would inform us, if you know of any such design on foot either by the New England People

or in your Vicinity and not deceive us in this Matter for the Consequences will be important and extensive—

" 'Brothers—We shall support and defend our Superintendent and not see our Council Fire extinguished—

" 'We have no inclination or purpose of interfering in the Dispute between Old England and Boston; the white People may settle their own Quarrels between themselves; we shall never meddle in those matters, or be the Aggressors, if we are let alone. We have for a long time lived in peace with one another and due wish ever to continue so. But should our Superintendent be taken from us, we dread the Consequences, the whole Confederacy would resist it, and all their Allies, and as reports now are, we should not know where to find our Enemies; the innocent might fall with the Guilty. We are so desirous of maintaining Peace that we are unwilling the Six Nations should know the bad Report spread amongst us & threats given out—

" 'Brothers—We desire you will satisfy us as to your knowledge of the foundation of those reports, and what your News are and not Deceive us in a matter of so much Importance—

Signed Abram Chief.'

"In answer to the appeal of Little Abram, at a conference of the Indians called at Guy Park on May 25, (1775), a committee composed of delegates from Albany and Tryon counties declared to the Indians in the presence of Colonel Johnson that the reports concerning intended harm to their superintendent were false. They declared further that they hoped the report in regard to the powder was false also, and assured the Indians that, on their return, they would inform their 'old and wise men' of the report and use every endeavor, if it were so, to prevent any recurrence in the future.

"The Indians, on their part, again expressed themselves as being peaceably disposed toward the inhabitants, but made it quite plain that, if their supplies of powder which they obtained from their superintendent, were cut off, they would surely distrust them.

"The Indians who attended the conference were mostly Mohawks, and as the Western Indians who were invited to attend were not represented, the council was soon adjourned with a view of meeting later at Cosby's Manor near German Flats. This council was never held. Colonel Guy Johnson remained but a short time at Cosby's Manor and then proceeded westward to Fort Stanwix, accompanied not only by his family and some five hundred retainers who had left Guy Park with him, but also by a

large body of Mohawk Indians from the Upper Castle. The stay at Fort Stanwix was but a brief one, Colonel Johnson and his followers proceeding almost at once to Ontario, where a council of the Western Indians was convened.

"Thus far no act of open hostility had been committed by Colonel Johnson, although his movements were viewed with the greatest suspicion by the settlers. While the council was being held at Ontario, the whole Valley was again thrown into alarm by rumors that reached the Tryon County Committee, on good authority, that Col. (Guy) Johnson was ready with eight or nine hundred Indians to make an invasion of the County, that the Indians were to be under the Command of Joseph Brant and Walter Butler and that they were to fall on the inhabitants below the little falls in order to divide the people in two parts.

"The cause for this alarm seemed the more real as Sir John Johnson still remained at Johnstown, surrounded by a large body of loyal followers. The Tryon County Committee wrote to the Albany and Schenectady Committees, on July 13, placing the matter before them, stating that they had every reason to believe the reports true, and further that they feared that all their enemies in the county would appear in arms as soon as the Indians approached. 'Our ammunition is so scant,' continued the letter, 'that we cannot furnish three hundred men so as to be able to make a stand against so great a number. In these deplorable circumstances, we look to you for Assistance both in men and ammunition to save this County from slaughter and desolation.'

"To counteract the influence of Colonel Johnson, the Tryon County Committee, on June 29, 1775, met with the sachems of the Oneida and Tuscarora tribes. At this meeting were present delegates from Albany and Schenectady and in the chair was (later General) Nicholas Herkimer. Mutual speeches were made, friendship and confidence with the two nations renewed, with a promise from the latter, if possible, to bring the rest of the Six Nations to unite with them in measures of peace. The Indians expressed themselves as greatly pleased with the kindness and generosity manifested toward them and recommended that 'the gate of Fort Stanwix be shut, that nothing might pass or repass to hurt the country.' A like recommendation was made to the Tryon Committee on July 3, by the associated settlers at Fort Stanwix, who represented their dangerous situation due to their exposed position, and it was immediately resolved that the matter be brought to the attention of the Schenectady Committee that they might, if so inclined, send one hundred men to the post.

"With a view of using still further means of keeping the Indians in a position of neutrality, Congress, on July 12, 1775, established an Indian Department with three subdivisions—Northern, Middle and Southern. Major-General Philip Schuyler was appointed one of the five commissioners of the Northern Department, and under the direction of this body a second conference with the Indians was held at Albany in August, 1775. About five hundred Indians attended this conference. Presents to the amount of one hundred and fifty pounds worth of goods were distributed and, while the Council was not wholly representative, the Indians solemnly agreed not to take up arms for either side.

"'Toward the end of July (1775) a more serious clash than had yet occurred took place between Sir John Johnson and his Whig neighbors. Alexander White, the sheriff of Tryon County, had imprisoned John Fonda, much to the displeasure of the Whigs, who, some one hundred strong, went to the (Johnstown) jail and forced his release. Following this the mob attempted to take the sheriff, shots were exchanged and White subsequently sought the protection of Sir John Johnson. 'Expecting that an attempt would be made to retake Fonda,' wrote Christopher P. Yates to the Albany and Schenectady Committees on July 22, 'we have collected together about 5 or 600 men to protect Fonda and take the Sheriff prisoner. We have wrote to Sir John Johnson, Bart. and requested him to deliver the sheriff to us, or that we would take him by force. The Gent. we sent up being John Frey and Anthony Van Veghten inform us that Sir John has got about 400 men in Johnstown and has fortified his house in such a manner that it is not possible for us to take the sheriff out of the house with small arms and Sir John declared to Messrs. Frey and Van Veghten that he would protect the sheriff so long as he remained in his house. As the sheriff gives us a great deal of trouble Insulting us on every occasion and bids us open defiance we are therefore now determined to have him, and as we understand that there are field pieces in Schenectady we request you would send a couple with all the implements necessary.'

"On the next day (July 23, 1775) John Fonda reported to the Schenectady Committee that Sheriff White had left Johnstown, presumably for Canada, and, on the twenty-ninth, the Albany Committee reported to General Schuyler that not only was the unhappy dispute with Sir John amicably settled, he agreeing to take no further active part in the dispute between Great Britain and the American Colonies, but that the apprehension of the in-

habitants of Tryon County respecting the Indians was entirely removed."

Johnson's protestations of neutrality were false and he and his followers continued their dangerous Tory activities under cover, with the result shown in the next chapter.

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The following dates give the chief events leading up to the Revolution, as well as those transpiring in 1775, the first year of actual warfare. These dates, given under chapters dealing with the years of the Revolution from 1775 to 1783, enable the reader to carry along the national events of the war, in connection with the Mohawk Valley story of the War for Independence. The table of dates of National Revolutionary events, from 1765 to 1775 inclusive, follows:

New York congress of 1765, called to protest against the Stamp Act of 1765; formation of the Sons of Liberty in New York city and conflict between them and British troops, Jan. 18, 1770, resulting in bloodshed (Appleton's Encyclopedia says "this irregular fighting was the real beginning of the Revolutionary war."); Boston massacre, 1770; Boston tea party, Dec. 16, 1773; organization of "Mohawks" in New York in 1773 and repetition of "Boston tea party" in New York harbor, April, 1774; Continental congress in Philadelphia, Sept. 5, 1773 (in reality an assemblage of the patriot committees from the different colonies), sitting also during 1774; battle of Lexington, April 19, 1775; American capture of Ticonderoga, May 10, 1775; second Continental congress, May 10, 1775; battle of Bunker Hill, June 17, 1775; Washington made commander-in-chief of the American army, June 15, 1775; American defeat under Montgomery at Quebec, Dec. 31, 1775.

* * * * *

The following sketch of Col. Peter Vrooman, commander of the Schoharie (Fifteenth Regiment, Albany County) Militia during the Revolution, is from Ellsworth Vrooman's "Schoharie Valley Lore":

Peter B. Vrooman, son of Barent A. Vrooman and Engelite Swart, was born at Vrooman's Island, Schoharie County, New York, June 20, 1735; married Engelite Swart, daughter of Josia Swart and Janette Vrooman, May 15, 1764; died at Schoharie, New York, December 29, 1793.

Peter Vrooman was commissioned lieutenant in 1754, captain in 1759, major in 1770, under the Crown, and served against the French on the frontier.

When war was declared, he espoused the cause of the Colonies and was commissioned colonel of militia by the Provincial Congress of New York on October 20, 1775, having dropped the "B." in his name, perhaps to shield himself from being recognized as the former major of the British government. He remained in command from the beginning to the close of the Revolution, excepting when reinforcements were sent to the valley or when made immediate command, by reason of courtesy or seniority of rank, was transferred to the visiting commandment. During Johnson's invasion, Col. Peter Vrooman was the superior officer and took part in the defense of the Middle Fort. The Continental major was either a coward or traitor, as he insisted on giving admittance to the flag of truce, upon which Colonel Vrooman took command, even issuing the ammunition himself, that the men might not know the scantiness of the supply, and thus by his boldness and determination saving the fort. In addition to his military service, Colonel Vrooman held the office of secretary to the Committee of Safety, was elected to the Continental Congress in 1775, was member of Assembly in 1777, '79, '86 and '87, served as delegate to the General Committee, and filled other important positions of trust. After the close of the Revolution, Colonel Vrooman, his buildings having been burned by the Indians on Vrooman's Island, purchased the old mill on Foxes Creek, Schoharie, built 1760, and erected the house now the home of Mr. Charles Vrooman.

A monument to Colonel Vrooman stands adjacent to the Old Stone Fort, which was the Lower Schoharie Fort of the Revolution, over which he exercised command during a great part of the war.

CHAPTER 58.

1775. SCHENECTADY AT THE BEGINNING OF THE REVOLUTION.

1775, MAY 6, FORMATION OF THE SCHENECTADY TOWNSHIP COMMITTEE OF SAFETY—ITS MEMBERS AND EARLY PATRIOT ACTIVITIES—FORT SCHENECTADY—THE BARRACKS AND HOSPITAL—SCHENECTADY, HAVEN OF REFUGE FOR THE WOUNDED AND HOMELESS FROM THE RAVAGED MOHAWK VALLEY TO THE WESTWARD—WASHINGTON'S FIRST VISIT TO SCHENECTADY IN 1775.

When the Revolution broke out Schenectady was (for that time) an ancient American city—over 110 years old.

During the Revolution, Schenectady was the river starting point for several American military expeditions. The most important was that which left Schenectady for Canajoharie, about May 1, 1779, under the command of Gen. James Clinton. Clinton's army of 2,000 went west over the south shore road and river, carrying their supplies in 200 batteaux. This expedition made an overland journey from Canajoharie to Otsego Lake, went down the Susquehanna and joined General Sullivan's army and together successfully invaded the Seneca country.

At the outbreak of the Revolution the inhabitants of the town of Schenectady were mainly Dutch, with a sprinkling of English, Irish and Scotch. The Dutch, almost to a man, were Whigs, and early espoused the cause of the Colonies. The English and Scotch were mostly Tories, and the Irish, who were all north of Ireland men, or Protestants, were firm in their adherence to the cause of the Colonies.

As early as 1775 a Committee of Safety and Correspondence was formed and troops were raised for the defense of Ticonderoga. The Schenectady and Albany committees frequently cooperated with the Tryon County committee. Later, when the Continental Line was organized, the men from Schenectady who enlisted for the war were assigned to the First New York Line, Colonel Van Schaick's regiment. This regiment was recruited entirely from Albany County, of which the borough of Schenectady then formed a part. It served with Washington during the entire war with credit and distinction. Cornelius Van Dyck of Schenectady was its lieutenant colonel and later its colonel.

Col. Abraham Wemple's regiment, the Second Albany County Militia, also saw service and especially distinguished itself at

the battle of Saratoga. Christopher Yates of Schenectady was its lieutenant-colonel. Col. Abraham Oothout of Schenectady was the regiment's colonel toward the end of the war. The Second Albany County Militia was the Schenectady Revolutionary regiment, both officers and men to the number of 600 being residents of the Schenectady district, then comprising the present city and township of Schenectady, and the townships of Rotterdam and Glenville, all now (1925) located in Schenectady County.

Considering its population, the Schenectady district furnished a large number of soldiers to the state militia and line (regular) Revolutionary armies. See "Schenectady During the Revolution," by Willis T. Hanson.

The town was fortified and garrisoned during the war, a stockade enclosing the village, with block houses at the angles, and a fort at the junction of Ferry and Front Streets. The General Hospital for the Northern District was located here, at the junction of Union Street and what is now known as Lafayette Street, and near this point was also the barracks for the troops.

Numbers of American soldiers, who were wounded in the Revolutionary valley fighting westward, were brought to Schenectady by river for treatment.

Schenectady was a haven of refuge, during the Revolution, for the people of the Mohawk Valley farther west who fled before the British-Indian raids along the river. Patriot Oneida Indians lived here during the Revolution and fought as scouts with American armies. Washington visited Schenectady in 1775, 1782 and 1783.

Many of the Revolutionary soldiers of Schenectady and elsewhere are buried in the Vale Cemetery, where a monument records their services to the cause of American liberty.

The following forms part of Chapter 8, entitled "Schenectady in the Revolution," in Maj. Austin A. Yates' "Schenectady County":

"The patriotism of Schenectady was pure, unadulterated and unselfish. Stamp act and tea taxation worried the burghers less than any other people in America. Stamped papers, checks and drafts, they used, of course, but less of it than the commercial seaports. The Mohawk Dutchman was a strangely unambitious soul of extremely contented disposition. The moment the genuine Hollander acquired that simple revenue which, ridiculously small as it may appear in these days, was sufficient for the modest demands of his quiet home, he was content to sit on his stoop built in youth or maturity for the rest of old age, and watch the

JOHN GLEN HOUSE, 1740.

This was the home of Quartermaster John Glen, No. 58 Washington Avenue. Now (1924) the Hawley House. Here Gen. Washington was entertained and lodged on his first visit to Schenectady in 1775. He occupied the bedroom on the second floor to the right in the picture. Photo by Mr. Howland S Stedman, Schenectady, by courtesy of Mr. Hanford Robison, Schnectady.

THE COL. YATES HOUSE, 1735.

At 26 Front street. This was the home of Lt. Col. Yates of the (Revolutionary) Second Albany County Militia, and where Gov. Yates, his son, was born, in 1768, a tablet marking the site. The house was built before 1735. Present home of Mr. Alonzo P. Walton.

procession of the hunters of wealth or power go westward. Schenectady was then, as now, on the very highway of progress, the turnpike laid out by nature, for the journey then beginning from New York around the globe. He saw it all, joined in it rarely, wanted to live his uneventful life, and calmly wait for its peaceful end.

"He had never suffered from active wrong done him by the Englishman as others had. It was the passive injury of her shameful neglect that had been his worst complaint. No troops of the King were ever quartered upon him in any unwelcome form. The fort had in fact never been garrisoned enough to give him a feeling of security against blood-thirsty white and red men.

"All the British officers and men quartered here seemed always to have mingled with and been part of the people. They were victims of the horrors of the massacre of February 9th, helped to hunt down the Indian assassins on every occasion, in the chase of the perpetrators of the Beukendaal massacre, and did all they could to rescue the captives. Sir William Johnson, ruler of the district, his Majesty's representative, was to the manor born, not of their own race but of their own neighbors in the valley, and in spite of his Mormon tendencies and his bold assumption of the divine right of kings in the manner of morganatic marriages with squaws, was popular, a brave, warm-hearted man. Schenectady was often his military headquarters. From here came the Fondas, his commissaries, fathers and sons —his officers were largely from here. The Yates brothers, Stoeffel and Jellis, had fought under him, the elder, a lad in his teens, wounded at Ticonderoga and promoted at Sir William's suggestion for bravery at Fort Niagara. Campbell, Duncan, the Van Slycks, Bradts, Vielies, Vanderbogarts, Vedders, Veeders. Wemples, Mynderses, Barhydts, in fact all the Dutch families of the valley were on the rolls of his battalions and companies. And the loyal element at Schenectady was not made up of unpopular men by any manner of means. The Yankee was not worshipped here, and the Englishmen were not hated. The latter had touched elbows with the early settlers in many of the alarms constantly sent out, until comradeship had become close. Sir William's heart was true. That he stood staunchly by the King who had honored him with a baronetcy, and the command of all his forces west of Albany, from a strict sense of duty, while his heart was divided with love for both, is an open secret of history.

"Officers and soldiers of great local renown in Colonial wars

dropped off the rolls in the Revolution. Campbells, Duncans and the Glens, with the exception of the staunch old Quartermaster Glen, well and widely known, and others who had fought for the King from a decade to a quarter of a century, did not take up arms for the Colonies. The Sanders were staunch friends of King George. But these men could hardly be called by the offensive name of Tory, with the exception of Duncan, and even he was forgiven. As a rule they were allowed to be quiet and silent, and as long as they were so, there was none to molest or make them afraid. Schenectady was, however, intensely loyal without that murderous bitterness that revelled in battle, murder and sudden death. Here our ancestors had not the personal insult of being spurned from the foot of the throne, there was no Boston massacre, no fights like that of Golden Hill in New York, no shooting down of rebels as at Concord and Lexington. The English garrison had always been welcomed, and its officers and men had always been in comradeship and good favor with the people.

"There were full confidence and faith in the great Sir William, his Majesty's viceroy. In his heart no one doubted in all the stern days that followed, that he would have been in many instances in warm sympathy with his fellow soldiers of other days. There were no battlefields in Schenectady County, no raids on the lovely hill slopes and smiling valleys. * * *

"In one respect the Tories of the Revolution and the copperheads of 1861 are strikingly similar. They seem to have died childless. No one today admits that he is a descendant of a Tory, and we cannot find anywhere about us those who are confessedly possessed of copperhead blood, and if the old soldier of the Civil War will occasionally meet, in his daily walk, his old neighbor, who sympathized with the rebels against the flag for which he fought, he is kindly oblivious to the fact, bestowing the mercy of silence and lets the oblivion of years blot out the stain of treason. There were none of the genuine breed of Tory in Schenectady of whom history, tradition, or official record makes any mention, but there were men who had made gallant records in the Colonial wars, who, while they took no active part in behalf of the nation and the sovereign to whom they undoubtedly had a loyalty in their hearts, never turned their guns against the scarlet uniform of the King.

"Ellice, Phynn, Duncan, Campbell and Morrison were closely watched. They were not Tories, but British subjects, or sons of British subjects. A Tory was the American whom the American

patriot hated, but the British Loyalist seems to have been treated with indulgence by his fellow citizen. The English born, who remained faithful to an English monarch, was tolerated and afterwards freely forgiven. The Tory's life was safe nowhere. There were others to whom the situation at the outbreak of the war was most distressing. Many of them undoubtedly felt, in their hearts, that it was the battle between inclination and duty that worried the soul of Sir William Johnson.

"The Glens, the Fondas, the Vanderbogarts, the Van Schaicks, the Van Slycks, the Vielies, the Bradts, the Yateses and others had all done service in rank or file, as officers, or as soldiers under King George, and the disruption of the Empire, proclaimed by the Declaration of Independence, came upon them as a shock. It was a particularly distressing situation for the Yateses whom King George II had honored with commissions and with grants of land. It was especially painful to the Glens, to whom his Majesty's governors had given authority in Schenectady; to the Bradts and Vroomans who had been official surveyors, and had laid out the territory of the King's dominion, but to the honor of all, or almost all, of the manor born, not one of them but rallied to the standard of George Washington. In fact, the elder Yates was a member of Congress of '76, his term expiring but six days before the signing of the Declaration of Independence. Though lieutenant-colonel of Wemple's regiment, his relation with the British officers seems to have been close to the last, for his daughter, shortly after the Revolution, married Johnson Butler, the nephew of the infamous Walter Butler, and Captain Alexander of the British army. It is a singular fact that the records show that "Col. Stoeffel," as he was often and affectionately called, loyal enough to fight in the Colonial wars for the King of England, went at once upon the staff of Schuyler, as Glen did on quartermaster duty, and the records of the Revolution, from which the information in this chapter is strictly derived, do not show anywhere that he ever leveled his gun at a British soldier. His younger brother Jellis, however, was a fighter all the way through as private and lieutenant of the line.

"The precise situation can best be told in what follows, in the extracts from the records of the Committee of Public Safety. It will be seen that the people fully and thoroughly trusted these men, as ardent as they had been in the cause of England, for it will be seen that they were members of the Committee of Public Safety. In the story of what transpired in the official action of the village authorities, in support of their brave country, the

historian is deeply indebted to the Hon. John Sanders, who has in his industrious research and judicious selection collated the interesting facts which follow.

"It must, as honest history, be stated as connected with our great revolutionary struggle, that the mass of the inhabitants of Schenectady were devotedly the sons of liberty, and intensely in earnest; but it must be confessed that a few of our most wealthy men were prudent and non-commital, and unexceptionally, from habit, would pray for the King.

"The first gun was fired and the first blood flowed at Lexington, on the 19th day of April, 1775, and on the 6th of May [1775] following, at a meeting of the freeholders and inhabitants of the township of Schenectady, the following persons were unanimously chosen to be a committee of correspondence, safety and protection for the township:

"Rinier Mynderse, James Wilson, Hugh Mitchell, Henry Glen, Harmanus Wendell, Abraham Oothout, John Roseboom, Christopher Yates, Cornelius Cuyler and Jacobus Teller. Christopher Yates (father of Governor Joseph C. Yates), was made chairman; Hugh Mitchell was made clerk.

"A minute book of 162 closely written pages was kept by the committee and their successors, now belonging to the library of Union College, having been presented to that institution as a valuable relic of our revolutionary trials by the late Edward Rosa, Esq., and although deeply interesting on each page, few important items are selected as extracts, to show how patriotic, multiform and extensive were the duties and labors of that committee; and, in the mass of interesting detail, even that selection is difficult.

"This committee met often, and on the 8th of May, 1775, resolved that their future meetings should be held at the house of William White, located on Church Street, where is now the residence of the Hon. John A. Deremer. The building was burned down in the disastrous conflagration of 1819.

"It was further resolved, that all members of the committee attend the general meeting of the committees of safety, to be held at Albany, on the 10th inst."

From the minutes of May 16th, 1775:

"Received a letter from the chairman of the committee at Albany acquainting this board that Daniel Campbell, Esq., has a quantity of gunpowder in store at Albany, which he wishes to take out, but this committee refused him that liberty until they acquainted this board of the same.

"Having taken the contents of said letter into consideration, and foreseeing the evil consequences that may attend the powder falling into the hands of our enemies,

"Resolved, that this board do now purchase 335 lbs. of gunpowder from Daniel Campbell, Esq., at 3s. per lb.

"Resolved, That said powder be delivered in custody of Johr Post and John G. Lansing, and that they dispose of it to the public as hereinafter directed. Said Post and Lansing are ordered to dispose of the powder at 3s. 9d. per pound; 3s. 10d. by the half-pound; 4s. by the quarter, and not to dispose of any of it to any person who lives out of the township without an order from a member of the committee."

From the minutes of May 28th, 1775:

"A sub-committee from the County of Tryon waited on this board to inform us of the state of affairs in that county, which they looked upon to be dangerous in respect to the Indians, and requested a supply of powder.

"Resolved, To furnish them with fifty pounds of powder."

From the minutes of May 29th, 1775:

"In consequence of a request of the committee of Albany to raise one company of men for the Continental service to go to Ticontarog (Ticonderoga), consisting of one captain, one lieutenant, one ensign, three sergeants, three corporals, one drummer, one fifer and fifty privates.

"Resolved, That Cornelius Van Dyck is appointed captain, Benj. Hilton, lieut., and Cornelius Van Slyck, ensign, and that the utmost dispatch be made in raising said company; their pay to be as follows, viz.:

"Captain, per month, 6 pounds; lieut., per month, 4 pounds; ensign, per month, 3 pounds; sergeants, per month, 2 pounds, 8 shillings; corporals, per month, 2 pounds, 4 shillings; drummer, per month, 2 pounds, 4 shillings; fifers, per month, 2 pounds, 4 shillings; privates, per month, 2 pounds, all lawful money of New England.

"Resolved, That every officer and soldier belonging to any of the companies now raised or to be raised within this township, sign the association recommended by the honorable the Continental Congress, and that no person muster or appear under arms in any of the companies who do not comply with this resolve.

"Resolved, That instructions be immediately given to Captain Van Dyck for raising his company."

From the minutes of May 31st, 1775:

"Captain Van Dyck made application to this board for provision for his men.

"Resolved, That Captain Van Dyck's men be boarded for the present at the houses of John Wilson and Robert Moston (Moyston), at the rate of one shilling, New York currency, per day per man."

From the minutes of 4th August, 1775:

"This board being informed that Daniel Campbell, Esq., and Alexander Ellice intend going up to Niagara and from thence to Montreal,

"Resolved, That Messrs. Campbell and Ellice be sent for and examined relative to their intentions of going up the country.

"Said Campbell and Ellice being sent for and present, declared upon their honor that they were going up the country on their private business, and that they would not carry any letters or messages of news to or from any person who was inimical to the American cause.

"Resolved, That Messrs. Campbell and Ellice be permitted to go, and that a certificate be given them."

It will be seen that Messrs. Campbell and Ellice did not possess in any eminent degree the confidence of their fellow citizens. They have left no descendants. If they had there would be no occasion for shame. They were honest, loyal-hearted Englishmen and never in any way betrayed their adopted country.

Under date of December 29, 1775, the Schenectady Committee resolved that the usual firing of guns on New Year's Day be stopped as it was a waste of powder at such a critical time.

On January 14, 1776, the minutes read that:

"Captain John Mynderse, with the officers of the Minute Men, made their appearance before the board with a number of men and set out immediately in sleighs for Albany.

"Resolved that the following letter be immediately sent to James McMaster and the committee of Warrensbush:

"Sir, we being suspicious that news may be carried to Johnstown of what is now going on here, we are about to place guards on both sides of the river to prevent any persons from passing upwards who are not known to be friends of the American cause; we therefore request you will take such steps as will prevent any news passing through Warrensbush, and that you will examine all letters you are suspicious of."

This is followed by entries of the apprehension and trial of several persons charged with being enemies to the American cause, and resulted in committing some of them to jail at Albany.

The foregoing extracts from the minutes, etc., are from Yates' chapter on "Schenectady in the Revolution", as previously mentioned. The minutes of the committee, up to the end of the war, are concerned with the unlimited details of the War of Independence, in relation to the important but tiny township of Schenectady. Although there was no actual warfare here, yet the little city and its neighborhood expected war and bloodshed in its midst throughout the conflict. Had the enemy ever broken through the defenses along the middle and upper Mohawk River, Schenectady would probably have been destroyed. However, the history of actual Revolutionary warfare in the Mohawk Valley belongs to the section west of the Schenectady district and to the Schoharie Valley.

One of the interesting incidents in connection with the committee's activities was the arrest of John Empie for receiving "hard money" in payment for yeast, during the year 1779. The committee compelled Empie to pay back all the "hard money" and a warning was issued against a repetition of the offense. The use of hard money was absolutely forbidden.

Yates says: "Great efforts were made by the real friends of our revolutionary struggles to maintain 'the continental paper currency' at the standard value of gold and silver; but gold and silver, as far as was known, had not a physical existence in the country in any quantity equal to the demands of the war, and therefore, as a means to sustain the value of their paper, the government prohibited the circulation of coin altogether."

The depreciation, consequent upon the use of paper money, is shown in Ramsay's "History of the American Revolution," which says (Vol. II, pp. 112 to 122): "The depreciation began at different periods in different states, but became general about the beginning of the year 1777, and progressively increased for three or four years. Toward the end of 1777, the depreciation was three for one; in 1778, it was six for one; in 1779, twenty-eight for one; in 1780, sixty for one, in the first four or five months. Its circulation was afterwards partial, but where it passed it soon depreciated to 150 for one. In some few points it continued in circulation for the first four or five months of 1781, but, in this latter period, many would not take it at any rate, and they who did received it at a depreciation of several hundreds for one."

It is needless to say that the bloodsucker, the grafter, the slacker, the usurer and the profiteer flourished in the American population during the Revolution, as in all our nation's wars.

These vultures and the Tories were, to the Revolutionary War, what similar noxious breeds and copperheads were, in the later War of the Rebellion and similar defectives in the World War.

The following names of members of the Schenectady Committee of Safety are taken from Hanson's "A History of Schenectady During the Revolution." They include the known members, who served at different periods of the Revolution: Aaron Van Patten, Cornelius P. Van Slyck, Alexander Vedder, Nicholas P. Veeder, Isaac Vrooman, John B. Vrooman, Abraham Wemple Hermanus H. Wendell, Ahasueras Wendle, William White, James Wilson, Christopher Yates, Benjamin Young, Cornelius Cuyler, John Cuyler, Abraham Fonda, Henry Glen, Gerrit G. Lansing, Andrew McFarlan, Albert Mebie, Hugh Mitchell, Reimer (Rinier) Mynderse, Abraham Oothout, John Peek, John Roseboom, William Schermerhorn, Jacobus Teller, Myndert Ten Eyck, Cornelius Van der Volgen, Henry Van Driesen, Dirk Van Ingen.

In 1775, while on a mission to the headquarters of the Army of the North at Albany, General Washington paid a visit to Schenectady. His errand was doubtless concerned with the defenses of the Albany-Schenectady district and the Mohawk Valley, but there are few details of his Schenectady trip. He came again in 1782 and 1783. Of these later journeys we have more information.

The further story of Schenectady in the Revolution is contained in subsequent chapters dealing with the yearly course of the war in the Mohawk Valley.

May 27, 1775, a preliminary organization of Schenectady County Militia was formed by the Committee of Safety. Three companies of minute men were provided for, to be raised in Schenectady Township; two companies in the town and the third in the Westina (Wilderness), as that part of the district to the west of the village was called. Each company was to consist of a captain, two lieutenants, four sergeants, three corporals, a drum and fifty privates, sixty-one officers and enlisted men to the company, one hundred and eighty-three soldiers in all. The officers chosen for the three companies were the following:

First Company. Captain, Jellis J. Fonda; First Lieutenant, Andrew Van Patten; Second Lieutenant, Myndert A. Wemple.

Second Company. Captain Cornelius Van Dyck; First Lieutenant, John Mynderse; Second Lieutenant, Gerrit Veeder.

Third Company. Captain John Van Patten; First Lieuten-

ant, Cornelius Van Slyck; Second Lieutenant, Myndert R. Wemple.

On May 10, 1775, Ethan Allen captured Ticonderoga and the next day Seth Warner's men took Crown Point from the British. Albany raised two companies to defend these forts and Schenectady raised one company, of which Cornelius Van Dyck was made captain. On June 17, fifty guns were issued for the use of Captain Van Dyck's company.

On June 28, 1775, under a resolution of the New York Provincial Congress, four regiments of infantry and one company of artillery were organized. These troops were known as the New York Line, corresponding to regular army troops for service at any needed point, while the militia was intended primarily to repel invasion. Provision was made at the same time for raising State militia regiments.

The first New York Line was recruited at Albany and many Mohawk Valley young men hastened to enlist in its ranks. It was a splendid regiment which served with honor and distinction throughout the war. Cornelius Van Dyck of Schenectady became its lieutenant-colonel, November 21, 1776, serving as second in command throughout the war. Van Dyck became colonel of the First New York in 1783. He was one of the Mohawk Valley's most gallant Revolutionary officers.

September 2, 1775, the Schenectady District Militia met at the Dutch church for a general organization. Besides the three companies, two others were formed, of which Abraham Wemple and Thomas Wasson were made captains.

Hanson's "Schenectady During the Revolution", says: "The companies of Captains Fonda and Mynderse retained their classification as minute men and as such served until the spring of 1777, when they were incorporated with the regular militia. The motto of these companies, as noted on their flags, was 'Liberty or Death', and, because of the colors of the uniforms worn by their members, Captain Mynderse's company was known as 'The Blues' and Captain Fonda's as 'The Greens'.

"At the direction of Congress, commissions as field officers of the Schenectady militia (later known as the Second Albany County) were, on October 20 (1775), issued as follows: Colonel, Abraham Wemple; Lieutenant-colonel, Jacob Schermerhorn; First Major, Abraham Swits; Second Major, Nicholas P. Veeder; Adjutant, Aaron Van Patten; Quartermaster, John Peek."

For a very complete account of the part played by Schenectady

city and township in the Revolution, the reader is referred to "A History of Schenectady During the Revolution", by Willis T. Hanson, Jr., A. M., of Schenectady. The editor of the History of the Mohawk Valley—Gateway to the West, expresses his obligation to the foregoing valuable work for much of the data, regarding Schenectady's Revolutionary history, which is contained within these pages.

* * * * *

General Washington first visited the Mohawk Valley in 1775, when he made a hurried visit to Schenectady to inspect that city's fortifications and probably also to confer with the Schenectady Committee of Safety as to defensive measures. He then dined and lodged at the home of Quartermaster John Glen, present 58 Washington Avenue, Schenectady, where he occupied the west chamber on the second floor. This was also the home of Henry Glen, brother of John. Washington also took tea at the home of John Sanders, present 43 Washington Avenue. Both of these houses, erected about 1750, are still standing, although the Glen house has been hideously disfigured by "improvements". There are no further existing details of this visit by the American commander. Washington visited Schenectady again in 1782 and made a tour of the entire Mohawk River section in 1783. Both of these visits are covered in subsequent chapters.

* * * * *

The chief Revolutionary figures of Schenectady were Colonels Van Dyck, Wemple, Oothout and Lieutenant-Colonel Yates. The following brief biographies of these gallant officers is taken from "A History of Schenectady During the Revolution", by Willis T. Hanson.

VAN DYCK, CORNELIUS: Born October 8, 1740; died June 9, 1792. Buried in Vale Cemetery. On May 27, 1775, he was appointed captain of militia by the Committee of Safety. On May 29 he was given orders for recruiting a company for the defense of Fort Ticonderoga, and on June 29 was commissioned captain by the Provincial Congress and assigned to the Second New York Line. He served with distinction under General Montgomery and, during the remainder of the Canadian campaign, as a military aide-de-camp. On May 7, 1776, he was elected a member of the third Committee of Safety. On November 21, 1776, he was commissioned a lieutenant-colonel and assigned to the First New York Line. During this year he was at one time acting as commandant at Fort George. On August 21, 1777, he was a member of a council of war held at German Flats, under the presi-

dency of Major Arnold. He was at the battle of Monmouth (June 28, 1778), and on December 23 was in command of Fort Schuyler [Stanwix]. He was in command of Fort Schuyler [Stanwix] on October 25 of the following year and on April 17, 1780. He served at the end of the war, and on September 30, 1783, was appointed colonel of the First New York Line.

WEMPLE, ABRAHAM: Born about 1728; died near Albany in 1799. On September 7, 1775, the Committee of Safety applied to the Albany Committee to assign him a commission as captain of militia. On October 5, 1775, he was recommended to the Provincial Congress for the office of colonel among the field officers to be assigned to the Second Albany County Militia, and on October 20, 1775, he was commissioned colonel, being reappointed on June 20, 1778, and serving in this capacity until near the end of the war, when he resigned from the service. On November 7, 1775, he was elected a member of the second Committee of Safety and on December 29, was appointed deputy chairman of the Board. On July 26, 1779, he was again elected a member of the Committee. Colonel Wemple served with his regiment on the various occasions when called out and was throughout the war a zealous and active adherent of the American cause.

OOTHOUT, ABRAHAM: Born May 27, 1744; died in July, 1822. On May 6, 1775, he was elected a member of the first Committee of Safety. He served also on the second Committee and the Committees taking office January 15, 1777, June 2, 1777, and January 5, 1778. He was a deputy from Albany County to the first Provincial Congress. He served throughout the war as a captain in the Second Albany County Militia, being appointed soon after January 26, 1776. On June 27, 1775, he was appointed to attend the council with the Indians at German Flats, and on February 24, 1776, he was appointed with Christopher Yates to collect donations from the inhabitants to pay for sleds to transport the troops from Albany to Lake George. In the fall he was in command of a detail to Fort Ann, Fort Edward and Skenesborough. On April 24, 1777, he was detailed as a wagoner for duty from Albany to Lake George. On May 21, 1777, he was a member of a court-martial at Albany. He served with the troops against General Burgoyne at Saratoga, Stillwater and Bemis Heights. * * * On June 20, 1778, he was regularly commissioned captain, and in the summer commanded a detachment to Stone Arabia. On June 24, 1779, he was again appointed a member of the Committee of Safety, and on June 2 was appointed chairman of the Board, which office he resigned on July

8, because of the pressure of public business. On July 1, 1780, he was appointed one of the Commissioners of Conspiracies. In August, 1780, he marched with the troops to Fort Plain (after the raid on that section) and in the fall of 1781 was stationed at Fort Hunter. After the battle of Johnstown he marched in pursuit of the enemy. Towards the end of the war he was promoted to the rank of colonel in the 2d Albany County Militia to succeed Colonel Wemple, resigned.

YATES, CHRISTOPHER: Born July 8, 1737, at the old homestead in Alplaus; died September 1, 1785. Buried in Vale Cemetery. During the Revolution he lived in the house built by himself now No. 26 Front Street. In this house was born his son, Joseph C., first mayor of Schenectady (1798) and governor of New York State (1823-1824). Christopher Yates was a surveyor by profession and "one of the best informed and most efficient patriots in the Mohawk Valley." On May 6, 1775, he was elected a member of the first Committee of Safety and at the first meeting on the ninth was chosen chairman of the Board. On May 24 he was appointed one of a committee to go to Guy Park to deliver an answer to a speech made by the Mohawk Indians. On June 30 he was appointed by the Provincial Congress one of a committee to determine the ranks of the various officers serving in the New York regiments. On July 26 a letter was addressed to him by the Committee asking whether or not he had resigned from the Board, and on August 9 he tendered his resignation. On November 7 he was elected a member of the second Committee of Safety, and on December 29, was appointed deputy clerk of the Board. On January 13, 1776, he was appointed lieutenant-colonel of the 2d Albany County Militia, and on March 5, Henry Glen was instructed to apply to Congress for his commission. On May 7, 1776, he was elected a member of the third Committee of Safety. From the fall of 1776 to July 8, 1777, he was in command when detachments of the regiment were on duty at Fort Ann. It is claimed that about this time Yates served on the staff of General Schuyler as a deputy quartermaster-general and that he was afterwards promoted to the rank of colonel. The evidence to support this claim is contained in letters from General Schuyler, Benedict Arnold, Governor Morgan Lewis, etc., which were at one time in the possession of Judge A. A. Yates of this city. No evidence of this detail and appointment is to be found on the regimental rolls. After the evacuation of Fort Ann (July 8, 1777) he had command of a body of Schenectady militia engaged in felling trees to stop the progress of General Burgoyne's army.

He served throughout the campaign and with General Arnold selected the American position at Bemis Heights. On October 19, 1777, he was appointed by the State Committee of Safety one of a committee to repair to Albany to confer with General Philip Schuyler regarding means for checking the advance of the enemy on the northern and western frontiers. He served during the rest of the war in the Quartermaster's Department as a deputy, for the most part of the time stationed at Saratoga. In June, 1779, he was engaged in forwarding the baggage of General Clinton's brigade to Canajoharie, preparatory to Clinton's portage march from the Mohawk River to Otsego Lake.

ROBERT SANDERS HOUSE, 1750.

At 43 Washington Avenue. This is the large, three-story house on the right, where Washington took tea on his visit to Schenectady in 1775 when he was looking after the town's fortifications. The house at one time was the location of Schenectady Female Academy.

CHAPTER 59.

1776, TRYON COUNTY MILITIA ORGANIZATION—JOHNSON, DISARMED, FLEES TO CANADA.

GENERAL SCHUYLER'S TROOPS AND THE TRYON COUNTY MILITIA, UNDER COL. HERKIMER, CONCENTRATE AT CAUGHNAWAGA—REVIEW OF 3000 TROOPS, JANUARY 18, 1776—SIR JOHN JOHNSON AND HIS TORY FOLLOWERS DISARMED—COLONEL DAYTON SENT TO ARREST JOHNSON, WHO FLEES TO CANADA WITH TORIES—ROUTE TAKEN THROUGH THE HEART OF THE ADIRONDACKS—AUGUST 22, 1776, TRYON COUNTY MILITIA BRIGADE ORGANIZED—SEPTEMBER 5, 1776, COL. NICHOLAS HERKIMER COMMISSIONED BRIGADIER-GENERAL OF THE TRYON COUNTY MILITIA BY THE STATE CONVENTION AT FISHKILL—TEXT OF COMMISSION—NOTABLE SERVICE OF THE TRYON COUNTY MILITIA—RECORD OF REVOLUTIONARY SERVICE OF MILITIAMAN GEORGE BUSH—NATIONAL EVENTS OF 1776—BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF GEN. PHILIP SCHUYLER.

Hanson's "Schenectady During the Revolution," says:

"In spite of his promises, Sir John Johnson continued to cause trouble throughout the remainder of the summer and autumn of 1775, and, in December, the Continental Congress resolved to send General Schuyler to Tryon County under orders to secure the arms and stores of the Tories and 'to apprehend their chiefs.'

"On January 13, 1776, word of the intended expedition was received by the Schenectady Committee, the letter containing a request that the Board send immediately to Albany a 'company of 60 men completely armed, with proper officers to command them and four days provisions.' Orders were at once given to the officers of the 'minute' companies to have the necessary men ready for the march, with further instructions to include besides the number required any who wished to go as volunteers, and on the next day the expedition set out for Albany in sleds, there to join the militia already assembled.

"In order that the Indians might not be alarmed at seeing troops in the Valley (this being a direct violation of the treaty entered into with them at Albany the previous autumn, whereby it was solemnly agreed that the Mohawk River should be open for trade, that no troops should be sent into those parts and that Sir John should remain unmolested), General Schuyler dispatched a messenger to the Lower Mohawk Castle to explain that

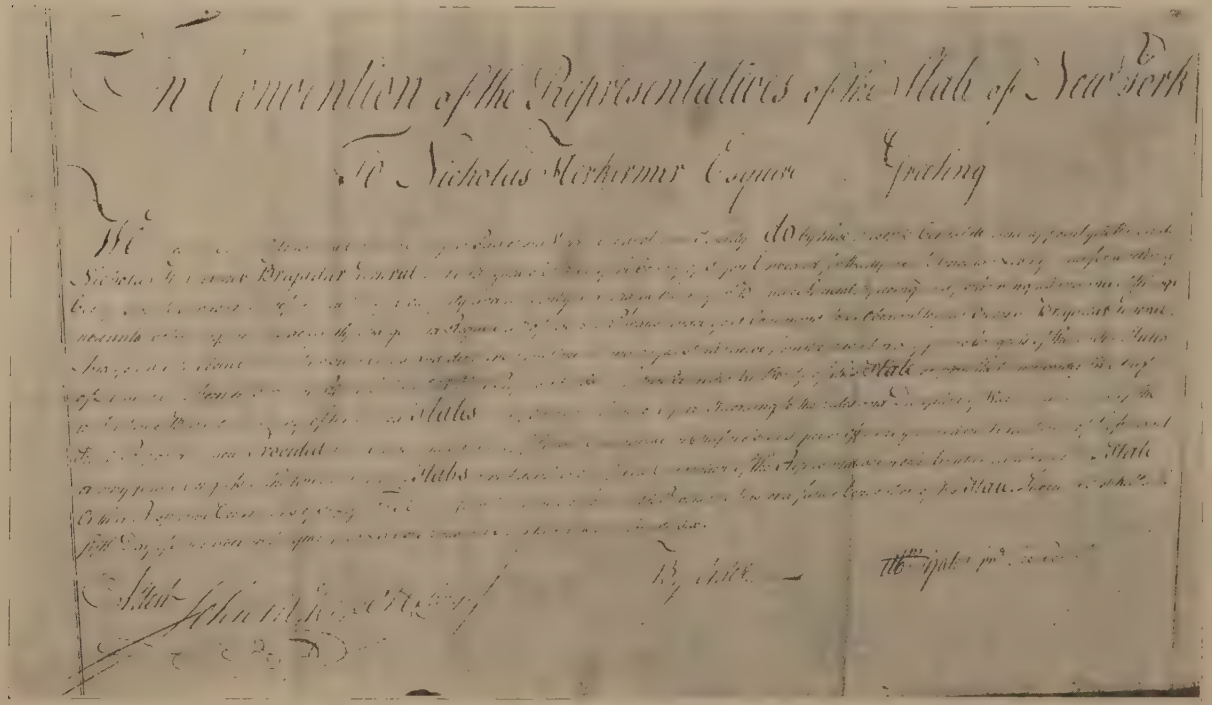
he was marching to Johnstown in order to ascertain the condition of affairs.

"Without waiting for the return of his messenger General Schuyler went forward. At Schenectady he was met by a delegation of the Mohawks under Little Abram, who reported in substance that the coming of an armed force had alarmed the Indians and that the delegation wished to be present at any interview that might take place between General Schuyler and Sir John in order that they too might know the true state of affairs. At the request of the Indians, General Schuyler wrote to Sir John Johnson from Schenectady on the sixteenth, requesting Sir John tc meet him at any place between Schenectady and Johnstown, whither he would set out on the following day.

"On the seventeenth General Schuyler, his force constantly increasing until it numbered nearly three thousand men, had proceeded some sixteen miles beyond Schenectady before the meeting with Sir John took place (near present Amsterdam). Sir John asked until the evening of the next day to consider the proposals placed before him by General Schuyler and his request being granted he returned to Johnstown. It was not until the eleventh hour that the terms proposed were acceded to, and, on Sir John's agreement to surrender all his arms and military stores and to use his influence to induce all the Loyalists in the county to do the same, he was released on parole."

On Jan. 18, 1776, Gen. Schuyler, in command of 2,000 American soldiers, met Col. Herkimer and the Tryon county regiment of 1,000 militiamen at Caughnawaga, prior to their movement on Johnstown the next day, where they disarmed Johnson and his Tory force of 400. On this day (Jan. 18) a review of this brigade of 3,000 men was held here on the ice of the river. This was the largest American Revolutionary force ever gathered in the valley.

It was on the occasion of the review of the American troops on the ice at Caughnawaga that Robert Crouse of Fort Plain gave an exhibition of one of his great feats of strength. Crouse was the strong man of the Mohawk Valley in that day. He was a giant in stature and tremendously powerful and he was then renowned throughout the Valley for his prowess. Robert Crouse was the standard bearer for the Canajoharie District Regiment of the Tryon County Militia. Crouse's strength was so great that he easily waved the regimental flag with one hand, a difficult feat for a strong man using both hands. General Schuyler was struck with admiration at the power of the mighty militiaman



Commission of General Nicholas Herkimer as "Brigadier-General of the Brigade of Militia of the County of Tryon, embodied for the defense of American Liberty and for repelling Every Hostile Invasion thereof." Dated Fishkill, Sept. 25, 1776, and signed by Abm. Yates, Jr., President, and John McKesson, Secretary. This commission on parchment has never before been reproduced in an engraving. It became the property of Captain George Herkimer, brother of General Herkimer, and has always since been the property of his descendants. Now (1924) owned by Mrs. Horace L. Greene, Fort Plain.

and is said to have offered the flag bearer a commission, which Crouse is said to have politely declined. This soldier-Hercules of the Revolutionary Mohawk Valley, was captured at the battle of Oriskany and subsequently tortured and killed by the Indians, as described in a later chapter.

"On the 20th day of January, 1776, General Schuyler and Col. Nicholas Herkimer, with a force of over three thousand troops, moved into Johnstown. The surrender took place the following day. Awed by the overwhelming force of Americans, but not subdued either in spirit or sympathies, between two hundred and three hundred haughty Tories, mostly Highlanders, moved forward on William Street, and grounded their arms in front of the court house. Sir John Johnson was permitted to keep his family arms and placed on his parole of honor. General Schuyler delivered a brief but forceful address, declaring that no evil was intended on the part of the Americans, and assuring the Tories that they would be fully protected, both as to their persons and property, so long as they remained peaceful, so long as they attempted no violence toward their Whig neighbors, so long as they raised no hostile hand against the Provisional government, or the cause of American liberty. The conciliatory words of General Schuyler fell on listless ears and heedless minds, however, and here, on this occasion, were sown some of the seeds of bitterness and hatred that found fruition a few years later, subsequent to the flight of Sir John Johnson to Canada, when these same Tories returned to this section and under the leadership of Johnson perpetrated crimes and outrages unparalleled in the annals of so-called civilized warfare." (John T. Morrison).

Mr. John T. Morrison, the historian of Johnstown, has furnished this work with the following interesting account of the flight of Sir John Johnson to Canada:

"Following the disarmament of Sir John Johnson and his followers, just described, Indians and Tories continued to flock into this section clandestinely from Canada by the Sacandaga route and the Fish House road, supplying the Royalists with arms and ammunition, and giving every possible aid and comfort to the enemy, alarming the Whigs to the extent that, at the behest of the Committee of Safety, Col. Elisha Dayton was directed to proceed to Johnstown with a part of General Schuyler's regiment and place Sir John Johnson, the master mind of these pernicious activities, under arrest. Forewarned by some friends from Albany that Col. Dayton was enroute for Johnstown for the purpose of arresting him, Sir John broke his parole of honor, and in the

night surreptitiously fled. Accompanied by a large body of retainers and some Indian guides, he proceeded to the Sacandaga River, following the Fish House road. From this point the party followed an ancient Indian trail, running along the bank of the river, skirting the northerly shore of Lake Pleasant, and the southerly shore of Raquette Lake; thence to Lake Nahasane; thence cutting across what is now the northeasterly corner of Herkimer County into what is now St. Lawrence County; thence to Russell; thence to the St. Lawrence River, and by way of the river to Montreal. The journey occupied nineteen days, and as many of the men were poorly clad and the entire party illy supplied with food, they suffered indescribable hardships.

"When Johnson and his followers left Johnstown the ground was covered with snow and the men wore snowshoes. At Raquette Lake the party was overtaken by the spring thaw and forced to discard their snowshoes, throwing them on the ground, making a large pile, and it was from this incident that Raquette Lake derived its name.

"Something over a quarter of a century ago, two old English cannon were discovered in proximity to the route followed by Johnson in his hasty flight, one in the Anthony's Pond clearing at the outlet of Long Lake, the other about two miles south of Big Tupper Lake, very near the boundary line between Hamilton and St. Lawrence counties. Both of these cannon had fallen to pieces as a result of age; the wood had turned to mold, the iron to rust; only the brass barrels had resisted the ravages of time.

"A very curious and significant thing had happened to the Big Tupper Lake cannon. It seems that after it had fallen to pieces from age and decay, a beech tree had grown up within the circle of the iron tire of one of the wheels. In 1900 this tree measured more than two feet in diameter, and at that time, according to experts in forestry, was more than one hundred years old. In view of the fact that the wheel could not have fallen from the gun carriage until decay had set in, and the fact that the tree was more than one hundred years old a quarter of a century ago, it is morally certain that these cannon were abandoned about the time of the flight of Sir John Johnson; and it is morally certain also that this cannon and its mate at the Anthony's Pond clearing were abandoned by Johnson and his followers. In corroboration of this, it is a well established fact that two cannon identical with those found stood in front of Johnson Hall at the outbreak of the Revolution, and it is a well established fact also that these two cannon disappeared very

mysteriously at the time of Johnson's flight. If it were necessary for the men to discard their snowshoes at Raquette Lake, by the same token, and for an even greater reason, it would have been necessary to abandon the cannon also. The remains of these two old cannon should find their way back and be placed in the museum at Johnson Hall."

Lady Johnson was removed to Albany where she was held as hostage for her husband's actions. Johnson took a commission as colonel under the British and organized two battalions, from the Tories who followed him, which were called the Royal Greens. These Tryon county Tories surpassed the Indians in their barbaric acts on subsequent raids into the Mohawk valley. A large part of the Tory population soon left Tryon county for Canada. Sir John's estate and that of some sixty other Tories, were confiscated by the patriot government.

The patriot militia had, doubtless, had an organization since 1775. Our first record of this military force is its organization in 1776. The different district regiments were organized under the supervision of the Tryon County district committees of safety. This Tryon County Militia was probably only the Colonial Valley Militia with the Tories left out.

On Aug. 22, 1776, the following were named, by a majority of votes, as field officers for the different districts:

Canajoharie, 1st Regiment — 1st Col., Nicholas Herkimer; Lieut.-Col., Ebenezer Cox; major, Robert Wells; adjutant, Samuel Clyde.

Palatine, 2nd Regiment — Col., Jacob Klock; Lieut.-Col., Peter Waggoner (Wagner); major, Harmanus Van Slyck; adjutant, Anthony Van Vechten.

Mohawk, Regiment — Col., Frederick Fisher; Lieut.-Col., Adam Fonda; major, John Bliven; adjutant, Robt. Yates.

Kingsland and German Flats, 4th Regiment—Col., Han Yost Herkimer, Lieut.-Col., Peter Bellinger; major, Han Yost Shoemaker; adjutant, Jno. Demooth.

At the same time Nicholas Herkimer was appointed "Chief Colonel Commander of the County of Tryon."

Four weeks after the Tryon county militia organization was effected, a battalion of "Minute men" (scouts or rangers) was formed with George Herkimer, brother of Nicholas, as its colonel and Samuel Campbell as its lieutenant-colonel.

The roster of the Tryon County Militia is given, together with that of the Schenectady Township (Albany County) Militia and Schoharie (Albany County) Militia in Chapter 76, at the end of

the series of chapters dealing with the Revolutionary war in the Mohawk Valley. The roster in the latter chapter is somewhat different from the officers named above, inasmuch as a number of the foregoing officers were killed and one, at least, Col. Johan Jost Herkimer of the German Flats Regiment, turned Tory and fled to Canada.

The Tryon County militia regiments averaged between 200 and 300 men—a fair-sized regimental militia quota for Revolutionary days.

Col. Johan Jost, or Hanyost, Herkimer was a brother of General Nicholas Herkimer and his defection hurt the General's prestige considerably. However, the majority of the Valley families had one or more Tory relatives and family and even marriage relationships were then shattered and broken by the bitter political divisions then prevailing throughout the Colonies. In spite of the Valley Tory element and the danger it was to this exposed frontier the Whigs of the Mohawk Valley always remained in control and in the majority even in the darkest days of the Revolution.

In 1773, the Weaver, Reall and Damuth families settled present North Utica at Deerfield Corners. They were driven out and their homes burned in 1776 by hostile Indians. They returned and settled permanently on their old lands in 1784, as stated later. This settlement of 1773 was the first settlement within the borders of present Utica, aside from the occupation of the small British military post of Fort Schuyler from 1758 to 1760.

The Germans who had settled present Schuyler and East Schuyler in 1760, probably abandoned their settlements about the same time as the pioneers of Deerfield Corners left their homes. The Schuyler settlement was known as New Peterboro and consisted of about thirty houses and a blockhouse, which were burned by Indian and Tory raiders during the Revolution.

On September 5, 1776, the Convention of the Representatives of the State of New York commissioned "Nicholas Herkimer" a Brigadier General to command the Tryon County Militia. This commission is one of our most valuable Revolutionary documents. An engraving from this historic paper is printed here and its wording is given in type below. This is the first printing of this historic document, within the knowledge of the editor of this history. The reader will note that the head military authority from whom Herkimer is to take orders is the "Commander in Chief for the time Being of the Army of the United States", as well as the "Executive Authority of the State", etc. After the

Revolution, and until the present federalization of the National Guard of the various States, militia officers took orders from the governors of their respective states. This long document consists of only four sentences, the second one consisting of 191 words. While our Revolutionary forefathers could write concisely about ordinary matters, when it came to documents, like this commission or legal papers, the conventional procedure was to create a lot of almost senseless rigamarole. This commission is brief and to the point compared with some documents of the time.

Major General Sir William Johnson, of the French and Indian War 1754-1760, and Brigadier General Nicholas Herkimer of the Revolutionary war, were the only Mohawk Valley soldiers who held the rank of General, from the settlement of Schenectady in 1661 to the War of 1812, a period of 161 years.

Captain George Herkimer, brother of the General, inherited the greater part of the latter's property, as well as the General Herkimer homestead, after his death from a wound received at the Battle of Oriskany. This paper, together with others, descended through the Captain George Herkimer family, which occupied the Herkimer home from 1777 until about 1815, a period of nearly forty years. Through this family, the commission descended to the editor of this work. Following is the wording of this document:

IN CONVENTION OF THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK TO NICHOLAS HERKIMER ESQUIRE GREETING.

WE reposing Especial trust and Confidence in your Patriotism Valour Conduct and Fidelity DO by these presents constitute and appoint you the said Nicholas Herkimer Brigadier General of the Brigade of Militia of the County of Tryon Embodied for the defense of American Liberty and for repelling Every Hostile Invasion thereof you are therefore carefully and diligently to discharge the duty of Brigadier General by doing and performing all manner of things thereunto belonging and we do strictly charge and Require all officers and Privates under your Command to be obedient to your orders as Brigadier General And you are to observe and follow such orders and directions from time to time as you shall receive from the present or any future Congress of the United States of America or from this or any future Convention of the Representatives or future Executive Authority of this STATE or from the Commander in Chief for the time Being of the Army of the United STATES or any other

your Superior Officer According to the rules and Discipline of War in pursuance of the Trust Reposed in you PROVIDED such orders and directions of the said Commander in Chief or of such Superior Officer be granted on the Authority of the present or any other future Congress of the United American STATES or the present or any future Convention of the Representatives or other Executive Authority of the STATE Or their Respective Committees of Safety. This Commission to Continue of force untill Revoked by this or a future Convention of this STATE Given at Fishkills, the fifth Day of September in the year of our Lord one thousand Seven hundred and Seventy Six.

Attest By Order
John McKesson Secry. Abm. Yates Junr., President

* * * * *

The service of the Tryon County Militia in the Revolution forms a most interesting chapter of the War for American Independence. No frontier was more exposed and none was more valiantly defended. Their record of patriotic service will be found most thrilling. While the Mohawk River militiamen were unruly, insubordinate and undisciplined at the beginning of the war, as at Oriskany, they became seasoned soldiers in time, fully the equals of the men of the Line, who corresponded to our later regulars. As shown in the following Revolutionary chapters, these Mohawk Valley militiamen participated in some severe fighting, and several pitched battles. This, however, formed only part of their service. Some detachments of the militia were constantly on duty. The men not only went out to fight on the battlefields of the Valley, but they garrisoned and manned the Valley forts, and were scouting and ranging continually. Some of their most severe duty was in going after large and small bodies of Tories and Indians, who were constantly breaking out of the woods, burning, murdering and scalping and then getting away before the militia could reach the stricken spot. These forays were numberless. Many of them are given in detail in Simm's "Frontiersmen of New York", where the reader will find many thrilling stories and incidents of the Revolution.

The following affidavit and record of Revolutionary War service of George Bush shows clearly the active duty performed by these valiant farmer soldiers of the Mohawk Valley. Bush was a settler in the village of Springfield, prior to the Revolution, and served from there in its early days. He was probably burned out by Brant and his raiders in 1778, when Springfield was raided and burned. George Bush then moved to present Minden town-

ship and later to Palatine. The Editor is indebted to Mr. Harry V. Bush of Canajoharie, the historian, who is a descendant of Militiaman Bush, for the use of this interesting service paper, which were drawn up to certify to a pension application, following the U. S. pension law, enacted in 1832. George Bush's record in the Canajoharie District Regiment and the Palatine District Regiment of the Tryon County Militia, is as follows:

State of New York, Montgomery County,

Personally appeared before me the undersigned one of the Judges of the Court of Common pleas of the County of Montgomery, George Bush who being duly sworn Deposeth and Saith, that, by reason of old age and the consequent loss of memory he cannot swear positively as to the precise length of his service but, according to the best of his recollection, he served not less than the period mentioned below and in the following grades: For five months I served as a private in the year 1776.

For three months and twenty-nine days I served as a private in 1777.

For thirteen days I served as a private in 1778.

For one month and four days I served as a private in 1780.

For seven days I served as a private in 1781.

And in addition to the services above mentioned I did other service during the different seasons of the hostilities, that I was the most of the time in service from spring to fall up and down the Mohawk River during the different seasons from 1777 to 1781 the particulars of which service I cannot now give, but that I did as I am well satisfied full six months service besides what I have above specified, I have served my Country faithfully and this is the best statement I can give at this late day and in my declining age, of those services.

Whatever pension therfor this statement may entitle me to I shall be pleased to have and for that service I claim a pension.

Signed and sworn to this 1st day of July, 1833, before me.

David Spraker,
a Judge of the Montgomery County Courts.

His
George X Bush.
Mark

State of New York,
County of Montgomery.

On the 19th. day of September in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and thirty-two, personally appeared in open court before the Judges of the Court of Common Pleas of said

county, now sitting, George Bush, a resident of the town of Minden, in the County and State aforesaid, aged eighty-seven years in June last, Who being duly sworn according to Law doth, on his oath, make the following declaration, in order to obtain the benefits of the act of Congress passed June 7th, 1832. That he entered the service of the United States under the following named officers and served as hereinafter mentioned. That in 1776, thinks in the month of June, he enlisted in the service of his Country during the pleasure of Congress under Captain John Winn, Lieutenants Laurence Gros and he thinks Peter Schrembling, that under the above named officers he served in scouting from Cooperstown in the County of Otsego down the Unadilla and Susquehanna Rivers and to the north of the Mohawk River toward the head of the West Canada Creek, that some of the time he and others of the same company were stationed at Cooperstown on duty and on guard, while others of the company went out scouting in other directions. That he continued so to serve about five months and then procured one William Sixbury to take his place and he was discharged.

That afterwards about the first of January 1777 he was drafted and called to service in a Company commanded by Captain Nicholas Wiser, the Regiment after commanded by Col. Ebenezer Cox—that they soon thereafter left the Mohawk River at Canajoharie went to Ticonderoga where they with some regular troops were commanded by General Hay, remained there in building fortifications and works for the better defense of Country, until the fore part of April following, when we were discharged and that about a week thereafter he arrived at Springfield the place of his then residence.

That afterwards and about the last of July in the same year, on a call of the Militia to rout the enemy, he was again called into service and marched under the command of his said Captain to Fort Plain where they joined several other Companies under the command of Col. Ebenezer Cox, and they marched up the Mohawk River to Oriskany in the County of Oneida, then commanded by General Nicholas Herkimer, that he was then engaged in the Oriskany battle and was employed in the battle, marching to and from the place of battle and until he arrived home, at least two weeks.

That about the middle of July, 1778, he was called out from near Fort Plain where he then resided by Captain Adam Lipe and marched to Springfield on receiving the alarm that the Indians and Tories were destroying that settlement, that they arrived at

the place about fifteen miles from Fort Plain after it was destroyed and then pursued the party of Indians and Tories west to what was called Young's Lake but did not come up with them and then returned to Fort Plain, that he was out on duty at that time about six dayes.

That in November following when the alarm came that the Indians and tories were destroying Cherry Valley he was called out and marched to that place about fifteen miles south of Fort Plain, when we arrived after it was destroyed, many men, women and children murdered and the party had moved off, that he staid and assisted in burying the dead and then returned to Fort Plain, and that he was out in that service about a week.

That in the month of October, 1780, he was again called out with the Company to which he then belonged, commanded by Captain Sufrinus Cook in the Town of Palatine, where he then lived to assist Col. Brown, who had the command for about nine months, in an attack upon Sir John Johnson who was then destroying up the north side of the Mohawk River with a party of British troops, Indians and tories, that he was engaged in the battle under Col. Brown against Sir John at Stone Arabia near the Mohawk River, when Col. Brown was killed, and that he was out in service at that time before and after the battle about two weeks.

That soon after he was drafted by a draft of every third man out of Captain Cook's Company the men so drafted were marched under command of Captain Cook to a place called the Royal Grant in the County of Herkimer, north of Little Falls and about thirty miles from where he resided in Palatine, that they were stationed and kept on duty better than two weeks and that he was in service at that time about twenty days.

That, in the Month of July, 1781, he was again called out by his said Captain Cook, marched with some troops and militia men then commanded by Col. Willett to a place called Durlach in the Town of Sharon in the County of Schoharie, there engaged with, fought and routed about three hundred Indians and tories commanded by a tory by the name of Dockstatter and that he was in service at that time a week or more.

That, besides the service of his in the revolution above mentioned, he was called out by his officers at many times and at many places up and down and north and south of the Mohawk River in cases of alarm by the repeated depredations of the Indians and tories during the war, that it is entirely out of his power to state the times and places they were so frequent indeed the savage

depredations were almost constant during the summer and fall seasons from 1777 to 1781.

That the service he did during those years, which he cannot particularly state, did, as he fully believes, amount to at least six months actual duty in the service of his Country and that of the most severe and perilous kind.

That he has no documentary evidence and that he knows of no person whose testimony he can procure who can testify to all his service.

That he was born in Germany in June, 1745 came to the province of New York about nine years before the Revolution.

That he has no record of his age.

That he was living in Springfield in the County of Otsego and State aforesaid when called in to service, that during the war he moved to Minden in the County of Montgomery, then to Palatine in said County where he lived to the end of the war then moved to Minden aforesaid where he has lived since.

That he was called into service at the times and in the manner above mentioned.

That he cannot state the names of the officers of the regular troops, Continental or other regiments or the general circumstances of his service then as the same is by him above stated and that he never received a written discharge.

That George D. Fergerson and Peter Young, are the names of persons to whom he is known in his present neighborhood who can testify as to his character for veracity and their belief of his services as a soldier of the revolution, and that there is no clergyman residing in his vicinity.

He hereby relinquishes every claim whatever to a pension or annuity except the present and declares that his name is not on the pension roll of the agency of any state.

Sworn to and subscribed the day and year aforesaid, George Ferguson, Clerk.

His
George X Bush.
Mark

Following this is an affidavit by George Ferguson and Peter Young, as to Bush's veracity, etc., a form common to these pension papers. In 1832, when the pension act was passed, but few surviving soldiers of the Revolution were living.

* * * * *

Following are Revolutionary War dates of national events of the year 1776: Declaration of Independence, July 4, 1776; evacu-

ation of Boston by British, March 17, 1776; American defeat on Long Island, August 27, 1776; American defeats of Fort Washington, Manhattan, and Fort Lee, New Jersey, in fall of 1776, and retreat across New Jersey; American victory at Trenton, December 26, 1776.

* * * * *

Gen. Philip Schuyler, who disarmed Johnson and his followers at Johnstown in 1776, was connected with many of the military movements in this locality through being the commander of the American army of the north during the early part of the war with headquarters at Albany. He was born in Albany, 1733, and came of a Dutch family which had been prominently connected with the affairs of the city and the colony from its earliest days. Schuyler joined the British Colonial forces during the French war and became a major. Two days after the battle of Bunker Hill, congress made him a major-general and placed him in command of the northern department. In the expedition against Canada, Schuyler commanded that by way of Lake Champlain. He was compelled, owing to ill health, to relinquish his command to Montgomery after taking Isle au Noix, on Sorel river. The failure of the Canadian expedition excited much hostility to Schuyler and insinuations were made against his loyalty. This became so offensive that he sent congress his resignation which that body declined to accept in the autumn of 1776. In April, 1777, Schuyler demanded a court of inquiry, which approved his management. During this time he had continued in command at Albany and his influence with the Indians is said to have been of great value to the American cause. Gen. Schuyler sent aid, in August, 1777, to Fort Stanwix, under Arnold. Gen. Schuyler's wise and energetic action in promptly dispatching this relief force probably saved the fort, the Valley and the Nation.

Fort Stanwix was renamed Fort Schuyler, in 1776, by Col. Dayton who began its repair and reconstruction. The fort is so called in Revolutionary army orders. Soldiers and officers and the Continental Congress referred to it throughout the war as Fort Stanwix and this popular name is generally used in this work to avoid confusion with Old Fort Schuyler of 1758, at present Utica. Fort Stanwix is described in the next chapter covering the erection of Mohawk Valley American Army forts.

Schuyler resisted Burgoyne's advance but was superseded by Gates at the mouth of the Mohawk, where he had taken up a fortified position in September, 1777. Thus he was robbed of the fruits of the victory at Saratoga. 1778-81 he was a member of

congress and in 1789 and 1797 went to the United States senate from New York. In the New York senate he contributed largely to the code of laws adopted by the state and was an active promoter of the canal system. The Western Inland Lock Navigation Co. was incorporated in 1792, for the improvement of the Mohawk river traffic, and Gen. Philip Schuyler was elected its president.

General Schuyler was an enthusiast on the development of inland waterways, and was far ahead of his time in his realization of their possibilities. He spent a considerable time in the Mohawk Valley during the surveys and construction work connected with the Inland Lock Navigation Co., as well as after the waterway was in operation. Gen. Schuyler was a frequent visitor at the Palatine Church home of his sister, Gertrude, who married Gen. John Cochran, Director-General of Revolutionary American Army hospitals. General and Mrs. John and Mrs. Gertrude (Schuyler) Cochran lived in the Cochran house, now standing on the Mohawk Turnpike about one-quarter mile west of Palatine Church. General Cochran was a close friend of General Washington and, when the latter broke up his headquarters near Newburgh at the end of the Revolution, he gave General and Mrs. Cochran a considerable part of his furniture, which stood in the Cochran house for the fifteen years of its family occupancy.

One of General Schuyler's daughters married Alexander Hamilton. Schuyler died in Albany in 1804, aged 70. He is considered one of the leading figures of New York's Revolutionary period.

General Philip Schuyler was descended from Philip Pietersen Schuyler, the ancestor of the family, who came to New Netherland from Holland in 1650 and settled at Fort Orange. This pioneer married Margritta Van Slichtenhorst. A branch of the Schuyler family settled in present Herkimer county prior to the Revolution and the Schuylers are now well represented all along the Mohawk Valley. The Schuyler family is one of the most prominent in the history of New York State.

Captain George Herkimer, brother of General Nicholas Herkimer, married Alida Schuyler who is said to have been a niece of General Philip Schuyler.

* * * * *

CHAPTER 60.

1776-1777, MOHAWK VALLEY REVOLUTIONARY FORTS.

1776, FORTS SCHENECTADY, HUNTER, JOHNSTOWN, PLAIN, HERKIMER, DAYTON, STANWIX—1777, FORTS PARIS, CLYDE, PLANK; FORT AT CHERRY VALLEY; UPPER, MIDDLE AND LOWER SCHOHARIE FORTS —FORTS EHLE, KYSER, VAN ALSTYNE, WAGNER, KLOCK, HOUSE, ETC.—1778, FORT ALDEN AT CHERRY VALLEY—1781, FORT WILLETT.

At the close of the French war there were, in the valley, army fortifications at Fort Stanwix (now Rome, erected 1758), at Fort Herkimer (1756) and at Fort Hunter (1711), besides other fortified places such as Fort Johnson. Early in 1776 Col. Elias Dayton was sent to repair Fort Stanwix and he probably had supervision over the repairs to Fort Herkimer and the erection of Fort Plain and Fort Dayton at Herkimer, which bears his name.

In 1776, Fort Johnstown was built around the stone Tryon County jail at Johnstown. Fort Hunter was also rebuilt and repaired. Very little was done to strengthen Fort Stanwix in 1776. At the end of the year there were American army posts along the Mohawk River as follows: Fort Schenectady, Fort Hunter, Fort Johnstown, Fort Plain, Fort Herkimer, Fort Dayton (Herkimer), Fort Stanwix (Rome).

No use seems to have been made, during the Revolution, of four forts in the Valley, which figured in the French and Indian War. These were Fort Johnson; Fort Canajoharie, on the south shore of the Mohawk, opposite the outlet of East Canada Creek; Fort Hendrick, at present Indian Castle; Fort Schuyler, at the ford of the Mohawk in the present city of Utica.

Fort Schenectady was the name for the Revolutionary fort in Schenectady at the junction of Ferry and Front streets. The town was fortified and garrisoned during the war, a stockade enclosing the village, with blockhouses at the angles, and a fort at the junction of Ferry and Front streets. The General Hospital for the Northern District was located here, at the junction of Union street and what is now known as Lafayette street, and near this point was also the barracks for the troops. There were several Revolutionary blockhouses and palisaded farm houses in the Schenectady district.

FORT WAGNER, 1750.

Fort Wagner is the stone building on the left side of this picture. It was the home of Lt. Col. Peter Wagner of the Palatine regiment of the Tryon County Militia, and was palisaded and fortified during the Revolution.

FORT KLOCK NEAR ST. JOHNSVILLE.

Built in 1750. The cellar door opens into a stone Revolutionary dungeon. In the cellar is a spring of water issuing from the solid rock. The batle of Klock's Field, in which American Militia routed Sir John Johnson's invaders, Oct. 19, 1780, was fought close to this house—then a palisaded fortress. Photo by courtesy L. D. MacWethy, St. Johnsville Enterprise-News.

Revolutionary Fort Hunter was the old British post of that name, at the junction of the Schoharie and Mohawk rivers. This fortification had been originally built in 1711. It was now repaired, reconstructed and strengthened for the use of the American military force. The stone Chapel of St. Anne stood in the center of the palisade.

During the Revolution (1776-1783) the stone Tryon County Jail, at Johnstown, was stockaded with blockhouse additions and became the strong American fortification of Fort Johnstown as well as a civil and military prison, where many a Tory, a captured enemy or a traitor was confined during those stirring years. The fifty British, Tory and Indian captives taken at the battlefield of Johnstown were confined here following that historic fight on Oct. 25, 1781.

The Johnstown jail (Fort Johnstown) is one of three portions of Revolutionary American forts remaining in the Mohawk valley, the others being the Fort Herkimer church and the Schoharie church at Schoharie on the Schoharie.

In forts Johnstown, Schoharie and Herkimer, advantage was taken of a strong stone building already erected around which palisades and blockhouses were built. As the Indians always attempted to burn enemy strongholds, the advantages of a central stone fortification is easily seen.

Fort Herkimer, of the Revolution, should not be confused with Fort Herkimer of the French and Indian War, which was the palisaded stone house of Johan Jost Herkimer. In 1776, a stockade was built around the Reformed Dutch church about a quarter-mile west of the Colonial Fort Herkimer. This stone structure formed the central stronghold of the Revolutionary Fort Herkimer, 1776-1783. Here were held many important local patriot meetings. It was a Revolutionary military center of importance, a neighborhood refuge in the raid of 1778 and a stronghold from which its defenders repulsed the Tory-Indian raiders of 1782. During the Revolution it mounted a swivel gun in the church tower and a palisade (stockade wall of logs) surrounded the church, probably with blockhouses at opposite corners.

Fort Dayton was located, in a general way, in the block north of the Court House, in the present village of Herkimer. A marker in front of the Court House locates this historic fortification.

Fort Stanwix, or Schuyler, of the Revolution, was an American Army stronghold built on the original earthwork constructed on the present site of Rome by General John Stanwix in 1758. In

1776, Col. Dayton evidently did little but make this post tenable for a comparatively small garrison. Most of the real strengthening of the fort was done, under Col. Willett's direction, in 1777, upon the approach of St. Leger's army, as is noted in a later chapter. The original Fort Stanwix, as repaired by Col. Dayton, is described as follows:

Fort Stanwix cost £60,000 and was originally constructed on the most approved scientific principles of engineering, "having four bastions surrounded by a broad ditch, eighteen feet deep with a covert way and glaces. In the center of the ditch was a row of perpendicular pickets and a horizontal row from the ramparts. Col. Bradstreet and a detachment of his American militiamen assisted in building this famous post upon their return from the capture of Fort Frontenac (Kingston) in Canada in 1758.

Fort Herkimer, Fort Dayton and Fort Stanwix figure prominently in the invasion of St. Leger's army, the siege of Fort Stanwix and the battle of Oriskany (Aug. 6, 1777) described in later chapters. Fort Stanwix was abandoned in 1781, after being severely damaged by fire.

The following regarding Fort Plain is taken from the editor's former historical work "Old Fort Plain and the Middle Mohawk Valley." It is largely derived from Simm's "Frontiersmen of New York." J. R. Simms, the historian, lived in Fort Plain for many years and collected material which he embodied in his last historical work. Because of Mr. Simms' labors the Revolutionary history of the Middle Mohawk Valley is better known than that of any other section of the watershed of the Mohawk River. The editor of this work acknowledges a great debt to Jeptha R. Simms, from whose works much of the following Revolutionary chapters is derived.

Fort Plain stood on a low bluff (Fort Hill) just west of the present cemetery, at the extreme western end of the limits of present Fort Plain village. Simms says it was constructed mainly by farmers. Its form was an irregular quadrangle with earth and log bastions or blockhouses and embrasures at opposite corners a strong blockhouse within the center and also barracks. Cannon in the blockhouses could command the fort on all sides. It enclosed from a third to a half acre of ground but when settlers began to be killed and burned out, the survivors came here in such numbers that the space was found too small for the public needs. Three or four comfortable huts were accordingly made along the verge of the hill. The adjacent spring furnished water, and supplies were probably stored in the center blockhouse.

There were two large apple trees within the fort inclosure. Its entrance was on the southeasterly side toward a road leading up to the ravine on that side.

The plateau on which it stood is of penninsular form and, across the neck or isthmus, a breastwork was thrown up. The fort extended along the southeastern brow of this hill and the blockhouse was about one hundred yards northwest on the edge of the northern slope of the hill. There is a tradition that nearby settlers aided in the erection of this defense. The boss carpenter, John Dederick, was allowed to name the fort. It is stated that he named it Fort Plain on account of its plain or fine view of open country and because from here operations of an enemy could be so plainly detected. It is said to have been not so named because the fortification was situated on a diminutive plain, as it was.

There is a possibility that it might have been named thus because, from this height looking over the trees which lined the nearby Otsquago, an unbroken view of the treeless flats, stretching four miles away to Canajoharie, was obtained. This was in strong contrast to the densely wooded slopes and heights stretching away to entirely circle the horizon around the fort. The outlook at that day must have been superb with the big woods cleared in spots only near the river and the heights covered by the great trees of the virgin forest.

An acquaintance with the other regular military posts of the time seems to show that of them all it was the best located for defense. Fort Plain was the first Revolutionary fortification and the most important within the Canajoharie-Palatine districts.

Who commanded first at Fort Plain is not known and it probably was not regularly garrisoned until 1777. It formed a key for communication with and protection of the Schoharie, Cherry Valley and Unadilla settlements and was the chief protection of the Canajoharie and Palatine districts. About 1780-1 it became the headquarters of the officer commanding this and the several military posts in this vicinity. Col. Marinus Willett was its commander for several seasons and he is believed to have been here constantly about 1781-2. He occupied the eastern one of the huts situated on the side hill below the pickets a rod or two from the spring. Col. Clyde was in command here in 1783. The blockhouse, which will be noted later, was built to still further strengthen the defenses here in the fall of 1780 and the spring of 1781, and was merely a part of the fortifications here and not a separate post. Fort Plain must have been considered of formidable strength for it never was attacked directly by the consider-

FORT HERKIMER CHURCH, 1767.

This is one of the most famous historic churches in America. This Reformed Church Society was organized about 1723 and the 200th anniversary of the Fort Herkimer Reformed Church was celebrated in 1923. The Church started building probably before 1750, but was not completed until 1767. Johan Jost Herkimer, the father of General Herkimer, was its builder. It was the central stronghold of Revolutionary Fort Herkimer and figured in many actions of those heroic days. General Washington stopped here on his inspection of the posts of the Mohawk Valley in 1783 and made this a depot and supply station for all the western forts. Photo by Thompson, Ilion; by courtesy of Mrs. Estella Folts Callan, Ilion.

able forces of the enemy who operated in this section at different times. The land on which the post stood was part of the Lipe farm.

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The following relates to the Mohawk Valley forts built in 1777, probably before the battle of Oriskany on August 6, 1777, which marked the beginning of Revolutionary hostilities in the Mohawk Valley. Later forts, such as Fort Alden (1778) and Fort Willett (1781) are also included so as to make this chapter give an account of all the Valley's main Revolutionary forts. The fortified houses are also described, as they were actual forts and militia and military centers, although not regular American Army posts.

Five smaller fortifications were in the vicinity of Fort Plain. Commencing westerly Fort Windecker, Fort Willett, Fort Plank and Fort Clyde were only two or three miles apart, the first three being nearly on a north and south line, curving easterly to embrace the last fort named, and being in something like a half circle around Fort Plain on its western side. During the latter part of the war this line of forts, with the regular army post toward the center, made this section one of the best defended on the Tryon county frontier, and one historian says enabled the surviving to furnish most of the bread for the district. Fort Paris, at Stone Arabia, was the fifth fortification immediately about the central defense of Fort Plain.

Fort Windecker, built in 1777, was a palisaded small enclosure surrounding the dwelling of Johannes Windecker. It was nearly eight miles west of north from the latter upon the river road. It had the usual signal gun and probably contained a small blockhouse. This place, like similar posts, had at least one sentinel on duty at night, who was posted usually outside the pickets at this place.

Fort Willett was a palisaded inclosure on the highest ground in the Dutchtown section and was situated over four miles from Fort Plain on land now owned by William Zimmerman. This stockade was completed in the spring of 1781 and had ample room for huts for all the adjacent families. It had the blockhouse corners and an alarm gun. As it was isolated from any dwelling, it had a good-sized oven, the ruins of which remained for many years. The timber for its pickets was cut on adjoining farms and was drawn together by the owners of them. Like other palisades, the pickets were the trunks of straight trees of different kinds of about a foot thickness through the butt, and cut long enough to

be sunk three or four feet in the ground and to rise above it about a dozen or more. On the completion of this defense, Col. Willett rode out with a squad of his men from Fort Plain to see it. He was much pleased with the condition of things and said "You have a nice little fort here; what do you call it?" "It has no name yet; won't you give it one?" was the answer. Col. Willett replied, "Well, this is one of the nicest little forts on the frontier, and you may call it after me, if you please." A cheer went up at this, so the name of Willett became connected with the town in which he lived and fought for several years. The old south shore turnpike running through the Greenbush section of Fort Plain village is named Willett street after this very capable Revolutionary commander. At the end of the war each family who had contributed pickets for the building of Fort Willett drew home their share and the fortification was demolished in the same manner as the many others when their use for purposes of defense had ceased.

Fort Willett stood about 165 rods west of the Sanders-Hallsville road and 40 to 50 rods north of the Fort Plain-Dutchtown and Indian Castle highway. In 1917 Mr. T. R. Zimmerman owned the land. It was known during the Revolution as the Walrath farm. Its owners were Tories who fled to Canada. The farm was confiscated and sold to Solomon Moyer after the Revolution. The foregoing facts were given the editor by Mr. John Fea, the historian of Amsterdam. Mr. Fea secured them from David T. Timmerman, whose farm lies near the site of Fort Willett. Mr. Timmerman was born Nov. 5, 1803, and died July 5, 1905, at the age of 101 years. The centenarian had a very clear recollection of early history and of the site of Fort Willett as pointed out to him by his father. There is a tradition among the old families on the Dutchtown hills that the swath, cut in the Oak Hill woods for the timbers for the Fort Willett palisade, never grew up again because it was chopped down on land owned by Tories. Whatever the cause, it is said that this swath in the forest can be plainly seen to this day.

Fort Plank was established in 1776 and was situated two and a half miles southwest of Fort Plain, air line distance. Here then lived Frederick Plank, a Whig, whose house was palisaded in a square enclosure with blockhouse corners. From its nearness to the settlements at Dutchtown and Geissenberg it served as a safe retreat for a score or two of families. Capt. Joseph House, a militia officer living with Plank, usually commanded in the ab-

sence of field officers. More or less troops were kept at this station through the war.

Fort Clyde was established in 1777 to protect the Freysbush settlers. It bore the name of Col. Samuel Clyde of Cherry Valley, who doubtless superintended its construction. This was not a palisaded dwelling but a fort by itself, like that at Fort Plain and Fort Willett. It was an enclosure large enough to hold huts for the accommodation of refugees and a strong blockhouse in the center. A signal gun was mounted as at all such posts. It was about three miles south of Fort Plain and topped a sightly knoll on what was the old Gen. George H. Nellis farm. It is believed Col. Clyde exercised a sort of paternal supervision over this fort, where part of a company of rangers or drafted militia was stationed.

In the Palatine district similarly adjacent to Fort Plain stood Fort Paris. It was three or four miles to the east of Fort Plain and stood upon the summit of ground half a mile to the north of the Stone Arabia churches. It was a palisade enclosing strong blockhouses and was of a size to accommodate a garrison of 200 or 300 men. The fort was commenced in December, 1776, and completed in the spring of 1777.

This was an important post and was usually manned by a company or two of rangers. Col. Klock and Lieut.-Col. Wagner had much to do with its immediate command. In the fall and winter of 1779 it became the headquarters of Col. Frederick Fisher (Visscher) who commanded this and its adjacent military posts, including Fort Plain. This headquarters was changed to Fort Plain in 1780-1, probably with the advent of Col. Willett to command the American forces in the valley. Fort Paris was named after Isaac Paris. The post was ordered built by the Tryon County Committee of Safety, Dec. 19, 1776, and was largely erected by Capt. Christian Getman's company of rangers "under the sole direction and command of Isaac Paris, Esq.," to quote the language of the committee. It was located on what is now the Shull farm, in Stone Arabia, and was built of solid hewn timber and was two stories high with the upper story projecting over the lower on all sides. After it was taken down, early in the nineteenth century, its timbers were used in building structures now in existence in that section.

Besides these more important posts around Fort Plain there were numerous stockaded dwellings called forts generally named from the families who owned them. A small stockaded stone dwelling named Fort Keyser was located about a mile south of Stone Arabia.

THE OLD PULPIT—FORT HERKIMER CHURCH.

One of the few original Colonial Church pulpits in New York State. Services are frequently held in this ancient edifice.

A mile or two southwest of present Canajoharie on the Mapletown road and a mile from the creek, stood Fort Ehle. Lieut. Cornelius Van Evera and Ensign John Van Evera were on duty in and around this fort.

In the eastern part of the present town of St. Johnsville stood "Fort House," named after its builder, although it was the home of Christian Klock. The house of Jacob Timmerman was also stockaded. Both of these stockades repulsed repeated attacks of the enemy. Fort Hill, which was situated on an eminence in the western part of the town of St. Johnsville, was erected during the French war. It was repaired and used during the Revolution.

About 1775, Gose Van Alstyne, son of Martin Jan Van Alstyne, built a stone house near the present (1924) Martin Smith house on Front street in Canajoharie. This was stockaded about 1780 and became the Fort Van Alstyne of the Revolution, with which the Van Alstyne house of today has been frequently confused. After the Revolution the Gose Van Alstyne house was torn down and its stone used for building material, some of which is said to have been used in the present Hayes house.

The first (1750) Van Alstyne stone house in Canajoharie and Fort Frey (1739) in Palatine Bridge were regarded as Revolutionary strongholds although neither of them was palisaded.

About one and one-half miles west of Nelliston stands Fort Wagner (1750) on the east side of the highway, the old stone fort forming the north end of a picturesque farmhouse, reached through an avenue of trees, from the Turnpike. This was the home of Lieut.-Col. Peter Wagner of the Palatine regiment of Tryon County Militia (1775-1783), and this old Wagner farm has always been noted for its fertility. During the Revolution two Tory soldiers in Canada nearly killed each other over the question as to which one should be allotted this rich farmland when the "rebels" were licked. The Tories (Americans siding with the loyalists) were promised their patriot neighbors' farms as the spoils of war. Col. Wagner erected a palisade (log wall) around his stone house early in the Revolution, when it became known as Fort Wagner, and it formed a neighborhood refuge during the savage raids of that time, when the local militia formed its defense.

Fort Klock, of the Revolutionary War, stands about a mile east of the eastern limits of the present village of St. Johnsville. In the valley section, from Palatine Bridge to St. Johnsville, the old King's Highway lay partly along the line of the New York Central tracks and Fort Klock now lies close thereto. The top

of its roof can be seen from the Turnpike, it being located about 100 yards westward therefrom (on the left hand side going west).

Fort Klock was built by Johannes Klock, a Palatine German pioneer, in 1750, replacing an earlier dwelling. A palisade was built around Fort Klock in the Revolution and it formed a neighborhood defense and refuge in time of danger. Fort Klock overlooks the scene of the American Revolutionary victory of Klock's Field, Oct. 19, 1780, the battle taking place on the Klock farm, at which time Fort Klock was filled with neighboring families and defended by the farmer militiamen. During the battle one of the defenders took a long range bead on a passing British officer and shot him from his horse, which, strange to say, came galloping up to the palisade, where it was secured. On its back was the officer's camp kettle, which became an heirloom in the Klock family.

The General Herkimer Home, built of brick in 1764, was regarded as a patriot Valley defense, although not palisaded. It was occupied by Captain George Herkimer, after the death, on August 17, 1777, of his brother, General Nicholas Herkimer, from wounds received in the battle of Oriskany.

In 1777, the settlers of Cherry Valley built a fortification by constructing an earthwork and palisade around the house of Major Samuel Campbell. The population of this exposed settlement then numbered about 300 people and they strongly felt the need of a fortress refuge as they were, perhaps, more exposed to attack than any other considerable settlement of Tryon County. A second fort, named Fort Alden, was built at Cherry Valley in 1778. This was a strong post, situated near the gates of the present Cherry Valley Cemetery. Further mention is made of it in the later chapter dealing with the Cherry Valley massacre of 1778.

Three forts were erected in the Schoharie valley in the fall of 1777, the central being the first one built. It was known during the Revolution as the Middle Fort and, Simms says, "stood on the farm long owned by Ralph Manning, about half a mile east of north from the present Middleburgh railroad station." It was built by soldiers and citizens, the farmers drawing the material together and the soldiers doing a great part of the building. The Upper Fort was situated five miles west of south from the Middle Fort. It was begun in the fall of 1777 and completed the following summer and is also referred to as the Breakabeen or Fultonham fort. The Lower Fort was six miles north of the Middle

Fort. The stone church, still standing one mile north of the court house, was enclosed within the palisades of this fortification.

Following the battle of Cobleskill in 1778, a fort was erected at present Cobleskill, known as Fort Dubois.

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After his unsuccessful attempt to arrest Sir John Johnson in May, in the summer of 1776, Col. Dayton was sent by Gen. Schuyler to look after the defenses in the Mohawk valley. He started the reconstruction of Fort Stanwix (Schuyler), which work was not entirely completed when invested by the enemy in the following year. Col. Dayton is supposed to have had official supervision of the renovation of Fort Herkimer and of the construction of Fort Dayton, which bears his name at the site of Herkimer. It is reasonable to suppose that he supervised the erection of Fort Plain at the same time. Elias Dayton was born in Elizabethtown, New Jersey, in 1735. He joined the Colonial army during the French and Indian war. He was a member of the corps called "Jersey Blues," raised in 1759 by Edward Hart, the father of John Hart, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence. With that corps Dayton fought under Wolfe at Quebec. He was one of the Committee of Safety at Elizabethtown at the beginning of the Revolution. In February, 1778, congress appointed him colonel of a New Jersey regiment, and in 1782 he was promoted to the rank of brigadier-general. He was in several of the principal battles of the Revolution and had three horses shot under him—one at Germantown, one at Springfield and one at Crosswick Bridge. He was the first president of the Society of the Cincinnati of New Jersey, and, during the life of Washington, enjoyed the warm personal friendship of the national leader. He died at Elizabethtown in 1807, aged 72 years.

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Although little was done toward strengthening Fort Stanwix until just before St. Leger's invasion in 1777, Col. Dayton saw fit to change its name to "Fort Schuyler," in honor of General Philip Schuyler, commander of the American Army of the North, with headquarters at Albany. This change has been the cause of much confusion because Fort Schuyler, of the French war (1754-1760) was located at present Utica, only fifteen miles east of Fort Stanwix. The change has also created a seemingly endless historical controversy. American army official orders during the Revolution, refer to Fort Stanwix as "Fort Schuyler." The Continental Congress officially designated it "Fort Stanwix," by which name it was generally and popularly known by the Ameri-

FORT DAYTON MARKER.

Erected 1912 by D. A. R. at Court House, locating Fort Dayton (erected 1776) in block to the north.

THE OLD STONE FORT, SCHOHARIE.

Erected as the Schoharie Reformed Church in 1772 and stockaded and fortified in 1772, when it became the American Revolutionary army post known as the Lower Schoharie Fort. The edifice is filled with Indian and Revolutionary relics and is the mecca of tourists passing through historic Schoharie Valley. It is visited annually by thousands. Within the bounds of the former stockade, are erected monuments to the memory of David Williams, one of the captors of Major Andre, another to perpetuate the valor of Col. Peter Vrooman who defended the Fort at the time of the invasion of the valley by Sir John Johnson, October 17, 1780, and a third recently unveiled to the memory of the soldiers, sailors and marines who went from Schoharie County and made the supreme sacrifice in the World war.

can soldiers and the people of the Mohawk Valley. This is borne out by a number of diaries kept by soldiers during the Revolution, one of which refers to the fort as "Fort Stanwix, alias Fort Schuyler." Immediately after the Revolution, the settlers of the neighborhood resumed the use of the name Fort Stanwix, and the village which grew up around the post was so called for over thirty years, and the remains of the fort were generally referred to by that name.

Because of the foregoing circumstances, the editor of this history has used the name "Fort Stanwix" for this famous post. This usage has the sanction of some of the best historical authorities and it differentiates between this post and the Fort Schuyler at present Utica. To overcome the natural confusion arising from the close proximity of two "Fort Schuylers,' the Valley settlers designated the Fort Schuyler, at present Utica, as "Old Fort Schuyler." The village which grew up there bore that title for fourteen years, or until its name was changed to Utica, at the time of its incorporation as a village in 1798.

The case of "Fort Stanwix" and "Fort Schuyler" is similar to that of "Fort Plain" and "Fort Rensselaer," which were one and the same fort, the latter name being given this post by Gen. Robert Van Rensselaer, commander of the Valley militia in 1780, to satisfy his vanity. The people of the Valley and its Revolutionary soldiers continued to call this important fort, by its original name of Fort Plain, throughout the Revolution, and the local population continued the name "Fort Plain" for the little village at Sand Hill, after the war. Fifty years after the Revolution but few people knew where "Fort Rensselaer" was ever located and these two names for the same post have caused endless historical confusion. And yet "Fort Rensselaer" was the official military designation of Fort Plain from 1780 until 1786 and perhaps afterward. However, Washington refers to the post as "Fort Plain" in official orders. Historians invariably use the name "Fort Plain" in writing Mohawk Valley history, while they continue to engage in controversy on the subject of the Fort Stanwix-Fort Schuyler imbroglio.

The author of this work realizes that his use of "Fort Stanwix" will be criticised—but so would a use of the name "Fort Schuyler." The designation of "Fort Stanwix" has the support of historians of Rome, among them being Mr. Oswald P. Backus and Mr. S. H. Beach, both of whom have given the subject much study. The usage of Rome historical students is "Fort Stanwix" and all local markers and monuments bear such designation.

The editor of this history, considers that the name Fort Stanwix, will convey the locality designation better than any other and that it will avoid historical confusion. He follows the same method of procedure in the matter of "Fort Plain" and "Fort Rensselaer" and uses the name Fort Plain throughout this work except in certain quoted matters.

SITE OF FORT PLAIN, 1776-1783.

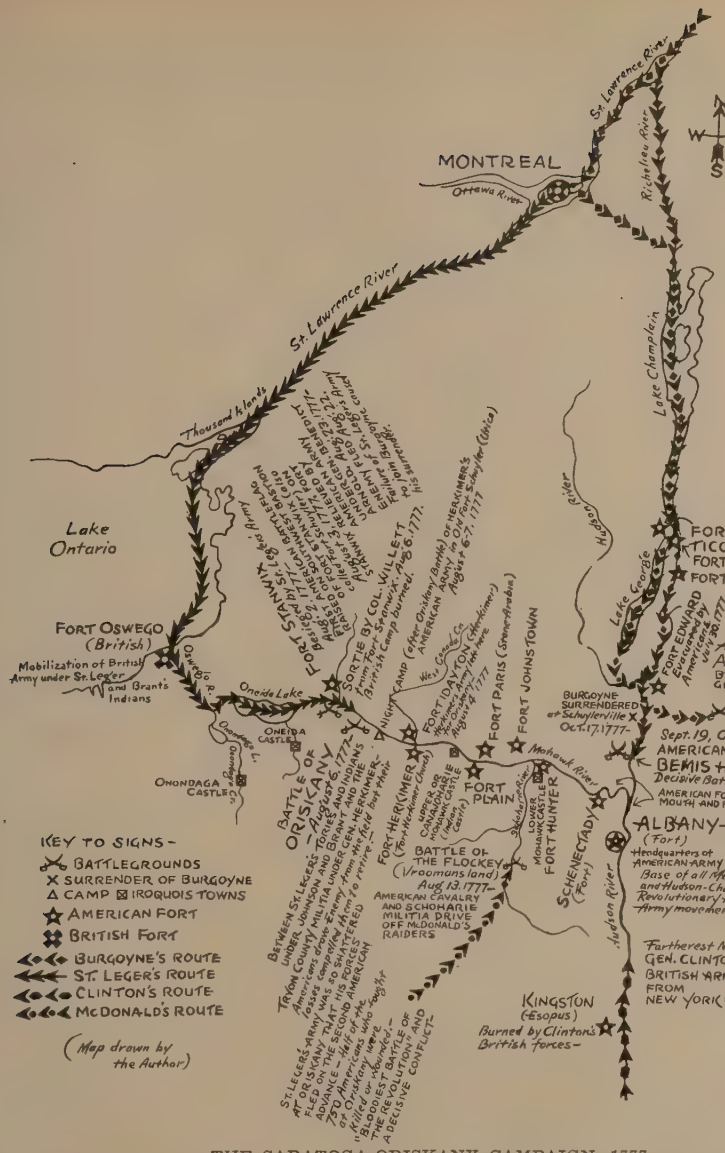
Fort Plain was built on the summit of this hill in 1776. Its name was changed to Fort Rensselaer in 1780 and it was officially so called until 1786. Markers locate the fort and blockhouse, which stood near the clump of trees on the hill over the right-hand house. The Otsquago had its outlet into the Mohawk from this point. The corn stalks are standing in the bed of the "wide waters" of the old Erie canal.

CHAPTER 61.

1777, AUGUST 6, BATTLE OF ORISKANY.

1777, FUTILE CONFERENCE OF HERKIMER WITH BRANT AT UNADILLA—INVASION OF NEW YORK BY BRITISH ARMIES UNDER GENERAL BURGOYNE AND COL. ST. LEGER—ST. LEGER MOVES FROM OSWEGO ON FORT STANWIX WHICH HE INVESTS, AUGUST 2—GEN. HERKIMER, AT THE HEAD OF THE TRYON COUNTY MILITIA, MARCHES TO THE RELIEF OF FORT—MUTINOUS CONDUCT AT ORISKANY CAMP—AMBUSCADE AND BATTLE OF ORISKANY, BLOODIEST CONFLICT OF THE REVOLUTION—ENEMY FLEES, BEATEN AFTER TERRIFIC FIVE-HOUR FIGHT—WILLETT'S SORTIE FROM FORT STANWIX—HERKIMER'S ARMY LOSSES COMPEL IT TO FALL BACK DOWN THE RIVER—GENERAL HERKIMER MORTALLY WOUNDED—AUGUST 13, ATTACK ON THE SCHOHARIE VALLEY REPULSED—SIEGE OF FORT STANWIX, AUGUST 2-22—CAPT. WALTER BUTLER, THE NOTORIOUS TORY, CAPTURED—GENERAL HERKIMER DIES AUGUST 17—HAN YOST SCHUYLER SCARES ST. LEGER'S ARMY INTO FLIGHT—AUGUST 22, GEN. ARNOLD'S ARMY RAISES SIEGE OF FORT STANWIX—SKETCHES OF HERKIMER, GANSEVOORT, WILLETT AND ARNOLD—DIAGNOSIS AND MEDICAL DESCRIPTION OF HERKIMER'S CASE AND WOUND BY DR. ALBERT VANDER VEER.

In the winter of 1776-1777 and the spring of 1777 the British planned an invasion and conquest of New York, the key to the military defense of the Colonies. The campaign was the result of carefully laid plans of General John Burgoyne, who had long had it in mind. It followed, in part, the general route used in prior French invasion, in that the main British army, under Burgoyne, was to come down by the Lake Champlain route. Albany, as the key position of New York, was the objective. Burgoyne's invasion was to be supported by an army of over 1,200 British, Tories and Indians, which was to sweep the Mohawk Valley, while Captain McDonald, at the head of 150 Indians and Tories, was to ravage the Schoharie Valley. Both the Mohawk and Schoharie valleys were not only Whig strongholds, but they formed the chief granary of the Thirteen Colonies and source of a great part of food and other supplies for the American armies. In co-operation with these three converging movements, the British general, Sir Henry Clinton, was to move up the Hudson from New York against Albany. Here Burgoyne and Clinton were to join forces. Having conquered Albany, the chief patriot military center, and having split the Colonies in twain, the combined British armies were to proceed against the American forces in the other Colonies at their leisure.



THE SARATOGA-ORISKANY CAMPAIGN, 1777.

Map showing the Burgoyne campaign against the State of New York and around the Mohawk-St. Lawrence-Champlain triangle. The American and British forts, the routes taken by the armies of Burgoyne, St. Leger, Clinton and McDonald's raiding party are plainly shown, together with the battlegrounds of Bemis Heights, Oriskany, Bennington, Vroomansland, and the sortie made by Colonel Willett's party from Fort Stanwix. All these actions of this decisive campaign of the Revolution were fought on the soil of New York State, including the battle of Bennington (the latter referring to a large district and not a town). American victories in this campaign on these battlefields won liberty for America. During this campaign the first American battle flag was flown to the breeze on August 3, 1777, and first flew in the smoke of battle during Willett's sortie, August 6, 1777.

This campaign was one of two decisive campaigns around the Mohawk-St. Lawrence-Champlain triangle. The other was the victorious one waged by General Amherst's American-British army for the conquest of Montreal and New France (Canada) in 1760. See the map in Chapter 49 and note the similarity of the enveloping movement, with the exception that Burgoyne moved against Albany while Amherst marched and sailed for Montreal. Both campaigns were made largely over rivers and lakes, and Burgoyne probably studied Amherst's campaign closely. The battles of Hubbardton and below Skenesboro are not shown as it would make the map confusing. They were American defeats but not decisive like the battles shown here.

Colonel Brown's attacks on the British outposts at the foot and head (Diamond Island) of Lake George are not given, because indecisive. The line indicated on Lake George represents movement of Burgoyne's supplies.

Burgoyne was defeated. St. Leger was repulsed. McDonald was routed, and Clinton's expedition moved so slowly that it was a failure, although it forced the Highlands of the Hudson in one of the fiercest and bloodiest battles of the war.

As this campaign, in its entirety, formed the turning point of the Revolution and assured ultimate American independence, its importance as national and world history merits detailed mention. The Oriskany battle and the siege of Fort Stanwix are therefore described in the detail which the subject warrants. These two vital military events form some of the most interesting reading of all the history of the Revolution.

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In the spring of 1777, at Unadilla, General Herkimer held a futile conference with his old friend, Joseph Brant, in an effort to secure his neutrality in the impending hostilities.

The following is from the papers in the possession of the Sammons family of Fonda, containing a statement made by Joseph Wagner (probably of Palatine) regarding the famous conference in the spring of 1777 between Herkimer with a party of Tryon County militia and Brant and his warriors, at Unadilla. Wagner was with Captain Fox's company in Colonel Klock's regiment of Palatine militia. Colonel Cox and Major Eisenlord are mentioned as also being in the force of 300 men under the command of General Herkimer. The party went to Cherry Valley, evidently by way of Fort Plain, where they stayed one week, "thence to Lake Otsego, now Cooperstown, where we remained one day and a night". From here Herkimer sent "an express" to Brant at Ockwago asking him to come to Unadilla for a conference. The Americans then marched to Unadilla, where they waited a week for the Indians to appear. Brant arrived with 500 warriors, "accompanied by Capt. A. Bull, William Johnson, son of Sir William Johnson by an Indian woman, and also an Indian chief". Wagner's statement continues: "Brant, having encamped, took 40 of his Indians and, together with Bull, Johnson and the chief, proceeded to where Herkimer had encamped. A circle was now formed by Herkimer, in which Brant with the chief and the other officers entered. A conversation having been entered into, Brant, for some reason or other, became irritated and sent his 40 Indians to their encampment, when they all at once fired off their rifles as a signal for battle. Before Brant left he agreed to meet Herkimer at 9 o'clock next morning in the same place. In the morning Gen. Herkimer called on me and informed me that he was about communicating something in confidence, which I must keep a

perfect secret. He then told me that he had selected myself and three others to be present in the circle when Brant and those with him should arrive, that each was to choose and know his man, and, on a given signal, to fire on Brant and the three with him. Brant arrived, accompanied the same as the day before, when he addressed Gen. Herkimer, as follows: 'Hundred warriors with me, well-armed and ready for battle, you are in my power but, as we have been friends and neighbors, I will not take advantage. I will go back again and for the present you may rest assured that no hostilities will be committed by the Indians.' Herkimer made Brant a present of the dozen head of cattle he had brought along and Brant's warriors immediately killed them with spears and tomahawks." The statement continues: "It is very probable that Herkimer's object was to get Brant to take part in the war against Great Britain or, at least, during said war to remain neutral. But Brant informed him that it was now too late and the Indians would not remain neutral. Brant went west, joined St. Leger at Oswego and went with him to the siege of Fort Stanwix." Brant's irritation at the first day's conference arose from a dispute with and abuse by Colonel Cox.

Herkimer has been severely criticised by some historians for the foregoing order, but it was a dictate of common sense, made necessary by the dangers of border warfare with a barbarous race and was thoroughly justified.

* * * * *

With invasion of British armies threatening New York, the Tories were encouraged and the Whigs were depressed along the Schoharie River, as elsewhere in the Mohawk Valley. The following is a letter from the Schoharie Committee of Safety showing the state of affairs in that district, while Burgoyne was approaching the Hudson and St. Leger was heading for the Mohawk.

The reference to the "late advantage" concerns the fall of forts Ticonderoga and Independence, which fell into the hands of Gen. Burgoyne's advancing army.

"Schoharie Committee Chamber, July 17, '77.

"Gentlemen:

"The late advantage gained over us by the enemy has such effect upon numbers here, that many steady friends to the State seem to draw back; our state, therefore, is deplorable, all our frontiers except those that are to take protection from the enemy, are gone, so that we are entirely open to the Indians and Tories, which we expect every hour to come to this settlement; part of our militia is at Ft. Edwards; the few that are here, many of them are unwilling to take up arms to defend themselves, as they are unable

to stand against so great a number of declared enemies, who speak openly without any reserve. Therefore if your honors do not grant us immediate relief of about 500 men to help defend us, we must either fall prey to the enemy, or take protection also. For further particulars we refer to the bearer, Col. Willett, in whom we confide to give you a true account of our state and situation, and of the back settlements, as he is well acquainted with them. We beg your honors will be pleased to send us an answer by the bearer. We remain,

"Your honors most obd't servants,

"JOHANNES BALL, Chairman."

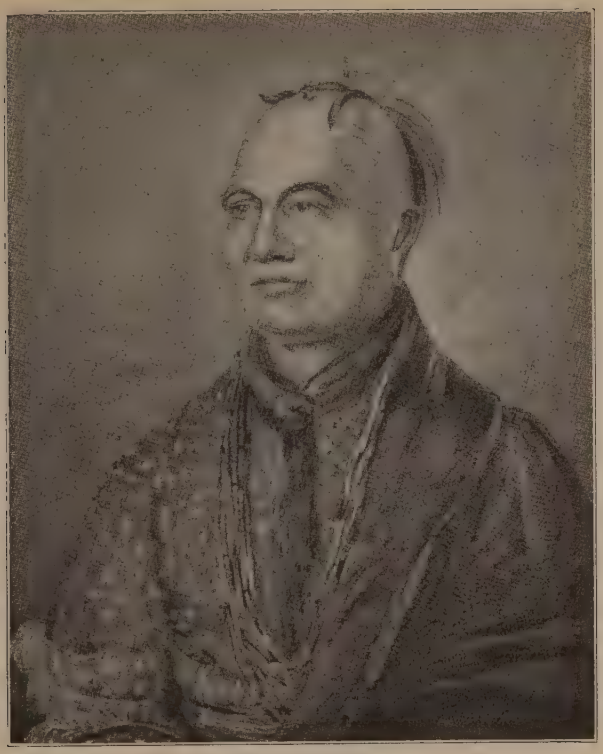
The following is a letter to the Albany Committee:

"Gentlemen: The great depression of spirits of the inhabitants of Schoharie give this Council much uneasiness, as it exposes them to the depredations of an enemy whom they otherwise despise. We hope that your committee will not be wanting to support the drooping spirits of these inhabitants; we have great reason to fear the breaking up of the settlement of Schoharie unless our exertions be seconded by your efforts. You well know that in such an event on the frontiers will not only be attended with infinite mischief to the inhabitants but will furnish cause for discouragement to the country in general. Every means should therefore be tried to prevent it."

In another letter the Chairman of the Albany Committee wrote to General Schuyler as follows:

"Hon. Sir: Col. Vrooman and two other gentlemen from Schoharie are now with us and represent the distress that part of the country is driven to. Threats they hourly receive; their persons and property are exposed to imminent danger; nearly one-half of the people heretofore well disposed have laid down their arms, and propose to side with the enemy. We therefore beg leave to suggest that one or two companies of continental troops be sent that way, which we suppose might bring the greater part to a sense of their duty."

A few days later Benjamin Bartholomew from Schoharie was admitted to the Council Chamber and informed the Council that a certain man from Schoharie was collecting a party in favor of the enemy, had dispirited the inhabitants, that the few resolutely affected were escaping from there privately. That body then drafted the following letter to Governor Clinton: "Sir: The Council have received advice that Captain _____ is collecting a force in Schoharie, and prevailed upon the inhabitants through fear to take part with him and even to take arms



JOSEPH BRANT.

The great chief of the Mohawks.

GENERAL HERKIMER AT THE BATTLE OF ORISKANY.

This spirited painting of General Herkimer at the Battle of Oriskany shows the wounded General in a post of danger directing his troops and the battle to a victorious issue. This bloody conflict in the forest of Oriskany is said to have been the turning point of the Revolution. It was fought nine miles west of Utica, August 7, 1777. The painting is by Fred C. Yohn and is owned by Mr. Frederick T. Proctor of Utica. It hangs on the walls of the Utica Public Library.

against us. They suggest to your excellency the propriety of sending WPP militia under the command of an active and intelligent officer who may fall upon the parties, arouse the spirits of our friends and give the Indians such an impression of our activity as will render them cautious of opposing us."

At this unsettled period when no forts had been erected in the settlements to which the timid might flee for safety, confusion for want of union was manifest among the most courageous.

Captain Jacob Ball, brother of Johannes Ball, raised a company of 63 royalists at the Beaver dam and in Duanesburg and went to Canada, accompanied by several relatives. George Mann, another Captain of Militia, on being ordered out with his company to oppose the enemy, openly declared himself friendly to the Royal power. Adam Crysler and his brother, with several other individuals of influence, residing in the southern part of Schoharie settlement, also sided with the Royalty.

The following notice was issued by Johannes Ball, Chairman of the Committee of Safety:

"Advertisement: This is to give notice to all persons that the Committee of Schoharie have resolved that nobody shall sell anything to disaffected persons, and especially to such persons as buy and send it to the Scotch settlements (on the Charlotte and Susquehanna rivers) and if any person does it, we shall seize it.

"BY ORDER OF THE COMMITTEE.

Johannes Ball, Chairman."

Rumors of the projected invasion of New York, by British armies under Burgoyne, reached the patriots of our state and Valley early in 1777. While this news elated the Tories and depressed the faint-hearted neutral people, it roused the little band of patriot leaders to intensive efforts for the defense of the state and the repulse of the invaders.

With the necessity of increased diligence the Committee of Safety at Schenectady determined upon the establishment of a regular watch, and on April 13, 1777, the following resolution was therefore passed: "That all persons in this Town, above the Age of sixteen years, shall watch, and that their be a watch Established of One Officer & Eleven men, that such watch begins at 9 O Clock, in the Evening & Continues Till Daylight Next Morning, that the persons ordered to watch be warned by the Town Major Appointed for that Purpose, & that the said Town Major attends the watch Every Evening at Ten O Clock to see if they all Appear, & Take an Account of all persons not attending the watch, which List he is to give in to the Chairman of this

Committee & such Person or Persons so Neglecting of if warned shall forfit a fine not Exceeding Twelve pence which shall be recovered by a Warrent of the Chairman of this Committee."

During the Revolutionary (1777) campaign by the British-Tory-Hessian-Indian army under General Burgoyne directed from Canada against Albany and the Hudson valley, a force of 1,200 under the British colonel, Barry St. Leger, attempted to conquer the Mohawk Valley and, effecting a junction with Burgoyne's men, sweep down the Hudson Valley to New York, thus splitting the Thirteen American Colonies in two. At Oriskany the decisive battle was fought which prevented this scheme.

In the summer of 1777 the intended invasion of the Mohawk Valley by St. Leger was seasonably announced to the Tryon County authorities by Thomas Spencer, an Oneida half-breed sachem, who had learned of it in Canada on a spying expedition. He reported that there were 700 Indians and 400 British regulars at Oswego, who were to be later joined by 600 Tories, for the invasion of the Valley to effect a junction with Burgoyne at Albany. For a time this startling news seemed to throw the Tryon County Whigs into a panic and many wavered in their Continental allegiance. The Valley Tories remaining took on new heart and activity. The militia rangers constantly scouted the frontier and the farmers went armed at their work.

Letters of John Jay and General Schuyler at this time sternly criticise the Tryon County Whigs for their panic-stricken condition and lack of self-reliance. Schuyler wrote that he had sent Colonel Van Schaick's and Colonel Wesson's regiments into Tryon County, and says further: "But if I may be allowed to judge of the temper of Gen. Herkimer and the committee of Tryon county, from their letters to me, nothing would satisfy them unless I march the whole army into that quarter. With deference to the better judgment of the Council of Safety, I cannot by any means think it prudent to bring on an open rupture with the savages at the present time. The inhabitants of Tryon County are already too much inclined to lay down their arms and take whatever terms the enemy may be pleased to afford them. Half the militia from this (Tryon) county and the neighboring state of Massachusetts we have been under the necessity of dismissing; but the whole should go." In the light of the truly heroic part the Mohawk Valley men played in the conflicts which followed, the opinion must prevail that General Schuyler did not read aright the temper of these militiamen. General Schuyler was a states-

man and a progressive citizen but history has not yet definitely settled his status as a military commander.

A few days prior to the date of this letter written from Fort Edward, July 18, 1777, the county committee had been called upon to reinforce Fort Stanwix, or Fort Schuyler, as later called. Of the 200 militia ordered to muster and garrison this post, only a part responded. They had also ordered two companies of regular troops, stationed at different points in the county under their direction, to go to Fort Stanwix. These regulars made various excuses, among them that their duties as scouts unfitted them for garrison work, but they reluctantly complied.

Realizing that Tryon County must depend practically on its own men to resist this invasion, General Herkimer, on July 17, 1777, issued a proclamation announcing that 2,000 "Christians and savages" had assembled at Oswego for a descent upon the Mohawk Valley, and warning the entire population to be ready at a moment's notice to take the field in fighting order, the men from sixteen to sixty for active service and the aged and infirm to defend the women and children at points where they might gather for safety. Those who did not voluntarily muster for service when called upon were to be brought along by force. At this time many Valley men were fighting in the American armies elsewhere.

The Oneida chief, Thomas Spencer, warned the committee, on July 30, that the enemy would be upon Fort Stanwix in a few days. On August 2, Lieutenant-Colonel Mellon, of Colonel Wesson's regiment, arrived at the fort with two batteaux of provisions and ammunition and a reinforcement of 200 men, both sorely needed. As the last load of supplies was hurried into the stockade, the vanguard of St. Leger's army broke from the surrounding forest.

St. Leger came down on Fort Stanwix from Oswego by way of Oneida Lake and Wood Creek, boating his supplies in flat boats through those waterways. His progress was considerably delayed in Wood Creek by the tactics of the Americans, who had felled trees across that stream. This delay in the British advance was of vital value to Gansevoort's force at Fort Stanwix.

This advance party of the enemy was commanded by Lieutenant Bird and Joseph Brant. Colonel Gansevoort, commanding the fort, had 750 men, with six weeks' provisions and plenty of small arm ammunition, but not many cartridges for the cannon, there being only about nine per day for six weeks. The garrison had no flag when the enemy appeared, but a curious patchwork,

conforming to the recent congressional regulations, soon waved over the fort. Shirts were cut up to form the white stripes, the red was supplied by pieces of scarlet cloth and the ground for the stars was made from a blue cloak. This is said to have been the earliest use of the Stars and Stripes in regular siege and battle. On August 3, St. Leger arrived in front of the fort with his entire force and demanded its surrender, sending in a pompous manifesto at the same time, both matters being treated with derision by Gansevoort and his men. Active hostilities at once began, several soldiers in the fort being killed by the enemy's gun fire on the first and second days.

At the news of St. Leger's investment of Fort Stanwix, General Herkimer summoned the militia to action. Not only the militia, but most of the members of the county committee took the field. The patriots concentrated at Fort Dayton to the number of over 800. This Tryon militia was composed almost entirely of farmers, some in uniform and others in homespun and buckskin.

Molly Brant, then at the Canajoharie Castle, warned St. Leger of Herkimer's intended advance. The non-combatants, women, children, aged and infirm, were gathered in the Valley forts during this movement. Forts Dayton, Herkimer, Plain, Paris, Johnstown, Hunter and the smaller posts held their quota of these defenseless ones. A few able-bodied men were probably assigned to each fort, in addition to the boys, old men and infirm, who were expected to aid in the defense. These posts were also the rendezvous of the militia of the neighborhood for the march to German Flats.

At Fort Dayton was a garrison consisting of part of Colonel Wesson's Massachusetts regiment. General Herkimer set out on his march, starting on August 4. The patriot Tryon County regiment followed the road on the north side of the river, passing through the clearings, which became more and more infrequent, and plunging into the dense forests. On account of the great number of wagons which were being convoyed, the little army was strung out for a distance of two miles or more. Most of these oxcarts were loaded with supplies and provisions for Fort Stanwix. The progress of these wagons along the narrow trail was difficult and the advance of the American militia was necessarily slow. The first night's camp was made west of Staring Creek, about twelve miles from Fort Dayton.

On the morning of August 5, Herkimer and his men pushed on westward until they came to the ford opposite old Fort Stan-

wix, in present Utica, where they crossed to the south bank. The American force might have continued on the north side, but this would have necessitated the transportation of all the ox-carts across the river at Fort Stanwix, in the face of the enemy, and the Tryon County general judged this too hazardous a proceeding.

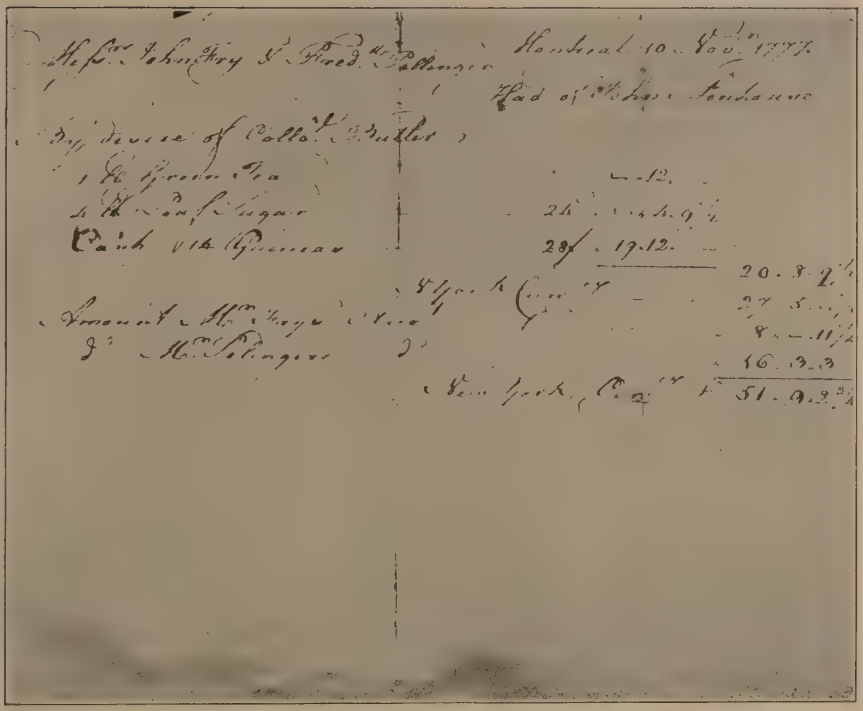
Herkimer's camp on that night (August 5) extended between the Oriskany Creek and Sauquoit Creek, upward of two miles through the forest. It was guarded on the west by Oriskany bluff and on the east by the Mohawk River. Three scouts were sent forward to inform Colonel Gansevoort of the approach of Herkimer's force. The discharge of three cannon at the fort was to be the signal of their arrival there and for Herkimer to advance upon the enemy while Gansevoort made a sortie against their camp. The scouts sent to Gansevoort by Herkimer were Helmer, Demuth and an unknown.

With the wisdom of an old frontier fighter, it was Herkimer's intention to stop at this point on the morning of August 6 and do some reconnoitering, while awaiting the expected signals.

St. Leger, aware of the patriot advance, had sent a detachment of Indians under Brant and Tories under Colonel Butler and Major Watts to meet them. Herkimer's subordinates were anxious to advance before the expected signal from the fort, and on the morning of August 6 became practically mutinous. His officers attacked him violently for the delay and Col. Cox and Isaac Paris denounced him as a coward and a Tory. Calmly the general told them that he considered himself charged with the care as well as the leadership of his men and did not wish to place them in a perilous position from which it would be impossible to extricate them; he added that those who were boasting loudest of their courage would be first to run in the face of the enemy, and finally satisfied the clamor of his officious subordinates by giving the order "Forward". With great shouting the undisciplined militia grasped their arms and rushed forward. Doubtless General Herkimer realized that his officers and men, or a considerable part of them, would have gone on without him, and hence he gave the order to advance.

The march had been over a road leading through unbroken woods, ever since the Americans had forded the Mohawk at Old Fort Schuyler. This forced the brigade to extend itself along a narrow road and left it open to attack from the dense woods on either side. Herkimer had been warned of an Indian ambush westward of Oriskany Creek and had done his best to prevent it.

About two miles west of the Oriskany the road led into a



From account book of Major John Frey, while a prisoner in Montreal in 1777. The account is for goods furnished Major John Frey and Lieutenant-Colonel Frederick Bellinger of the German Flats regiment of Tryon County Militia. Both officers were captured at the battle of Oriskany, August 6, 1777. From the collection of Mr. S. L. Frey, Palatine Bridge.

curving ravine with a marshy bottom, traversed by a causeway of logs and earth. Along this road the patriots were rushing hastily forward when a sudden, crashing volley of musketry smote the straggling American line and the enemy closed in on all sides, while the forest rang with shots and savage yells, and the shouts of officers struggling to restore order out of the confused files of militiamen.

In the smoke and turmoil General Herkimer, riding at the head of the column, with the Canajoharie district regiment in the van, ordered Colonel Cox to deploy the men in a battle line on the road, but, like true frontiersmen, they took to trees of their own accord. At this moment General Herkimer was shot through the lower leg by a bullet which killed his horse, and horse and rider sank to the earth. In the first fury of the onslaught the enemy cut off the baggage train and the rear battalion of Colonel Fisher (Visscher), which was driven back in a disorderly retreat, although Captain Gardinier's company and some others of Fisher's men succeeded in pushing forward and joining the American main body. The rest were pursued and badly cut up by the Indians. The 700 men left in the ravine were thrown into confusion and for a time seemed likely to be annihilated, as the slaughter was terrific. Although undisciplined and insubordinate, they were not panic-stricken and soon were fighting back effectively against the savage enemy.

When Herkimer fell, Dr. Petrie, surgeon of the German Flats regiment, was also severely wounded, but nevertheless he bound up the commander's injured leg as well as possible, while under heavy fire. Directing his saddle to be placed against the trunk of a large beech tree, General Herkimer had his men assist him to a seat thereon. He lit his pipe and calmly directed the battle while supporting himself on his saddle. The bullets whizzed all about him, but when he was begged by his officers to allow them to remove him to a safer place, he replied, "I will face the enemy."

After an hour of fighting, with the foe closing gradually in upon them, Captain Seeber, without orders, threw the remnant of his men into a circle, the better to repel the attacks of the enemy. This example was followed by other sections of Herkimer's little army, whose defense then became so effective that a detachment of the Royal Greens and Butler's Rangers attempted to break the American line by a fierce bayonet charge. In this wild melee old Valley neighbors fought, fired and stabbed in a deadly hand-to-hand combat. Then a sudden heavy thunderstorm broke upon the bloody forest filled with dead, dying and

madly fighting men. The enemy retired and the Americans had a brief respite after two hours of deadly battle. Herkimer's men then took advantage of this to concentrate upon a better piece of ground, taking advantage of the rising ground (where the monument stands), which was somewhat protected by the swamps to the north and east and Bloody Gulch to the west. Another piece of tactics now adopted was to place two men behind a single tree to fire alternately, thus protecting each other from the savages, who, when a marksman was alone, rushed upon him and tomahawked him as soon as he had fired and before he could reload. Meanwhile the Indians, good for nothing at the point of the bayonet and being severely punished, were wavering.

The signal gun from Fort Stanwix now sounded gratefully upon the ears of the grimly-fighting farmers. Colonel Willett was assaulting St. Leger's camp. Here Brant tried an Indian trick of sending a company of Johnson's Greens disguised with American hats toward the patriots. Capt. Jacob Gardinier of Fisher's regiment was the first to detect the stratagem. To Lieut. Jacob Sammons, who thought them friends, said Gardinier: "Not so; don't you see them green coats?" They were hailed by Captain Gardinier, just at which moment one of his own men, seeing a friend, as he supposed, approaching, sprang forward and offered his hand, which was grasped and he was drawn into the advancing corps a prisoner. The American struggled to free himself, and Gardinier, jumping into the melee, killed the Tory captor with the blow of a spontoon. Instantly the captain was set upon by several of the enemy, one of whom he slew, and wounded another. Three of the foe now grappled with Gardinier and hurled him to the ground and held him there while one of the "Greens" pinioned his thigh to the ground with a bayonet. Another attempted to thrust a bayonet into his chest, but he caught it and jerked its owner down upon his body, where he held him as a protection, until Adam Miller, one of his own men, came to his rescue and, with his clubbed musket, brained one of the assailants who was holding down the fighting captain. The other two now turned upon Miller, when Gardinier, partly rising, snatched up his spear and killed one of them, who proved to be Captain McDonald of Johnson's Greens. In one of these terrible hand-to-hand fights Captain Watts was fearfully wounded and taken prisoner, and Captains Hare and Wilson of Johnson's Greens were killed.

This was one of the most terrific hand-to-hand battles recorded in history. Bayonets, clubbed guns, swords, pistols, toma-

hawks, war clubs, spears, fists, teeth and knives were used with murderous effect. In this fierce melee the Valley farmers had the advantage and killed and beat back their enemies, until the Indians sounded their call of retreat, "Ooonah, oonah", and slunk back into the forest. Thus deserted, the Tories fled, leaving the field in the possession of the Tryon County militia, whom only their own valor had saved from extermination. During the five hours of conflict 150 Americans had been killed. The wooded glen was littered with hundreds of wounded, dead and dying of both forces. The American wounded numbered probably 150, and prisoners about fifty. There were scarcely enough unwounded Americans left to carry off their wounded on litters hurriedly made from saplings and willow withes. The flower of the manhood of the Valley was killed at Oriskany and there was sorrow along the Mohawk in countless homes, which mourned some relative slain in this terrible combat.

The enemy retired in disorder from the field and left the Americans master of it at about 3 o'clock in the afternoon. The decimated regiments were, by their surviving commanders as far as practicable, hastily reorganized. The wounded, having been placed upon rude litters, the troops took up their mournful retrograde march, and encamped that night on the site of Old Fort Schuyler (now Utica), eight miles from the battle field. From this point General Herkimer and Capt. Jacob Seeber, and possibly one or two others of the wounded, were taken down the river in a boat to Fort Herkimer. At that place Captain Seeber was left with a broken leg, which was amputated and he bled to death. General Herkimer was taken to his home below Little Falls by a litter carried by four men in a six-mile march over Jacksonburgh Hill (Mt. Okwari). He died there ten days later, August 17, 1777. It is stated that Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell and Major Clyde brought off the shattered troops.

The loss of the enemy probably was as much as that of the Americans—300 killed and wounded—and was the great underlying cause for their retreat from Fort Stanwix. The Senecas alone had forty warriors killed.

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Colonel Willett, on the way down the Valley to obtain relief from General Schuyler for the fort bearing his name, wrote a letter concerning the siege of Fort Stanwix and Colonel Willett's sortie against the enemy camp on the day of the battle of Oriskany. It was published in the Connecticut Courant, August 27, 1777, and is in part as follows:

"On Saturday evening, Aug. 2d, five battoes arrived with stores for the garrison. About the same time, we discovered a number of fires, a little better than a mile from the northwest of the fort. The stores were all got safe in, and the troops which were a guard to the batteaux marched up. [This was part of a Massachusetts regiment under Lieut. Col. Mellon from Fort Dayton.] The Captain of the batteaux and a few of his men, delaying their time about the boats, were fired on by a party of Indians, which killed one man and wounded two; the Captain himself was taken prisoner.

"Next morning the enemy appeared in the edge of the woods about a mile below the fort, where they took post, in order to invest it upon that quarter and to cut off the communication with the country from whence they sent in a flag, who told us of their great power, strength and determination, in such a manner as gave us reason to suppose they were not possessed of strength to take the fort. Our answer was, our determination to support it.

"All day on Monday, we were much annoyed by a sharp fire of musketry from the Indians and German riflemen as our men were obliged to be exposed on the works, killed one man and wounded seven. The day after, the firing was not so heavy, and our men were under better cover; all the damage was one man killed by a rifle ball. This evening [Tuesday, Aug. 5], indicated something in contemplation by the enemy. The Indians were uncommonly noisy, they made most horrid yellings great part of the evening in the woods, hardly a mile from the fort. A few cannon shot were fired among them.

[The batteaux guard, which brought into Fort Schuyler, the five boatloads of supplies were part of Col. Wesson's Massachusetts regiment from Fort Dayton, under command of Lieut. Col. Mellon. The German riflemen, referred to, composed a company of St. Leger's very mixed force of British valley Tories, Indians and these Germans.]

"Wednesday morning there was an unusual silence. We discovered some of the enemy marching along the edge of the woods downwards. About 11 o'clock three men got into the fort, who brought a letter from Gen. Herkimer of the Tryon County militia advising us that he was at Eriska [Oriskany], eight miles off, with a part of his militia and purposed to force his way to the fort for our relief. In order to render him what service we could, it was agreed that I should make a sally from the fort with 250 men, consisting of one-half Gansevoort's and one-half Massachusetts ditto, and one field piece—an iron three pounder.

"The men were instantly paraded and I ordered the following disposition to be made. [Here follows the arrangement of his troops and plan of march.] Nothing could be more fortunate than this enterprise. We totally routed two of the enemy's encampments, destroyed all the provisions that were in them, brought off upwards of 50 brass kettles and more than 100 blankets. [Two articles which were much needed.] With a quantity of muskets, tomahawks, spears, ammunition, clothing, deerskins, a variety of Indian affairs and five colors—the whole of which, on our return to the fort, were displayed on our flag-staff under the Continental flag. The Indians took chiefly to the woods, the rest of the troops then at the posts, to the river. The number of men lost by the enemy is uncertain, six lay dead in their encampment, two of which were Indians; several scattered about in the woods; but their greatest loss appeared to be in crossing the river, and no inconsiderable number upon the opposite shore. I was happy in preventing the men from scalping even the Indians, being desirous, if possible, to teach Indians humanity; but the men were much better employed, and kept in excellent order. We were out so long that a number of British regulars, accompanied by what Indians, etc., could be rallied, had marched down to a thicket on the other side of the river, about fifty yards from the road we were to cross on our return. Near this place I had ordered the field piece. The ambush was not quite formed when we discovered them, and gave them a well-directed fire. Here, especially, Maj. Bedlow with his field piece, did considerable execution. Here, also, the enemy were annoyed by a fire of several cannon from the fort, as they marched round to form the ambuscade. The enemy's fire was very wild, and although we were much exposed, did no execution at all. We brought in four prisoners, three of whom were wounded. * * * From these prisoners we received the first accounts of Gen. Herkimer's militia being ambuscaded on their march, and of the severe battle they had with them about two hours before, which gave us reason to think they had, for the present, given up their design of marching to the fort. I should not do justice to the officers and soldiers who were with me on this enterprise, if I was not, in most positive terms, to assure their countrymen that they, in general, behaved with the greatest gallantry on this occasion; and, next to the very kind and signal interposition of Divine Providence, which was powerfully manifested in their favor, it was undoubtedly owing to that noble intrepidity which discovered itself in this attack, and struck the enemy with such a panic as disenabled them from taking pains

GENERAL HERKIMER HOME, 1764.

Front view, as seen from the New York Central Railroad and Mohawk Turnpike, on both of which it is a famous landmark. Photo shows flag, D. A. R. 1912 Oriskany march marker, monument, house, well and well sweep, summer house (built on the General's Stone powder magazine) and the West Shore R. R. directly in front of the house. Photo by William Smith, Schuyler; by courtesy of Estella Folts Callan, Ilion.

ORISKANY BATTLEFIELD.

Photo taken from the monument, looking east over the glen in which the Americans were ambuscaded by Brant and Johnson and their Indians and Tories.

to direct their fire, that we had not one man killed or wounded. The officers, in general, behaved so well that it is hardly right to mention the names of any particular ones for their singular valor. But, so remarkably intrepid was Capt. Van Benscoten [he commanded the advance guard of 30 men] and so rapid was his attack, that it demands from me this testimony of his extraordinary spirit."

Among the effects taken from the enemy's camp were several bundles of papers and letters, which had been taken from General Herkimer's baggage wagons a few hours before, not yet opened, one of which was for Colonel Willett. There were also papers of Sir John Johnson, St. Leger and other officers of the enemy's camp, some of which were of service. Willett writes further: "That evening (August 8) it was agreed by the field officers that I should undertake with Lieut. Stockwell—who is a good woodsman—to endeavor to get down into the country and procure such force as would extirpate the miscreant band. After a severe march, of about 50 miles, through the wilderness, we in safety arrived at this place." [Fort Dayton, at present Herkimer].

The perilous journey of Colonel Willett and Lieutenant Stockwell is covered in more detail later in the relations concerning the Oriskany campaign and in extracts from "Willett's Narrative", published in Chapter 64.

It is somewhat difficult to understand why, when Willett started out from Fort Stanwix ostensibly to march to relief of General Herkimer's brigade, he should have gone no farther than the British camp. Had he ventured toward Oriskany he would probably have met disaster. The enemy had all the advantage in a forest fight against a marching column of troops, as was shown at Oriskany.

From the day of Oriskany until the enemy reached Oswego on their retreat a number of American prisoners were barbarously beaten and murdered by Tories and Indians. Committeeman Isaac Paris of Palatine and Robert Crouse of Minden were among these. Some of these victims were eaten by the Indians. These barbarities and thrilling incidents of the battle of Oriskany are given later in more detail.

Whether the action of Herkimer and his men at Oriskany is regarded as an actual defeat, a drawn battle or a practical victory, nevertheless the successful defense of Fort Stanwix was one of the main causes which contributed to Burgoyne's defeat at Saratoga. It is to be doubted whether the St. Leger force

would have been intimidated so easily had they not suffered severely at the hands of the Tryon County militia. In all the world story of armed conflict there is no more desperate or heroic fight recorded than that in the wooded glen of Oriskany.

In the valley homes was great mourning. For such a small population, the losses were almost overwhelming. In some families the male members were almost or even entirely wiped out in some instances. It was many a long weary year before the sorrow and suffering caused by the sacrifices at Oriskany had been forgotten in the valley of the Mohawk. For a century, tales of the Oriskany battle were told around the Mohawk Valley firesides.

The following letter from the chairman of the German Flats committee to the Albany committee, written three days after the battle, will be found of interest:

German Flats Committee Chamber.
August 9, 1777.

Gentlemen: Just arrived Capt. Demuth and John Adam Helmer, the bearer hereof, with an account that they arrived with some difficulty at Fort Schuyler, the 6th of the month, being sent there by Gen. Herkimer. Before he set out for the field of battle, he requested some assistance from the fort in order to make an effort to facilitate our march on the fort. Two hundred and six men were granted. They made a sally, encountered the enemy, killed many, destroyed the tents of the enemy and came off victorious to the fort. The commander (of the fort) desired them to acquaint us, and his superiors, that he is wanting assistance, and thinks to stand out so long that timely assistance could come to his relief.

Concerning the battle: On our side, all accounts agreed, that a number of the enemy is killed; the flower of our militia either killed or wounded, except 150, who stood the field and forced the enemy to retreat; the wounded were brought off by those brave men; the dead they left on the field for want of proper support. We will not take upon us to tell of the behavior of the rear. So far as we know, they took to flight the first firing. Gen. Herkimer is wounded; Col. Cox seemingly killed, and a great many officers are among the slain. We are surrounded by Tories, a party of 100 of whom are now on their march through the woods. We refer you for further information to the bearer. Major Watts of the enemy is killed. Joseph Brant, William Johnson, several Tories and a number of Indians.

Gentlemen, we pray you will send us succor. By the death of

most part of our committee officers, the field officers and General being wounded, everything is out of order; the people entirely dispirited; our county at Esopus unrepresented, so that we can not hope to stand it any longer without your aid; we will not mention the shocking aspect our fields do show. Faithful to our country, we remain

Your sorrowful brethren,
The few members of this committee.
Peter J. Dygert, Chairman.

To the Chairman of the Committee of Albany.

Dygert was in error as to the death of Brant and also as to the march of the 100 Tories. Probably many rumors were rife in the valley immediately after Oriskany.

William Johnson was a half-breed Mohawk and a son of Sir William Johnson.

* * * * *

Everywhere in the Valley, immediately following the battle of Oriskany, there was despondency and foreboding. Doubtless certain intrepid patriots vowed to fight the invaders to the last but the considerable Tory element and the weak-kneed and disaffected combined to depress the general patriotic spirit.

Within four days after Oriskany, an enemy raid in the Schoharie Valley threatened to cut off the remnant of American military forces in the Upper and Middle Mohawk Valley. This invasion of the Schoharie Valley by Captain McDonald, at the head of 150 Tories and Indians, was all part of Burgoyne's well-concerted plan of campaign. McDonald's force was defeated, on August 13th, by a force of cavalry and militia of probably only half the number of the enemy.

Capt. McDonald with 150 Indians and Tories invaded the Schoharie valley at Brakabeen on August 10, 1777, four days after the battle of Oriskany. The valley was then in a defenseless condition and Col. John Harper, the famous Schoharie patriot, rode to Albany for aid in repelling this irruption of the enemy. He was followed by two hostile Indians, whom he compelled to fly at the points of his pistols. Harper reached Albany, August 12: 28 cavalrymen were dispatched back to the Schoharie country with Col. Harper. After a ride from Albany of 45 miles the cavalrymen, joined by the Schoharie militia under Col. Harper, met the enemy at the house of Adam Crysler, near the upper end of Vroomanland, near a place called "The Flockey," August 13, 1777. A few shots and a charge by the cavalry made the invaders fly in disorder. David Wirt, lieutenant of the cavalry, was

killed and he was the first patriot to fall in the Schoharie country. Two privates were wounded—one named Rose, mortally. Some 20 Schoharie Tories joined the enemy on their retreat to Niagara. This is known as the "Battle at the Flockey," the name meaning "the swamp" or swampy ground, and was the first Revolutionary action in the Schoharie valley.

The following concerning the Schoharie raid of August, 1777, is from "Schoharie Valley Lore," by Ellsworth Vrooman:

"In August, 1777, Captain McDonald, a Scotchman who, before the Revolution, had lived on the Charlotte River, and was now a Tory leader with the rank of captain in Johnson's Royal Greens, was making his way with a body of 150 Tories and Indians, from the upper or southern part of the Schoharie Valley down through the settlements, devastating everything in his path, and intending to meet Burgoyne at Albany, coming from Lake Champlain, St. Leger coming down the Mohawk and Clinton, who was to come up the Hudson from New York. With McDonald, was Lieut. Adam Crysler, a Tory from Vrooman Land. The raiders reached Schoharie River at Breakabeen, Sunday, August 10th. Information of their coming was conveyed to Middleburgh, about nine miles distant, by Henry Hager, a man then over seventy years old, an ardent American patriot whose sons were then all in the American service. The fort at Middleburgh was not yet built. A small party of home militia was at the stone dwelling house of Johannes Becker. Deeming their number too small to resist successfully without assistance yet determined to do all they could, they at once began to barricade their doors and windows and sent to Albany for immediate help. Not an hour was to be lost as McDonald's forces might come at any time. Col. John Harper, who arrived Monday afternoon to consult with Col. Vrooman, the secretary of the local (Schoharie) Committee of Safety, started at once for Albany. A small body of about 28 cavalry, under command of Capt. James Degolier, a Frenchman, was granted him. The party, conducted by Col. Harper and riding a good part of the night, arrived at Schoharie early Wednesday morning. At the brick tavern, standing north of Fox's Creek at the fork of the roads leading to Albany and to Schenectady, they arrested David Ogeonda, a notorious Indian, who had just come to the tavern from McDonald's with the expectation of meeting a band of Tories there. Ogeonda, a short time before, had attempted to take the life of Chairman Ball, of the Schoharie Committee of Safety, and he had also followed Col. Harper for some distance, on his late trip to Albany for help. Together with Oge-

onda, they arrested a few of the most active Tories, found at the tavern, and started with their prisoners for Middleburgh. The cavalry was heartily received by the little band of anxious waiting militiamen, the prisoners were placed in confinement, the horses rested and the men refreshed. After resting a few hours, it was thought best to go and meet McDonald's party, drawn up in front of Lieut. Crysler's house, which was situated on a knoll at the upper end of Vrooman's Land. A few shots were exchanged when the bugler of Degolier's cavalry sounded the charge and, with a shout, the troops dashed among the Tories and Indians. A panic among McDonald's forces ensued and they fled up the river. They were pursued only a short distance as it was nearly dark and the ground was unfavorable for cavalry, as both men and horses were tired from their long ride from Albany and there was great danger from ambush. What the losses were from McDonald's party are unknown. The American loss was three. David Wirt of the cavalry, was killed, being the first man that fell in Schoharie defending the principles of free government. Two privates were wounded, one Rose, mortally, who died three days later. After the engagement, McDonald's party, being so completely demoralized, retreated up the river, through Breakabeen over to the Susquehanna and thence on the way to Niagara. At this time, twenty or more active Tories went off with McDonald and thus the methodically planned invasion of the Schoharie Valley was defeated. Upon that day the walls of the old Stone Fort resounded to the martial tread of forces in the great struggle for independence."

McDonald's defeat was a very vital factor in the victorious Saratoga-Oriskany campaign.

* * * * *

After Oriskany, Schenectady presented a no less gloomy picture than the rest of the Valley. "We are sorry", wrote Reinier Mynderse in behalf of the Committee to General Schuyler, on August 5, "to be under the Necessiry of informing you of the disagreeable Situation of our Affairs in this place at present. The inhabitants in General seem much dejected. Since the Loss of Tyconderoga many of them who formerly seemed warm in the Interest of the Country are now quite cool, or rather inclined to the other side. We believe this change of Sentiment in many of them to be greatly owing to the bad counsel and advice, they daily receive from disaffected Persons who begin to be pretty numerous amongst us. We are unable to take any measures to prevent their spreading Influence, or any thing else for want of a few

Troops to support us. A few days ago we issued a warrant to impress a number of waggons to go and relieve those who have been a considerable time in the Service, but the Constables returned without getting one for want of force to put the warrant into execution. We beg you will take our case into consideration, and if you can spare them, send about sixty men with good Officer to remain with us some time."

On August 3 the forces under St. Leger, proceeding in accordance with the formulated plan, arrived before Fort Stanwix. Rumor that Fort Stanwix was under siege seems to have reached Schenectady even before the siege actually commenced, for Colonel Goose Van Schaick writing from Schenectady to General Schuyler, on the fourth, mentions it as "a common report". Van Schaick, with "near one hundred Continental troops, men and boys", was at the time on his way to German Flats, where, under Nicholas Herkimer, the Tryon County militia had gathered, and was endeavoring to prevail upon members of the Schenectady militia to join the expedition as volunteers; without avail, however, for "I find to my great surprise", he adds in the same letter, "that not a man will go with me, either from this place or Schoharie." A few men from the Schenectady section, however, accompanied Van Schaick. One of them was Jan Van Eps, a thirteen-year old boy of present Hoffmans.

The Schenectady and Schoharie militia would not accompany Col. Van Schaick because they claimed their forces were needed for home defense. Had they joined Van Schaick in full force and thus formed part of Herkimer's army, St. Leger would have been crushed in spite of Brant's ambuscade at Oriskany.

The Tories in the vicinity of Schenectady had seized upon the cooling of the patriotic spirit as an opportunity to renew their activities. On August 10 it was reported to the Committee of Safety that a number of them had actually "disarmed some of the inhabitants that were on guard and that they had assembled to the number of 300".

The remaining militia were already under orders from General Schuyler to join the main army, but on the report of the Tory raid it was immediately resolved by the Committee "that they be detained in Town, and that a Watch of 25 Men be kept up Day and Night".

The report that another raid was imminent was brought to the Committee on the next day, and in the afternoon Jacob Schermerhorn, who had been sent out on scout duty, reported to the Board "That on the 10th inst at Night (the Tories) lay at the

House of a Thoms Morall and in the Morning went to one Nicholas Van Patten". A detail of Continental troops, who were in town, under Captain Childs and a number of the militia under Major Swits were immediately dispatched for the capture of the Tories, and on the twelfth turned over to the Committee eleven prisoners who had been taken with their arms and accoutrements.

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A letter of Col. Claus, written from St. Leger's camp, shows the desire of the Tryon county Tories to murder and pilfer the homes of their old neighbors after the Oriskany battle: "Sir John Johnson proposed (while siege of Fort Stanwix was still being prosecuted) to march down the country with about 200 men, and I intended joining him with a sufficient body of Indians, but the Brigadier (St. Leger) said he could not spare the men, and disapproved of it. The inhabitants in general were ready (as we afterward learned) to submit and come in. A flag was sent to invite the inhabitants to submit and be forgiven, and assurance given to prevent the Indians from being outrageous; but the commanding officers of the German Flats (Fort Dayton) hearing of it seized the flag, consisting of Ensign Butler of the Eighth Regiment, ten soldiers and three Indians, and took them up as spies. A few days after, Gen. Arnold, coming with some cannon and a reinforcement, made the inhabitants return to their obedience." Simms says Claus's opinion that the Tryon county settlers were ready to submit was a delusion.

St. Leger now made new demands for surrender on Gansevoort, who was ignorant of the result of the effort of Herkimer's men, but who replied that he would defend the fort to the last extremity. Siege operations were renewed with increasing vigor but the British artillery was too light to be effective. It was feared the garrison might be starved into a surrender if not relieved, and accordingly on the night of the 10th of August, Col. Willett and Maj. Stockwell set out to pass the enemy's lines and rally the support of the county militia with whom Willett was deservedly popular.

General Schuyler had already dispatched a force for the relief of Fort Stanwix, under command of General Benedict Arnold. Willett and Stockwell met Arnold's detachment marching up the Mohawk.

St. Leger issued manifestos to the people of Tryon county signed by Sir John Johnson and Cols. Butler and Claus, in which he hoped by threats of Indian barbarities to induce Col. Gansevoort to surrender. In trying to circulate this document down

purpose, very early in the morning, a strong [illegible] detachment of regulars and Indians advanced 1777 towards him, and lay in ambuscade on the road by which he was to march. Herkemer fell into this ambuscade. The first notice he received of it was a heavy discharge of small arms, which was followed by a furious attack from the Indians with their tomahawks. Though some of the militia fled on the first onset, he defended himself with resolution, but was unable to maintain his ground. His party was defeated with great slaughter. The general and several of the field officers were wounded: many others, among whom were several of the committee men, and leading political characters of the country, were killed, or taken prisoners. The loss was estimated at about four hundred men.† The destruction was prevented from being rendered still more complete, by the very timely sortie made by lieutenant colonel Willet, which checked the pursuit, and recalled the enemy to the defence of their own camp.

So soon as the intelligence was received that Herkemer was advancing, the sortie, which had been promptly resolved on, was as promptly executed. Lieutenant colonel Willet fell on the camp of the enemy, and, being entirely unexpected, routed them on the first onset; drove them, some into the woods, and others across the river; and brought off a number of camp

† the killed in the field were 134 - the wounded were numerous & very few were prisoners - Mr Davis a prisoner was killed in the British Camp. to appease the Manes of Wm Johnson, an Indian

Page from Marshall's History of the United States with notes by C. P. Yates concerning the battle of Oriskany.

the valley, Walter Butler was arrested by Col. Wesson at present Mohawk, near Fort Dayton, tried as a spy before Gen. Arnold, and convicted but was saved from death by the intercession of American officers who knew him. Butler was sent to Albany and imprisoned. Gen. Arnold issued a stirring proclamation calculated to neutralize the effect of the Tory manifesto in the valley.

The address issued by Arnold at Fort Dayton, to counteract the Tory proclamation, was well calculated to awe the timid and give courage to the wavering Whigs. The prestige of his name gave great weight to it. He prefaced it with a flourish of his title and position as follows: "By the Honorable Benedict Arnold, Esq., general and commander-in-chief of the army of the United States of America on the Mohawk River."

He denounced a certain Barry St. Leger "a leader of a banditti of robbers, murderers and traitors, composed of savages of America and more savage Britons," and denounced him as a seducer of the ignorant and unthinking from the cause of freedom and as threatening ruin and destruction to the people. He then offered a free pardon to all who had joined him or upheld him, "whether savages, Germans, Americans or Britons" provided they laid down their arms and made oath of allegiance to the United States within three days. But if they persisted in their "wicked courses" and "were determined to draw on themselves the just vengeance of Heaven and their exasperated country, they must expect no mercy from either."

St. Leger ran forward his trenches to within 150 yards of the fort, but the accurate firing of the garrison prevented a nearer approach. His weak artillery had little effect. The defenders, utterly ignorant of any relief approaching, began to be apprehensive and some suggested surrender. Gansevoort stoutly maintained he would defend the fort to the last extremity and would then try to cut his way out at night. This proved unnecessary as, on the 22d of August, to the surprise and mystification of the fort's defenders, the enemy suddenly broke camp and vanished.

This was the result of the celebrated ruse adopted by Arnold who had captured an eccentric Tory, in company with Butler. His name was Han Yost Schuyler and his sentence of death was remitted if he should carry out Arnold's instructions. Schuyler's brother was retained as hostage for his behavior. Bullets were fired through Schuyler's coat and he was sent on his mission, while arrangements were made with an Oneida Indian to reach St. Leger at the same time. Both arrived at short intervals and told an extravagant story of the force on the way to raise the

siege. When questioned closely as to the numbers of the provincials marching up the valley the tale-bearers merely pointed to the leaves on the trees. The effect of this story upon the Tory force and particularly upon the Indians can be imagined after the losses they had suffered. The retreat, to Oneida lake and Oswego, was begun at once and, disgusted by the conduct of the campaign, the Indians, stripped, robbed and even murdered their late allies. Schuyler next day deserted from the retreating enemy, and returned to Fort Stanwix where he told his story and was received with lively demonstrations of joy. Gansevoort sent a party after the flying enemy, which returned with a number of prisoners, a large quantity of spoil, and St. Leger's desk and private papers.

This Hanyost Schuyler story has been denied by certain historians, but the diary of William Colbraith, a soldier, written during the siege of Fort Stanwix, gives it practically as here written.

General Arnold sent out from Fort Dayton to Fort Stanwix, after Schuyler's departure, a force of 900 soldiers. At the Oriskany battleground they were compelled to make a wide detour on account of the terrible stench from the battlefield. Many gruesome sights came to the soldiers' notice, mention of which is added later. Burials of the bodies had been contemplated but could not be carried out, as the officers feared for the health of the soldiers. At Fort Stanwix, Arnold's arrival was greeted with a salute of artillery and great cheering and demonstrations on the part of the garrison. In all probability, had the enemy not run, they would have been soundly beaten by Arnold's and Gansevoort's men, cut up and disheartened as the British force was by their encounter with Herkimer and his Mohawk valley men at Oriskany. Arnold's force undoubtedly contained several hundred of the Tryon county militia who had fought on that famous field two weeks before. Gen. Arnold and his regiment shortly thereafter turned back and marched down the valley to Cohoes where he joined the American army gathered to oppose Burgoyne at the mouth of the Mohawk. His intrepid valor and immense aid, in the subsequent battles of Stillwater, which wiped out the British army, are well known. It is said that a number of the Tryon County militia accompanied him, as volunteers, on his return march.

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After the Oriskany battle, Schuyler retreated to the Mohawk and fortified Van Schaick's and Haver's island at the mouth of that stream where it empties into the Hudson. Schuyler ordered

the grain in his own fields at Saratoga to be burned, in his retreat, to prevent the enemy reaping it. The following is taken from Lossing:

"That seemed to be the most eligible point [the islands at the Mohawk's mouth] at which to make a stand in defense of Albany against the approaches of the enemy from the north and from the west. At that time there were no bridges across the Hudson or the Mohawk, and both streams were too deep to be fordable except in seasons of extreme drought. There was a ferry across the Mohawk, five miles above the falls (defended by the left wing under Gen. Arnold), and another across the Hudson at Half Moon Point or Waterford. The 'sprouts' of the Mohawk, between the islands, were usually fordable; and as Burgoyne would not, of course, cross the Hudson or attempt the ferry upon the Mohawk, where a few resolute men could successfully oppose him, his path was of necessity directly across the mouth of the river. Fortifications were accordingly thrown up on the islands and upon the mainland, faint traces of which are still visible."

August 6, 1777, occurred the battle of Oriskany. On August 22, St. Leger and his force fled from before Fort Stanwix. August 16, the New Hampshire militia, under Stark, beat the enemy at Bennington township, in present New York State (not Bennington, Vermont). Gen. Schuyler's army of the north began to be greatly reinforced about this time when Gen. Gates superseded him. On September 19 occurred the first battle of Bemis Heights, which was a virtual defeat for the British. On October 7, 1777, Burgoyne was decisively beaten, close to the scene of the first engagement, and started to fall back. On October 17, the British army surrendered to the American force. Over 2,000 of the 6,000 captives were German mercenaries.

Burgoyne's surrender is said to have been somewhat hastened by an American cannon ball which crossed his breakfast table during a council of the British officers.

The battles of Bemis Heights are sometimes referred to as the battles of Stillwater, because they were fought in the township of Stillwater, present Saratoga County.

The battle of Oriskany was not fought at Oriskany creek but two miles westward. Probably "Oriskany" was the name of the region about the mouth of the Oriskany creek. Regional names were common with the Indians and white pioneers. "Canajoharie" is a large example.

A contemporary account of the Oriskany battle is appended. This was published in the Pennsylvania Evening Post, August

19 and 21, 1777, and is reprinted from that very interesting volume, "Diary of the American Revolution:"

"Aug. 7:—Yesterday, about nine o'clock, an engagement ensued between a part of the militia of Tryon county, under the command of General Herkimer, and a party of savages, Tories and regulars, a short distance from Fort Stanwix. It lasted till three o'clock in the afternoon, when the British thought proper to retire, leaving General Herkimer master of the field. Unluckily, however, the General and some valuable officers got wounded or killed in the beginning. But this did in nowise intimidate the ardor of the men, and the general, although he had two wounds, did not leave the field till the action was over. He seated himself on a log, with his sword drawn, animating his men.

"About one o'clock, Colonel Gansevoort having received information of General Herkimer's march, sent out Lieutenant-Colonel Willett, with two hundred men, to attack an encampment of the British, and thereby facilitate General Herkimer's march. In this the colonel succeeded, for after an engagement of an hour he had completely routed the enemy and taken one captain and four privates. The baggage taken was very considerable, such as money, bear skins, officers' baggage and camp equipage; one of the soldiers had for his share a scarlet coat, trimmed with gold lace to the full, and three laced hats. When Colonel Willett returned to the fort, he discovered two hundred regulars in full march to attack him. He immediately ordered his men to prepare for battle, and, having a field piece with him, Captain Savage so directed its fire as to play in concert with one out of the fort; these, with a brisk fire from his small arms, soon made these heroes scamper off with great loss. Colonel Willett then marched with his booty into the fort, having not a single man killed or wounded.

"General St. Leger, who commands the enemy's force in that quarter, soon after sent in a flag to demand the delivery of the fort, offering that the garrison should march out with their baggage, and not be molested by the savages; that, if this was not complied with, he would not answer for the conduct of the Indians, if the garrison fell into their hands; that General Burgoyne was in possession of Albany. Colonel Gansevoort, after animadverting on the barbarity and disgraceful conduct of the British officers, in suffering women and children to be butchered as they had done, informed the flag that he was resolved to defend the fort to the last, and that he would never give it up so long as there was a man left to defend it."

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There were a few Oneidas with the provincials in the Oriskany battle, among whom was the Indian interpreter, Spencer, who was killed. The Indians of the enemy suffered severely, being put forward early in the fight. The Senecas alone lost over 60 in killed and wounded, while the Mohawks and other tribes suffered severely. The fire of the patriots was fully as deadly against the Tories, their captains, McDonough, Wilson and Hare, lying dead on the field, with scores of men in Tory uniforms scattered around them. The great loss of the Indians has been made a pretext by English writers to justify the cruelties inflicted by them on their prisoners. Says the "Life of Mary Jemison" (the white woman), page 88: "Previous to the battle of Fort Stanwix, the British sent for the Indians (Senecas) to come and see them whip the rebels; and at the same time stated that they did not wish to have them fight, but wanted to have them just sit down, smoke their pipes and look on. Our Indians went to a man, but contrary to their expectations, instead of smoking and looking on, they were obliged to fight for their lives and, in the end, were completely beaten, with a great loss in killed and wounded. Our Indians alone had 36 killed and a great number wounded. Our town (Little Beard's Town) exhibited a scene of real sorrow and distress, when our warriors returned and recounted their misfortunes, and stated the real loss they had sustained in the engagement. The mourning was excessive, and was expressed by the most doleful yells, shrieks and howlings, and by inimitable gesticulations."

It was hoped, by surviving friends in the valley below, that the troops advancing under Gen. Arnold to raise the siege of Fort Stanwix would be able to perform the melancholy task of burying the remains of our fallen soldiery at Oriskany. But, as over two weeks of excessively warm weather had transpired—it being then the 23d or 24th of August—decomposition had so rapidly taken place that the stench was intolerable, making it necessary for the health of the troops to give the field as wide a berth as possible. So said James Williamson, who was a soldier under Arnold and who was on duty at Fort Stanwix. As the relieving American army force under Gen. Arnold approached Oriskany, evidences of its bloody onslaught greeted them. Here are some things which were noticed by Nicholas Stoner, a young musician in Col. Livingston's regiment, and copied from Simms's "Trappers:" Near the mouth of the Oriskany creek a gun was found standing against a tree with a pair of boots hanging on it, while in the creek near, in a state bordering on putrefaction, lay their sup-

posed owner. In the grass, a little way from the shore, lay a well dressed man without hat or coat, who, it was supposed, had made his way there to obtain drink. A black silk handkerchief encircled his head. John Clark, a sergeant, loosened it but its hair adhered to it on its removal, and he left it. He, however, took from his feet a pair of silver shoe buckles. His legs were so swollen that a pair of deerskin breeches were rent from top to bottom. On their way nine dead bodies lay across the road, disposed in regular order, as was imagined by the Indians after their death. The stench was so great that the Americans could not discharge the last debt due their heroic countrymen, and their bones were soon after bleaching on the ground. A little farther on an Indian was seen hanging to the limb of a tree. He was suspended by the traces of a harness, but by whom was unknown. Such were some of the scenes, a mile or two away, but, where the carnage had been greatest, they had to make as wide a circuit as possible. Not an American killed in that battle was ever buried.

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The visitor to the Oriskany battlefield can readily see the position of the Americans. They were ambuscaded in the ravine to the east, across which a corduroy road ran at the time of the battle. The American militiamen fought their way to and held the low plateau, bounded on the east by the ravine, on the north (where the monument stands) by the swampy flats, and on the west by Bloody Gulch, where some terrific fighting took place. Only on the south was the position exposed.

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Scalping was done to some extent by the American troops, but was not prompted by the hope of reward, as in the case of the Indians and Tories. "Scalps for the Canadian market" proved a source of revenue to the Indians, who took them to Montreal and redeemed them for cash, receiving payment for those of men, women and children alike. Lossing gives the following account of this diabolical practice: "The methods used by the Indians in scalping is probably not generally known. I was told by Mr. Dievendorff [who was scalped as a boy in Doxtader's Currytown 1781 raid and survived to an old age] that the scalping knife was a weapon, not unlike in appearance the bowie knife of the present day. The victim was usually stunned or killed by a blow from a tomahawk. Sometimes only a portion of the scalp (as was the case with Mr. Dieverdorff) was taken from the crown and the back part of the head, and more frequently the whole scalp was removed. With the dexterity of a surgeon, the Indian placed the

point of his knife at the roots of the hair on the forehead and made a circular incision around the head. If the hair was short he would raise a lappet of the skin, take hold with his teeth, and tear it instantly from the skull. If long, such as the hair of females, he would twist it around his hand, and, by a sudden jerk. bare the skull. The scalps were then tanned with the air on, and often marked in such a manner that the owners could tell when and where they were severally obtained, and whether they belonged to men or women. When Major Rogers, in 1759, destroyed the chief village of the St. Francis Indians, he found there a vast quantity of scalps, many of them comically painted with heiroglyphics. They were all stretched on small hoops." A remarkable phase of this unspeakable practice, is that a large number of valley people who were scalped, recovered and lived to an old age. This was due to the hurried way in which many of the Indian attacks were made, so that the victims were stunned and not killed.

Col. John Butler had charge of the traffic in scalps with the Indians, during the Oriskany campaign, and probably later. Simms says "the usual bounty, after a time, was $8 for all except those of officers and committeemen, which commanded from $10 to $20."

* * * * *

In the fall of 1777, as previously mentioned, three American forts were built in the Schoharie Valley. These became known as the Upper, Middle and Lower Schoharie forts. Vrooman's "Schoharie Valley Lore" says of these:

"It became evident that the Indians had allied firmly to the British, and no promise, threat, or prevention could gain their assistance or neutrality. The Valley, lying open to invasion, it was thought expedient to build fortifications, in which the settlers might seek protection, as there were no forts or fortifications in the Valley, although there were some strongly built dwelling houses, in which those nearby could gather for mutual protection and defense. In the fall of 1777, the people united and palisaded with oak the old Stone Church and the residence of Johannes Becker at Weirstown, now Middleburgh, and the residence of John Feeck of Vrooman's Land."

The winter of 1777-1778 was a severe one, owing to the lack of supplies, the main army suffering incredible hardships. The large force at Albany consisted of eastern militiamen and local companies which had fought at Saratoga and which were held in readiness to defend the borderland. The Schoharie Valley

ORISKANY BATTLEFIELD MONUMENT.

Scene during the 145th anniversary of the Battle of Oriskany, Sunday, August 6th, 1922, at a celebration under the auspices of the D. A. R., inaugurated by Mrs. Charlotte A. Pitcher of Utica.

GENERAL NICHOLAS HERKIMER HOMESTEAD AND MONUMENT.

Located about three miles east of Little Falls, N. Y. This fine old Colonial brick house, built in 1764, stands in the General Herkimer Homestead State Reserve of 160 acres. The view is across the Mohawk to Fall Hill on the north shore. The Mohawk River is seen in the middle distance.

furnished this Army of the North with a large amount of supplies. A few broken companies were sent into the Schoharie Valley to winter. The Schoharie militia was employed as guards and scouts to detect the enemy and to arrest those who proved to be in sympathy with the Crown.

The turn of events, in 1777, with the American victory at Saratoga and the flight of the British from Fort Stanwix, had a most heartening effect on the patriots in the entire country and particularly in this exposed frontier of the Mohawk River and its tributary, the Schoharie. The patriots now worked to organize for still stronger offensive and defensive measures. The Valley Tories, who had at first been emboldened by Burgoyne's approach and the slaughter at Oriskany, now sought cover. They either professed allegiance to Congress, to escape imprisonment, or hid or fled to Canada. The year 1777, which had opened with such dark forebodings for the cause of American liberty, closed with the brightest prospects for American independence—due to the valor of American soldiers on the fields of Oriskany, Bennington and Saratoga.

The Tories were never again so strong in the Mohawk and Schoharie valleys as they had been, between the bloody battle of Oriskany, on August 6, and the relief of Fort Stanwix, on August 23, 1777. In view of the later battles of Bemis Heights (Saratoga), the conflicts and events which took place in the Mohawk Valley, in those eventful days, must be regarded as forming the decisive period in the decisive campaign and the decisive military success of the American armies during the Revolution. With the Mohawk and Schoharie valleys cleared of the enemy the doom of Burgoyne and his army was surely sealed.

* * * * *

Undoubtedly the leading patriot in the Valley in the early years of the Revolution (1775, 1776, 1777) was Nicholas Herkimer, a resident of the Canajoharie district and in command of the Tryon County militia and of the forces at Oriskany. His father, Johan Jost Herkimer, had emigrated from the Palatinate about 1720 and settled on the Burnetsfield patent. At Fort Herkimer he established a trading place and later built a strong stone house which was stockaded and became the fort bearing his name. Johan Jost Herkimer, legend says, was a man of mighty strength among a population of men of muscle. He knew the English and Indian languages, as well as his native German, and acted as interpreter between the English and Indians. He was concerned

in the erection of Fort Stanwix and became a man of considerable property and died in 1775 at Fort Herkimer.

Nicholas Herkimer moved from "Kouari", or "Herkimer's", on or before 1754, when he had a house in the Fall Hill section at about the location of his later brick residence, built in 1764. The Timerman deed to lands in the river section of the present town of Manheim shows that "Hon. Nikol Herkimer" had a house standing opposite the western limit of the Timerman patent. Herkimer had, doubtless, purchased land or had it given him by his father and erected a house, probably frame or of logs, prior to 1754. This house is several times mentioned, between 1754 and 1764, the date of the erection of the present brick General Herkimer home.

In May, 1760, Johan Jost Herkimer conveyed to his eldest son, Nicholas, 500 acres of land consisting of parts of the Fall Hill, Lindsay and Livingston patents. The consideration expressed in the deed is the love of the father for his son. Nicholas Herkimer built his brick house in 1764, at which time it was considered the finest residence in the Valley west of Johnson Hall. Samuel Fuller, the architect of Schenectady, was its designer and builder.

While living at Fall Hill Captain Herkimer commanded Fort Herkimer post during the two attacks of the French war, he then being a lieutenant of militia. His commission for this rank is now in the possession of the collections of the General Herkimer Home, while his brigadier-general's commission, from the New York Provincial Congress, hangs on the walls of a Fort Plain house. He was a member of the Tryon County Committee of Safety from Canajoharie district and colonel of the militia of that district, and colonel-in-chief of the county. In 1776 he was made a brigadier-general. He is described by one who saw him as a large, square built Dutchman and, contrary to many accounts which represent him as an old man at the time of the battle, family figures give his age at forty-nine, and family tradition has it that he was then a sturdy, vigorous man, all of which is borne out by Oriskany events. Herkimer was a close friend of Brant and probably of other Mohawks, and was possibly the most influential Whig figure of the time in Tryon County. He served as chairman pro tem of the committee of safety and some of its papers and letters extant are signed by him. He seems to have been a man of sound sense, wise counsel and quick and effective action. His prestige was dimmed by the Tory action of his brother, Han Yost Herkimer, who was a militia colonel but ran away to Canada. Of his other brothers, only Capt. George

Herkimer, an ardent Whig and scout officer, and, probably, Hendrick, or Henry Herkimer, were with him at Oriskany, although other brothers were patriots with the exception of Han Yost.

Undoubtedly Herkimer's strong Whig attitude and military ability had great effect in upholding the cause of independence in the county, particularly among the "Mohawk Dutch". His first wife was a sister of Peter S. Tygert, and his second wife a daughter of the same. He left no children. General Herkimer left an estate of 1,900 acres of land, and willed his brother, George Herkimer, 500 acres and his homestead, where the latter was living in 1783, when General Washington made his tour through the Valley when he stopped here. The general in his will signed his name Nicholas "Herckheimer", although he varied it at other times. When Herkimer's leg was amputated two neighborhood boys buried it in the garden, and shortly after the General said to one of them: "I guess you boys will have to take that leg up and bury it with me, for I am going to follow it." Colonel Willett called to see Herkimer soon after the operation and found him sitting up in bed and smoking his pipe. His strength failed toward night and, calling his family to his chamber, he read composedly the thirty-eighth Psalm, closed the book, sank back upon his pillow and expired. The last three stanzas of this Psalm read as follows:

They also that render evil for good are mine adversaries; because I follow the thing that good is.

Forsake me not, O Lord; O my God, be not far from me.

Make haste to help me, O Lord my salvation.

The General Herkimer Home is now the property of the State and is now (1925) managed by the Herkimer Home Commission, composed of members of Valley chapters of the D. A. R. and representative local citizens. Many of the commission are descended from Revolutionary soldiers who fought with Herkimer at Oriskany.

Located amid a beautiful landscape, with the flatlands stretching away to the river and lofty Fall Hill in the background, the General Herkimer Home in Danube, is a fine example of the Colonial Mohawk Valley houses. Built of brick and finely finished, it is a monument to the solidity of character of the valley's early settlers. It, in connection with the monument and the Herkimer family burial plot, has been, a number of times, the scene of patriotic gatherings. Here is located the first of the markers,

which were put in position in the summer of 1912, to show the route of the valley militia in its march to the field of Oriskany.

Capt. George Herkimer succeeded to the ownership of the house and its farm and, on his death, it passed to his son, Hon. John Herkimer, who occupied it until about 1815, when it passed out of the Herkimer family. Lossing, in 1848, writing of this place, says: "After breakfast I rode down to Danube, to visit the residence of General Herkimer while living and the old Castle church, near the dwelling place of Brant in the Revolution. It was a pleasant ride along the tow path between the canal and river. Herkimer's residence is about two and a half miles below Little Falls, near the canal, and in full view of the traveler upon the railroad, half a mile distant. It is a substantial brick edifice, was erected in 1764, and was a splendid mansion for the time and place. It is now owned by Daniel Conner, a farmer, who is 'modernizing' it, when I was there, by building a long, fashionable piazza in front, in place of the [former] small old porch, or stoop. He was also 'improving' some of the rooms within. The one in which General Herkimer died (on the right of the front entrance) and also the one, on the opposite side of the passage, are left precisely as they were when the general occupied the house; and Mr. Conner has the good taste and patriotism to preserve them so. These rooms are handsomely wainscoted with white pine, wrought into neat moldings and panels, and the casements of the deep windows are of the same material and in the same style. Mr. Conner has carefully preserved the great lock of the front door of the 'castle'—for castle it really was in strength and appointments against Indian assaults. It is sixteen inches long and ten wide. Close to the house is a subterranean room, built of heavy masonry and arched, which the general used as a magazine for stores belonging to the Tryon County militia. It is still used as a storeroom but with more pacific intentions. The family burying ground is upon a knoll a few rods southeast of the mansion, and there rest the remains of the gallant soldier, as secluded and forgotten as if they were of 'common mold'. Seventy years ago the Continental Congress, grateful for his services, resolved to erect a monument to his memory of the value of five hundred dollars; but the stone that may yet be reared is still in the quarry, and the patriot inscription to declare its intent and the soldier's worth is not yet conceived. Until 1847 no stone identified his grave. Then a plain marble slab was set up with the name of the hero upon it; and when I visited it (1848), it was overgrown with weeds and brambles. It was erected by his grandnephew, War-

ren Herkimer." Warren Herkimer was a son of Joseph Herkimer and a grandson of Capt. George Herkimer and Alida (Schuyler) Herkimer.

In recognition of General Herkimer's heroism, the Continental Congress, in 1777, appropriated $500 for a monument to be erected to the brigadier's memory, but the money was never expended. In 1847 Warren Herkimer (son of Joseph Herkimer, grandson of George and grand-nephew of the General) placed a headstone on the grave of the hero of Oriskany, this being his first monument. Through the agitation of the Herkimer and Oneida County historical societies and the Valley D. A. R. chapters, the New York State Legislature, in 1895 and 1896, appropriated $5,500 for a monument here to Gen. Nicholas Herkimer. The present granite obelisk, sixty feet high, and the stone wall around the burial plot, were erected and dedicated in 1896 with imposing Masonic exercises.

A statue of Gen. Nicholas Herkimer was erected in the park at Herkimer in 1907 on the occasion of the celebration of the centennial of that village. It is an excellently modeled figure, cast in bronze, and represents the Oriskany leader, wounded and seated upon his saddle, pipe in hand, while he directs the battle. The action of the statue, pointing the way to victory, is vigorous and inspiring. The sculptor was Burr C. Miller of Paris, and the work is the gift to Herkimer of Warner Miller, former United States senator from the State of New York, a resident of that town and father of the sculptor.

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Col. Peter Gansevoort, the intrepid commander of Fort Stanwix, was a Revolutionary patriot and soldier of the highest type and he deserves a niche in the hall of fame dedicated to the heroes of the Revolution. Gansevoort was born in Albany, July 17, 1749. He accompanied Montgomery into Canada in 1775, with the rank of major, and the next year he was appointed a colonel in the New York line, which commission he held when he defended Fort Stanwix against St. Leger. For his gallant defense of that post he received the thanks of Congress, and in 1781 was promoted to the rank of brigadier-general by the State of New York. After the war he was for many years a military agent. He held several offices of trust and "was always esteemed for his bravery and judgment as a soldier and for his fidelity, intelligence, and probity as a citizen". He died July 2, 1812, aged sixty-two years.

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Col. Marinus Willett, who was so active in the defense of Fort

Stanwix, made his headquarters at Fort Plain for the last three years of the war and was connected with so many of the Valley military operations and almost all the patriot successes in the Valley. He was a soldier of the highest qualifications, great courage and daring, a clever and fearless woodsman and an intrepid fighter in the open field. His quick, powerful, decisive blows, such as at Johnstown and Sharon Springs, conspired to end the raids from Canada which had devastated the Valley. Marinus Willett was born in Jamaica, Long Island, in 1740, the youngest of six sons of Edward Willett, a Queens County farmer. In 1758 he joined the army, under Abercrombie, as a lieutenant in Colonel Delaney's regiment. Exposure in the wilderness caused a sickness which confined him in Fort Stanwix until the end of the campaign. Willett early joined the Whigs, in the contest against British aggression. When the British troops in New York were ordered to Boston, after the skirmish at Lexington in 1775, they attempted to carry off a large quantity of spare arms in addition to their own. Willett resolved to prevent it and, although opposed by the mayor and other Whigs, he captured the baggage wagons containing the weapons, etc., and took them back to the city. These arms were afterwards used by the first regiment raised by the State of New York. He was appointed second captain of a company in McDougal's regiment and accompanied Montgomery's futile expedition against Quebec. He commanded St. John's until 1776. He was appointed lieutenant-colonel in 1777 and commanded Fort Constitution on the Hudson. In May he was ordered to Fort Stanwix, recently named Fort Schuyler, where he did such signal service. He was left in command of that fort, where he remained until 1778, when he joined the army under Washington and fought with him at Monmouth. He accompanied Sullivan in his campaign against the Indians in 1779. Colonel Willett was actively engaged in the Mohawk Valley in 1780, 1781, 1782, 1783. So he spent at least four or five years in military service in the Mohawk Valley.

Washington sent him to treat with the Creek Indians in Florida in 1792 and the same year he was appointed a brigadier-general in the army which was intended to act against the northwestern Indians. He declined this appointment, being opposed to the expedition. Colonel Willett was for some time sheriff and in 1807 was elected mayor of New York City. He was president of the electoral college in 1824 and died in New York August 23, 1830, in the 91st year of his age. A portrait of Colonel Willett hangs, among those of other former mayors, in the City Hall in

New York and shows a face of much intelligence, power and forceful initiative. Marinus Willett was one of the men of iron who made the American republic possible. There are few natural leaders and he was one. Simms says Willett was a "large man." He was a direct descendant of Thomas Willett, who was a man of great ability and influence in the early years of New York province, and who was the first mayor of New York City after the Dutch rule, being appointed by Governor Nicolls in 1665.

While Colonel Gansevoort was a brave and intrepid soldier, Colonel Willett seems to have been the leading spirit in the defense and relief of Fort Stanwix. "Willett's Narrative," including his relation of the siege of Fort Stanwix and his later command of the Mohawk Valley posts, is one of the most interesting documents relative to the Revolution. Parts of it are published in the Revolutionary chapters of this work.

* * * * *

Benedict Arnold was born in Norwich, Connecticut, in 1740, a descendant of Benedict Arnold, one of Rhode Island's early governors. From 1763 to 1767 he kept a drug and book store in New Haven. At the outbreak of the Revolution he was in command of a volunteer company of that city and marched to Cambridge with it. He was in many of the stirring events of the war, up to his treason in 1780. Among his greatest services were his gallant leadership at Saratoga and his clever conduct of the relief of Fort Stanwix. He held commands in the British army during the latter part of the war and at its end went to England. From 1786 to 1793 he was in business at St. Johns, N. B., where he was so dishonest in his dealings that he was hung in effigy by a mob. He died in London in 1804, aged 63 years.

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Dr. Albert Vander Veer, the eminent surgeon of Albany, has kindly furnished the editor with the following notes regarding Herkimer's wound. Dr. Vander Veer is a native of the Mohawk Valley and greatly interested in its history. Dr. Vander Veer's contribution follows:

From careful investigation it is impressive to note the various reports regarding General Herkimer's case. Probably there are few instances in history, referring to one particular statement, that have had so many different interpretations, and yet, it is possible certain facts not easily disproved might help to decide his case more definitely. All the reports of the battle agree that General Herkimer was wounded at the beginning of the conflict on August 6, 1777. His horse had been shot from under him and

MARKER OF THE BIRTHPLACE OF GENERAL NICHOLAS HERKIMER, NEAR FORT HERKIMER.

This photograph was made during the unveiling in 1912 of the markers of General Herkimer's march from his home at Fall Hill to Oriskany. The markers were erected by Mohawk Valley Chapters of the Daughters of the American Revolution. General Herkimer's sword, worn at the battle of Oriskany (August 6, 1777), and the Bible from which he read on his death-bed, are here shown. The Herkimer County Historical Society of Herkimer is the custodian of these priceless relics of the Revolution.

his leg, about four or five inches below the knee-joint, seriously shattered by a musket ball. All say that he was calm, succeeded in securing a good position, rallied his men, and gave his orders clearly and distinctly for a period of five hours. Some of these reports state he was carried back to his home on a litter, the leg amputated, also that he died on the 16th of August, as the result of his wound. An interesting report comes from Dr. Petrie, whom it would appear was his surgeon accompanying the expedition, and who was himself severely wounded, but dressed the General's shattered leg on the field, making him comfortable, and later seeing him placed on a litter on his way home. It was said that Dr. Petrie would doubtless have accompanied him had he not himself been disabled by so painful a wound. It also is noted that Dr. Petrie was of the opinion that the leg could be saved, and is reported to have condemned an amputation. Another description goes on to say that the General was attended by a young surgeon who followed General Arnold up the valley, and who, in amputating the leg, was so unskillful the patient bled to death. Another statement was that the leg, when amputated, was "cut off square and the vessels not tied."

Just here let us consider some facts not to be denied:—It must not be overlooked that the bones were broken in several pieces; that with the long distance of transportation these fragments may have irritated the deeper tissues, and added to the seriousness of his wound. Then, probably, some portion of clothing may have been carried into the wound by the round bullet used at that time. The weather was undoubtedly warm, perhaps hot, and transporting any soldier suffering from such a condition would exhaust him somewhat. There is no evidence the bleeding was at all severe at the time of the reception of the wound, nor up to the day that Dr. Johnston found it necessary to amputate. Beyond question the wound suppurated from general infection and may have produced what we now understand as "blood poisoning." Dr. Johnston, the surgeon, had a serious condition to face. He was under positive orders to follow General Arnold as soon as he had cared for General Herkimer, and, properly, concluded that an amputation was absolutely necessary. It is reasonable to suppose his condition was considered very serious or General Arnold would not have ordered Dr. Johnston to attend him. Then in a letter written by Dr. Johnston, after the operation, he speaks of an anodyne that was given, and which controlled the spasms, so that it is reasonable to believe there may have been added to all of these various complications, the fear of tetanus, or lockjaw.

There was, undoubtedly, an amount of pus that saturated the dressings, and the leg must have presented many abscesses.

Dr. Johnston was certainly placed in a position of keen anxiety and great responsibility. Think of the lack of proper assistance—no competent nurse, no anaesthetic, and very few proper instruments!

The following letter from Dr. Johnston would seem to disprove the fact that General Herkimer died of hemorrhage:—

"General Harcomers, August 17, 1777.

"Dear Doctor:—

"Yesterday morning I amputated General Harcomer's leg, there not being left the prospect of recovery without it. But, alas, the patriotic hero died in the evening—the cause of his death God only knows. About three hours before his departure he complained of pain. I gave him thirty drops of laudanum, liquid and went to dress Mr. Pettery. I left him in as good a way as I could wish with Mr. Hastings to take care of him. When I returned I found him taking his last gasp, free from spasm and sensible. Nothing more surprised me, but we cannot always parry death, so there is an end of it.

"General Arnold left yesterday morning with positive orders to follow him this evening or to-morrow morning. I sent for Scull to take care of the General and Pettery. He is just now arrived. I propose to have Pettery removed to Palatine, where Scull and two regimental mates will take care of him and the other wounded. This evening I will pursue General Arnold and I suppose will overtake him at Fort Dayton.

"The place and hour of glory draws nigh. No news from Fort Schuyler. I am, dear doctor, your most obedient and humble servant, Robert Johnston."

This letter was addressed to Dr. Jonathan Potts, director of the general hospital for the Northern Department. (See New England and General Register 1864, Vol. 18, p. 31.)

After such an operation there is a free discharge of serum and venous blood from the soft parts, to which Dr. Johnston undoubtedly gave proper attention.

Dr. Petrie was undoubtedly correct when he saw the General on the field of battle, that an operation was uncalled for, but he did not see him after that and could not form any opinion as to the possible changes that had taken place, as previously stated, from infection. Now it must be remembered that in those days the use of drainage tubes, to prevent pockets of pus, and like

complications, was unknown. It is not clear who attended the patient from the time of his return home until the operation.

Had Dr. Johnston been unable to tie the blood vessels at the time it is hardly reasonable to believe the General would have lived during the day and evening with such large arteries uncontrolled.

These are facts:—The operation was not done the day he returned to his home, and no serious bleeding took place at that time; that the spasms spoken of by Dr. Johnston, added to the other serious symptoms, seem to have made the operation justifiable. The operation was unquestionably a difficult one, but the blood vessels must have been tied, and the hemorrhage controlled when Dr. Johnston left him and visited Mr. Pettery, else he scarcely would have lived through the day. The General recovered sufficiently to converse with Colonel Willett, although too exhausted to recover from the shock of the operation. It must also be remembered that in those days patients did not have the comforting effect of anaesthetics. Had he bled to death it seems impossible for Dr. Johnston to have overlooked examining the dressings, and had he been bleeding he would certainly have made some reference to this condition as the cause of death. The surgeon who performed the amputation must have been a man of ability or he would scarcely have been on General Arnold's staff, and he must have been a surgeon of courage and determination. This being the case such an operator generally performs every duty in a proper manner.

Dr. Johnston's letter is somewhat abrupt, and not as clear as we could have wished, regarding his opinion as to the cause of death. While the evidence is not in sequence yet there is every reason to believe that the surgeon who operated was Dr. Robert Johnston, who is referred to in the records of the various campaigns of the Revolutionary War, as a man of unusual ability, probably being detailed at General Arnold's request to accompany him in the Mohawk Valley campaign. This would indicate that his reputation as a surgeon was established. I am unable to find any record to confirm the term "young French surgeon."

General Herkimer died of surgical shock, following amputation of an infected compound, comminuted gunshot fracture of the leg.

Albert Vander Veer, M. D.

Albany, N. Y., December 10th, 1924.

CHAPTER 62.

1777, AUGUST 6—ORISKANY SOLDIERS' PERSONAL EXPERIENCES.

ACCOUNTS OF TRYON COUNTY AMERICAN SOLDIERS OF THE BATTLE OF ORISKANY—MATERIAL GATHERED BY J. R. SIMMS FROM MOHAWK VALLEY REVOLUTIONARY VETERANS—THRILLING INCIDENTS OF THIS FIERCE FOREST FIGHT—INDIAN ATROCITIES, TORTURES AND CANNIBALISM.

Following are two accounts of the Oriskany battle by American Mohawk Valley militiamen. They are from the papers of the Sammons family. Thomas Sammons, as a young man, fought with Colonel Fisher's Mohawk District Regiment and also took part in several other valley Revolutionary engagements. Sammons became a representative in Congress from Montgomery County after the war. He had a true historical bent and collected a number of affidavits from valley soldiers who fought in various engagements. He also wrote several of his own experiences.

The most important of these is that which is contained in the chapter describing Johnson's great raid through the Schoharie and Mohawk Valleys in 1780. Mr. Sammons obtained the following accounts of the battle of Oriskany from Adam Miller of the present Glen Township, Montgomery County, and Henry Seeber, of the Canajoharie district. They are as follows, with some words added in brackets to locate certain points and subjects.

Following these general descriptions by Miller and Seeber are the personal experiences of Oriskany soldiers. These accounts were mostly gathered by the historian, Jeptha R. Simms, from Revolutionary veterans and their families. No other period of the Revolution has such a wealth of personal and anecdotal material as the Oriskany campaign and the siege of Fort Stanwix.

Adam Miller, a soldier of the Revolutionary army [from the present town of Glen, Montgomery County], states that he was, in the year 1777, enrolled in Capt. John Davis's company of militia in Col. Frederick Fisher's [Mohawk District of Tryon County] regiment and said company, being ordered out for militia service [he was], engaged in a battle with the [British] enemy at Oriskany, about four miles above [present] Utica. Col. Cox [of the Canajoharie district regiment] and Gen. Herkimer [command-

ing the Tryon County brigade of militia] held a consultation previous to the day [of the battle, August 6, 1777] upon the propriety of an attack, supposing the enemy to be greater in number [as they proved to be]. Gen. Herkimer expressed a desire to send for reinforcement to which Col. Cox replied, "It will not do." Gen. Herkimer then replied "March on." They all proceeded without delay to march towards the enemy with advanced and flank guards. After marching a short distance the guards were shot off and the main body of the army instantly surrounded by the enemy. A bloody battle then ensued. Col. Cox, Capt. Davis and Capt. Van Slyck were killed at the commencement of the battle. Miller was taken prisoner by Capt. John Hare soon after Capt. Davis was killed. Col. Bellinger [of the German Flatts regiment] fired upon the party having him prisoner, which set him at liberty, and he again joined in battle against the enemy. Soon after this the enemy advanced with fixed bayonets, in which a close attack ensued without the firing of guns from either side. Capt. Gardinier, on the side of the American, and Lieut. MacDonald, of the enemy, were actually clinched together, in which Capt. Gardinier was thrown to the ground and there fastened down with two bayonets which were driven through his thighs, from which he was liberated by Miller. The enemy appeared to be the strongest party and succeeded in taking a number of arms from the American army. Capt. Gardinier instantly followed Lieut. MacDonald and thrust a spear into his side. Many others were actually clinched together with bayonets and spears were clashing together from both parties. Col. Willett having commenced firing from the Fort and the brave officers and soldiers unwavering [and continuing] the battle with great energy, they succeeded in driving the enemy from the field, leaving, among the slain, Capt. Hare and Lieut. MacDonald on the field of battle, Lieuts. Watts and Singleton wounded. They then proceeded to make biers [litters] for the purpose of removing the wounded, in which they succeeded in removing them from the field of battle unmolested.

Henry Seeber, of the Canajoharie district, in the Sammons papers, gives the following statement regarding part of the battle of Oriskany:

He was ordered out in Col. Cox's regiment and marched to the German Flatts. On the fifth of August marched with Gen. Herkimer, who commanded a regiment of the Tryon County militia, to [opposite] Thompson's farm, five or six miles west of the flats and the last on the south side of the river. Here Herki-

mer wished to wait for reinforcement or until Gansevoort could make a sally from the fort in his favor. Herkimer sent an express to the fort and, if the express could pass the enemy's camp and reach the fort, requested Gansevoort to give notice to it by firing three cannons. Herkimer was very desirous, on the morning of the battle, to remain where he was until he should receive the signal from the fort, but was urged and even accused of cowardice by some of his officers and some of the principal men of Tryon County. He therefore attempted to pass the enemy; when, after marching some distance, his advance guard came upon some of the enemy. A few minutes told him he was completely within the ambush of the enemy. We were engaged most warmly on our south side as on the north to the river was very swampy ground. One Jacob Peeler commenced forming [men in] a circle, without having orders from any officers, about an hour after the battle had commenced, and all soon followed his example. The tactics of forming the Americans into circles during the Oriskany battle has been generally credited to others than Peeler.

Miller's description would indicate that Col. Willett's sortie from Fort Stanwix against the British camp drew off such a large portion of the British force engaged in attacking the valley militia that they were thereafter able to withdraw unmolested from the Oriskany battlefield. It is more than probable that a well-arranged and concerted attack on St. Leger's army by the Tryon County militia and Gansevoort's garrison [their combined American forces excelling the British party] would probably have defeated and have effectually repulsed the British invaders. It was such an attack that Gen. Herkimer planned and the execution of which was prevented by the insubordination of his officers and soldiers.

The Indian word from which Oriskany was derived was Olehisk, meaning "the nettles"—a most appropriate title considering the conflict there.

* * * * *

Having had a general review of the Oriskany campaign, a few of the experiences and particulars of the patriot actors in that affair may be in order, particularly as they relate to the Palatine and Canajoharie men. Regarding details of the Oriskany conflict, Simms publishes the following experiences of those engaged:

"It is only in the minor events attending a battle that the reader is made to realize its fullness and see its horrors, and that the reader may see this deadly conflict * * * some of its interesting scenes are here depicted.

"At the beginning of the Revolution, there dwelt in Fort Plain two brothers named George and Robert Crouse. The former was a man of family, and his sons, Col. Robert and Deacon Henry Crouse, are well remembered in this community, where four sons of the latter still reside [at the time Simms wrote these incidents]. Robert was a bachelor. Those brothers were remarkably large and well formed men, and would have served a sculptor as a model for a giant race. Robert was the tallest and came to be called a seven-footer, and is believed to have stood full six and a half feet in his boots, and well proportioned. His great strength became proverbial, and two anecdotes have been preserved in the memory of our venerable friend, William H. Seeber, going to prove it. In January, 1776, on the occasion of Gen. Schuyler's assembling troops at Caughnawaga, now Fonda, to arrest Sir John Johnson, the Tryon County militia were ordered thither by Gen. Tenbroeck of Albany, to whose brigade they then belonged. Nicholas Herkimer, then the senior colonel of Tryon County troops, assembled them as directed. The Tryon County militia became a separate brigade in September, 1776, with Col. Herkimer as its acting general, and he was, as stated elsewhere, later commissioned its brigadier general. While at Caughnawaga [Fonda] the brigade was paraded on the ice in the river, and Robert Crouse was designated to bear the flag in saluting the generals. He waved it so easily and gracefully with one hand, when hardly another man present could have handled it with both hands, that not only the generals, but the entire assemblage was excited to admiration, and a significant murmur of applause was echoed from the hills hemming in the valley. Gen. Schuyler said to the officers near him, 'That man ought to have a commission', and one is said to have been tendered him, which he declined. This incident probably accounts for the fact that Lieut. Sammons placed him among the officers killed at Oriskany.

"Henry Walrath, the strongest man by reputation in the Palatine settlements, came from Stone Arabia in the winter of 1775 and 1776, bringing a friend with him, as he told Robert Crouse, expressly to see which was the stronger man of the two. Said Crouse, 'Well, you go home and put 50 skipples of wheat on your sleigh, and I will put 50 skipples with it, and the strongest one shall have the 100 skipples'—75 bushels. The Stone Arabia bully never put in an appearance, which left Crouse the acknowledged champion.

"Robert Crouse was made a prisoner at Oriskany, and, as his friends afterward learned, by fellow prisoners who knew him,

was most inhumanly murdered. Agreeable to the affidavit of Dr. Moses Younglove, who was also a prisoner from that battlefield, the Indians killed some of the prisoners at their own pleasure, and to his knowledge they tortured to death at least half a dozen.

"Of this number of tortured prisoners was Robert Crouse, of Fort Plain, who was the selected victim at one of their hellish orgies, as the late William Crouse, a nephew, learned subsequently by other prisoners who knew him. His remarkable stature possibly gave them a new idea of derisive torture, for, with their knives, they began by amputating his legs at the knee joints, and when accomplished they held him up on those bleeding limbs—derisively told him he was then as tall as those around him—and bade him walk. As his life was fast ebbing they sought other modes of torture. At length dispatching him they tore off and secured for market his reeking scalp. Whether they ate any of his flesh is unknown, but it is not improbable that they did, as numbers of the Indians engaged in this contest had feasted on prisoners in earlier wars. Thus ignobly fell, not only the largest but one of the best men in the Mohawk Valley."

It is family tradition that, while the giant Crouse was tied to the stake, he managed to grasp two of his Indian torturers and kill them with his bare hands.

Robert Crouse's brother, George, was with the American army at Oriskany, but came out of that terrible conflict. He returned to Fort Plain, where he served as a militiaman throughout the Revolution. He inherited much land from his father, Jacob Crouse, the pioneer settler of Fort Plain. After the war he added to these holdings until he became one of the largest landowners in the Fort Plain section. He raised a large family and is the ancestor of the Crouse family which was important in the upbuilding of Fort Plain and members of which settled and became prominent in Utica and Syracuse and elsewhere westward.

Captain Jacob Gardinier, after being literally riddled with bullets and bayonets, crept into a cavity at the roots of a tree, and, by the aid of his waiter, a German lad, who loaded his gun for him, his hand having been lacerated by a bayonet, he continued the fight, shooting from that position an Indian who was dodging about to get a shot at an American officer. Of this brave militia captain, said the Rev. Johan Daniel Gros of Fort Plain, in a work published after the war on "Moral Philosophy:" "Let it stand recorded, among other patriotic deeds of that little army of militia, that a Jacob Gardinier, with a few of his men, van-

quished a whole platoon, killing the captain, after he had held him for a long time by his collar as a shield against the balls and bayonets of the whole platoon. This brave militia captain is still alive and was cured of thirteen wounds."

George Walter, at Oriskany, was struck down with a severe bullet wound. Faint from loss of blood, he crept to a spring and slaked his thrist and revived. While watching the fight, an Indian lurking near discovered him and, running up, gave him a blow on the head with his tomahawk, and in another moment had torn off his reeking scalp. When found by his friends, some of his wounds were fly-blown, but he recovered and lived until 1831, dying at a ripe old age. It is said that Walter, in telling of his experiences, remarked: "Dat Indian tot I vash det, but I knows petter all de time; but I tot I would say nodding so as he would go off."

Captain Christopher W. Fox:—In the Palatine battalion of militia, there were three captains by the name of Fox, viz: Captain William Fox, Jr., Capt. Christopher P. Fox and Captain Christopher W. Fox.

Probably they were all in the Oriskany battle and the last two named were quite surely there. Christopher W. was severely wounded in the right arm, which was partially dressed on the ground, where he remained with his men; and, discovering an Indian crawling from behind a tree in the direction of the enemy's encampment, grasping his sword in his left hand he said to some of his men: "You keep an eye on me for safety and I will kill an Indian." As he approached the savage, a mutual recognition took place. The Indian was a half-breed called William Johnson, and was a reputed son of his namesake, Sir William Johnson. He was down with a broken leg and begged for his life because he was wounded. "Ah," said the captain, directing the prostrate warrior to his crippled arm, "I am wounded too, and one of us must die." In an instant, with his left hand, he thrust the keen-edged sword through the Indian's body. This Captain Fox was wounded in the following fashion: He and a hostile Indian, under the cover of trees a few rods distant were, for some time, watching in a vain endeavor to get some advantage of each other; and, thinking to draw the Indian's shot, and win the game, Fox extended his hat upon his hand beside a tree to attract the savage's attention. The ruse succeeded and the Indian supposing the hat contained a head, fired on the target; but unfortunately Fox had a long arm and had extended it so far that the ball struck it and, dropping the hat,

the hand fell limp at his side. The Indian, seeing the hat fall, no doubt supposed he had killed his man, but considered the hazard of securing a scalp too great to approach his victim. It was common practice to thrust out a hat on one's ramrod or a stick to draw an antagonist's charge, when fighting in the Indian fashion, but so reckless an act as that of this captain's seemed to merit the punishment. Fox became a major and resided after the war at Palatine Church. The following has a direct bearing on the above:

"Recd., Williger, Oct. 16, 1779, of Christopher Fox, Esq., eight dollars in full for curing his arm of a wound received in the Oriskany fight, £ 3. 4. 0.

"Moses Younglove."

Abram Quackenbush:—One of the earliest Low Dutch families to locate in the present town of Glen was that of Quackenbush, as the name is now written. One of Quackenbush's boyhood playmates, near the lower Mohawk castle at Fort Hunter, was an Indian called Bronkahorse, who was about his own age. Quackenbush was a lieutenant under the brave Capt. Gardinier. Among the followers of the Johnsons to Canada was his Indian friend, who also tried to get the white Whig to go with him, assuring him that he would have the same office in the royal army. Their next meeting was in the dodging, tree-to-tree fight at Oriskany. The lieutenant heard himself addressed in a familiar voice, which he recognized as that of his early Indian friend, now posted behind a tree within gunshot of the one which covered his own person. "Surrender yourself my prisoner and you shall be treated kindly," shouted the Mohawk brave, "but if you do not you will never get away from here alive—we intend to kill all who are not made prisoners!" The success of the enemy at the beginning of the contest made them bold and defiant. "Never will I become a prisoner," shouted back Quackenbush. Both were expert riflemen and now watched their chance. Bronkahorse fired first and planted a bullet in the tree scarcely an inch from his adversary's head, but he had lost his best chance, as the lieutenant sprang to a new position from which his adversary's tree would not shield him, and in the next instant the Indian dropped with a bullet through his heart.

The Seebers:—Major William Seeber, who lived next to Fort Plain and was then nearly 60 years old, was mortally wounded in the battle, where his son Audolph was slain and Capt. Jacob H. fell with a broken thigh. Jacob cut staddles and attempted to withe them about his broken leg to enable him to escape, but

could not stand upon it, and gave up, expecting to be slain. Henry Failing, an acquaintance, came to him and offered to remove him to greater safety, but Seeber declined, telling his friend to load his gun, take the remainder of his cartridges and leave him to his fate. He was afterward removed and died at Fort Herkimer. Failing was also severely wounded, but removed and recovered.

Garret Walrath, a soldier in the Canajoharie battalion, was at Oriskany and is said to have never feared flesh or the devil. In one of the terrible encounters in the early part of the engagement, he was made prisoner and pinioned and told to keep close behind an Indian, who claimed all his attention. He often purposely ran against his captor, whining and complaining that his arms were so tightly drawn back. * * * At this period not only the Indians but the whites, especially those accustomed to hunting, carried a sharp, well-pointed knife in a belt. Walrath * * * cautiously grasped the handle of his knife and, watching his opportunity, in one of his stumbles over the heels of his captor, he adroitly plunged his knife into his body, and in the next instant he was a disembowled and dead Indian. The liberated captive, with his bloody knife in hand, cautiously sought his way back, and in an hour or two was welcomed by his surviving companions, who soon saw him armed again with a gun.

Col. Henry Diefendorf was a brave militia captain from the present town of Minden, where his descendants still reside. In the discharge of his duties, he was shot through the lungs, during the latter part of the engagement. Near him when he fell were William Cox, Henry Sanders and probably others of his company. He begged for water, and Sanders stamped a hole in the marshy soil and, as the water settled in it, he took off his shoe and in it gave the dying man a drink. Seeing by the smoke from whence the shot came that struck down his captain, Cox said: "Damn my soul, but I'll have a life for that one!" He ran to the tree before the foe could possibly reload his gun, where he found a large Indian down with a broken leg. As Cox leveled his rifle, the warrior threw up his hand and shouted: "Youker! you-ker!" which his adversary supposed was a cry for quarter. "I'll give you you-ker" said Cox as he sent a bullet through the Indian's head. He rejoined his comrades a few minutes later with the savage's gun.

Henry Thompson was a helper to the doughty Capt. Gardinier, who lived and had a blacksmith shop near the present village of Fultonville. Into Oriskany he followed his brave employer and,

after the battle had raged for hours, he approached Gardinier and said he was hungry. "Fight away," shouted the captain. "I can't without eating," said the soldier. "Then get you a piece and eat," was the reply. He did so and sitting upon the body of a dead soldier, he ate with a real zest, while the bullets whistled about his head. His lunch finished, he arose and was again seen with renewed energy where peril was the most imminent.

Sir John Johnson married a daughter of John Watts of New York city and her brother, Stephen Watts, joined Johnson when he went to Canada. He was a British captain at Oriskany and, in making a desperate charge he was wounded and made a prisoner. As the Americans could not be encumbered with their wounded foes, he was left to his fate—and not despatched and scalped as were all wounded Americans found by the enemy. Being discovered by Henry N. Failing, a private soldier [from the present town of Minden] in the Canajoharie district battalion, he kindly carried him to a little stream of water that he might there slake his thirst and die more easily. To his thanks for the soldier's kindness he added the gift of his watch. Two days after, Capt. Watts was discovered by some straggling Indians looking for plunder, was taken to the enemy's camp, properly cared for and finally recovered.

Among the tragic incidents of Oriskany was one which happened at a tree afterward called "the bayonet tree." One of Herkimer's men was held up, dead or alive, and pinned to a tree several feet from the ground with a bayonet driven into the tree several inches. Here the body remained until it fell to the ground from decomposition. This bayonet was to have been seen in the tree for more than a quarter of a century and until the tree had grown so as to bury most of the blade.

Henry Thompson was not the only one of the patriots to satisfy his hunger during the battle. Adam Frank also opened his knapsack and sat down and made a hearty but hasty meal, after which he was heard to exclaim in German, "Jezt drauf auf die kerls!"—"Now we'll give it to them!"

Captain Andrew Dillenbeck of Stone Arabia, was the hero of a fight which resulted in his death. Tories of Johnson's Greens attempted to take him prisoner and, on Dillenbeck's saying he would not be taken alive, seized his gun. Captain Dillenbeck wrenched it away and felled his enemy with the butt. He shot a second one dead, thrust a third through the body with his bayonet and then fell dead from a Tory shot.

Dr. Younglove, surgeon in the Tryon county brigade, was

taken prisoner at Oriskany and, after his return to his Palatine home, made the following affidavit:

"Moses Younglove, surgeon of Gen. Herkimer's brigade of militia, deposeth and saith, that being in the battle of said militia on the 6th of August last, toward the close of the battle, he surrendered himself a prisoner to a savage, who immediately gave him up to a sergeant of Sir John Johnson's regiment; soon after which a lieutenant in the Indian department, came up in company with several Tories, when said Mr. Grinnis, by name, drew his tomahawk at this deponent and with a deal of persuasion was kindly prevailed on to spare his life. He then plundered him of his watch, buckles, spurs, etc., and other Tories, following his example, stripped him almost naked, with a great many threats, while they were stripping and massacreing prisoners on every side. That this deponent was brought before Mr. Butler Sen. (Col. John), who demanded of him what he was fighting for? to which deponent answered: 'He fought for the liberty that God and nature gave him, and to defend himself and dearest connexions from the massacre of the savages.' To which Butler replied: 'You are a damned impudent rebel!' and so saying immediately turned to the savages, encouraging them to kill him, and if they did not, the deponent and the other persons should be hanged on the gallows then preparing. That several prisoners were then taken forward to the enemy's headquarters with frequent scenes of horror and massacre, in which Tories were active as well as savages; and in particular one Davis, formerly known in Tryon county, on the Mohawk river. That Lieut. Singleton of Sir John Johnson's regiment, being wounded, entreated the savages to kill the prisoners, which they accordingly did, as nigh as this deponent can judge, about six or seven. That Isaac Paris was also taken the same road without receiving from them any remarkable insult, except stripping, until some Tories came up who kicked and abused him, after which the savages, thinking him a notable offender, murdered him barbarously. That those of the prisoners, who were delivered up to the provost guards, were ordered not to use any violence in protecting the prisoners from the savages, who came up every day with knives, feeling the prisoners to know which were fattest. That they dragged one of the prisoners out of the guard with the most lamentable cries, tortured him for a long time, and this deponent was informed, by both Tories and Indians, that they ate him, as appears they did another on an island in Lake Ontario [Buck's Island] by bones found there nearly picked, just after they had crossed the

lake with the prisoners. That the prisoners who were not delivered up were murdered, in considerable numbers, from day to day around the camp, some of them so nigh that their shrieks were heard. That Capt. Martin of the bateaux men, was delivered to the Indians at Oswego, on pretence of his having kept back some useful intelligence. That this deponent, during his imprisonment, and his fellows were kept almost starved for provisions, and what they drew were of the worst kind, such as spoiled flour, biscuit full of maggots, and mouldy, and no soap allowed or other method of keeping clean, and were insulted, struck, etc., without mercy by the guards, without any provocation given. That this deponent was informed by several sergeants orderly on St. Leger that twenty dollars were offered in general orders for every American scalp.

"Moses Younglove."

"John Barclay, Chairman of Albany Committee."

Lieut. Peter Groat and Andrew Cunningham, a neighbor, were captured at Oriskany and murdered at Wood creek, slices of their thighs being roasted and feasted upon by the savages with zest and mirth. Peter Ehle, a fellow prisoner, saw his comrades killed.

It was amid such bloody scenes of savage horrors, that Americans gained their liberty.

CHAPTER 63.

THE ORISKANY ROSTER.

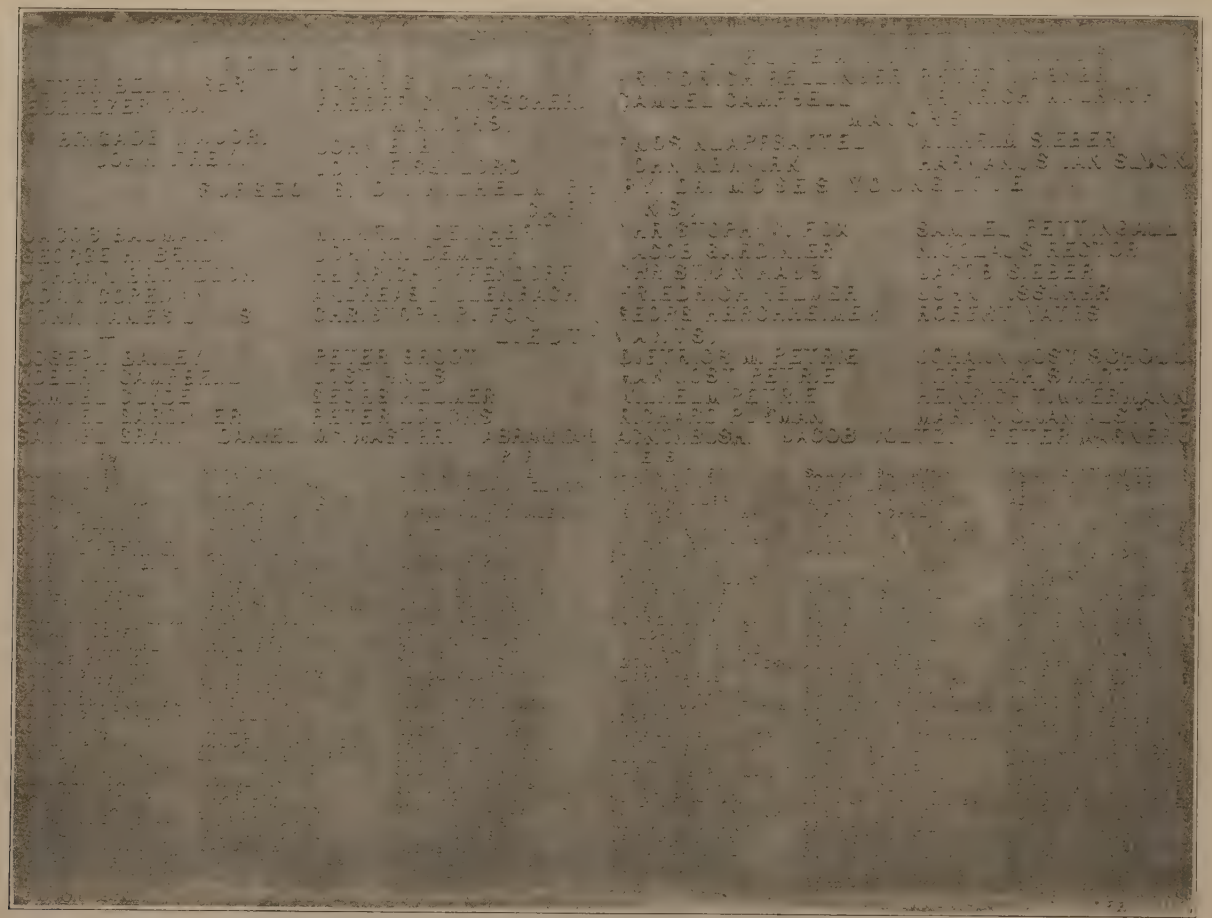
ROSTER OF TRYON COUNTY MILITIA KNOWN TO HAVE FOUGHT AT THE BATTLE OF ORISKANY—A LIST OF 457 NAMES, AS COMPARED WITH 250 ON THE ORISKANY BATTLEFIELD MONUMENT.

The original Oriskany Roster appeared on the Oriskany Battlefield Monument. It is reproduced herewith in an engraving. It later appeared in Simms' Frontiersmen of New York. Both of these rosters, in the main, were the work of Jeptha R. Simms, the historian of Fort Plain. The two lists numbered about 250 names.

In the summer of 1924, the Editor of the "History of the Mohawk Valley—Gateway to the West", made an effort to enlarge the Oriskany Roster. The list was published in several Mohawk Valley newspapers, with a request for additional names. From time to time, such names were sent the Editor until the Oriskany Roster, as published here numbers 455 names, nearly double the number on the Oriskany Battlefield Monument and in Simms' Frontiersmen. We now know over half of the Revolutionary American soldiers who marched to Oriskany, as no chroniclers of the time give the number at more than 900, and it was probably about 850.

The Editor wishes to express his thanks to all who aided him in enlarging this valuable Oriskany Roster, which is published complete only in this work. Thanks are especially due to the Utica Observer-Dispatch, Little Falls Times, Little Falls Journal and Courier, Fort Plain Standard and Amsterdam Recorder which published the roster and the request for additional names. Acknowledgments are particularly due to Mrs. W. T. Van Dusen of Fonda, and Mrs. Delight A. R. Keller of Little Falls, who were unusually zealous in increasing our roll of Oriskany fighters. Mrs. Van Dusen contributed about 90 of the new names sent in. Care was taken to see that the Oriskany service of these Revolutionary veterans was properly accredited, and the additional names were mainly contributed by Daughters of the American Revolution.

It is probable that a number of the names here given are those



The Oriskany Roster as it appears on the Oriskany Battlefield Monument. Photograph Courtesy of Mrs. Estella Folts Callan, Ilion.)

of men who were wounded and perhaps some were made prisoner. The list was compiled too long after the event to be complete as to casualties.

Christopher P. Yates says that 144 Tryon County Militia were slain at Oriskany, and this is probably a low figure. This list gives the names of 109 men who were killed in "the bloodiest battle of the Revolution", where the slain on the American side numbered one man out of five, and the wounded probably fully as many. The names of the killed would be remembered much longer than those who were wounded. Fully half of the American combatants were "down" or prisoners at the end of the battle.

The locality designations given are those of present townships, wherever possible. Thus "Mohawk" stands for present Mohawk township, Montgomery County and not for the village of Mohawk in Herkimer County. Where township residences were not obtainable the regimental membership or old Tryon County district residence of the soldier is given. In many instances it has been impossible to identify the exact locality from which the soldier came, although we are reasonably sure of his Revolutionary residence. It is also probable that in several instances an individual is duplicated. However, the roster represents a conscientious effort to obtain as large an authentic list of American soldiers who were at Oriskany as it was possible to obtain.

The Oriskany roster as it stands today follows: K. stands for "killed"; W. for "wounded"; P. for "prisoner".

Arndt, Abram, Minden
Alter, Jacob, Minden
K. Ayer, Frederick, Schuyler
Bailey, Lieut. Joseph
K. Barndt, Sergt. Christian, Canajoharie Regt.
K. Baun, John George, Palatine Regt.
Becker, Hendrick
Bellinger, Adam, Manheim
Bellinger, Col. Peter, German Flats
P. Bellinger, Lieut. Col. Frederick, German Flats
Bellinger, John (later Col.) son of Col. Peter Bellinger, German Flats
Bellinger, Wilhelm P.
W. Bell, Capt. George Henry, Fall Hill
K. Bell, Jacob, German Flats Regt.
Bell, Nicholas, Fall Hill
K. Bell, Joseph, Fall Hill
K. Bellinger, Lieut. John, Palatine
Bellinger, John, German Flats
W. Bigbread, Capt. John, Palatine
Biddleman, Adam, Manheim
Bauder, Melchert, Palatine
Boyer, John, Remesnyderbush
K. Bowman, Capt. Jacob, Canajoharie
P. Blauvelt, Maj. (supposed murdered) Mohawk
Bellinger, Adam
K. Bliven, Maj. John, Florida, Mohawk committee
K. Bellinger, John Frederick, German Flats Regt.
K. Bellington, James, Palatine Regt.
K. Billington, Samuel, Palatine Committee of Safety
Billington, ——, Palatine
Bargy, Peter, Frankfort
Brodbeck, Capt. Johann
Brooks, Naome
Bush, George, Springfield
K. Clapsaddle, Major Enos
K. Cox, Col. Ebenezer, Minden, Canajoharie committee
Campbell, Major Samuel
Cherry Valley, Canajoharie committee

Clyde, Maj. Samuel, Cherry Valley, Canajoharie committee
K. Campbell, Lieut. Robert, Cherry Valley
Christman, Frederick, Herkimer
Covenhoven, Abraham, Glen (twin brother of Isaac)
Covenhoven (now Conover), Isaac, Glen
Covenhoven, Cornelles, Glen
Covenhoven, Jacob, Glen, a boy of sixteen
Covenhoven, John, Glen
W. Covenhoven (Conover) Peter
Casler, Jacob, Minden
Clemens, Jacob
K. Comb, Sergt. Uriel, Palatine Regt.
Cone, Samuel
Copeman, Capt. Abram, Canajoharie
Casler, John, Minden
Casler, Adam, Minden
Casselman (Kesselman), John Manheim
Clock, John I., St. Johnsville
W. Cook, John, Palatine
Coppernoll, Richard, Minden
Cox, William, Minden
K. Crouse, Robert, Minden
Crouse, George, Minden
Clemens, Jacob, Schuyler
K. Cunningham, Andrew, Amsterdam
Collier, Jacob, Florida
Copeman, Capt. Adam, Canajoharie
K. Chawgo, Jacob, St. Johnsville
Countryman, John
Davis, Daniel, Manheim
K. Davis, Capt. John James, Mohawk
K. Davis, Martinus, Mohawk
K. Davy, Capt. Thomas, Springfield
DeGraff, Maj. Isaac, Mohawk
Dickson, James
Diefendorf, Sergt. John Jacob, Minden
K. Diefendorf, Capt. Henry, Minden
Diefendorf, Capt. Jacob, Florida
Diefendorf, Johann (John), Minden
K. Dillenbeck, Capt. Andrew, Palatine
Dunckel, Francis, Freysbush
Dygert, Peter, Palatine
Dunckel, Han (John) Peter, Minden
Dunckel, Han Garret, Minden
Dunckel, Han Nicholas, Minden
K. Davis, Benjamin, Mohawk
Dockstader, John, German Flats
K. Dygert, John, Palatine Committee of Safety
Dygert, Capt. William, German Flats
Demuth, Capt. Marx, Deerfield
[Scout, sent to Fort Stanwix by Gen. Herkimer]
DeGraff, Nicholas, Amsterdam
Degraff, Capt. Immanuel, Amsterdam
K. Deygart, Capt. John, Palatine Regt., Palatine Committee of Safety
Dygert, Peter S., German Flats
Dygert, George, German Flats
Dorn, Peter, Johnstown
Dunlap, ———
Dunlap, ———
Dunlap, ——— (three brothers of Lieut. John Dunlap)
Dunlap, Lieut. John, Cherry Valley
K. Eisenlord, Maj. John, Palatine (secretary Tryon County committee)
Empie, Jacob, Palatine
W. Elwood, Isaac
Edic, Jacob, Sr., German Flats
Ehle, William, Palatine
P. Ehle, Peter
Everson, Adam
Eyer, Friedrich
Eysler, John, Remesnyderbush
W. & P. Frey, Maj. John, Palatine, Palatine committee
K. Finck, Corp. Christian, Palatine Regt.
Finster, John, Schuyler (New Petersburg)
W. Fisher, Col. Frederick, Mohawk regiment and Mohawk Committee (name also spelled Visscher)
Fisher, Harmon, Mohawk
Fisher, Capt. John, Mohawk
Fonda, Lt.-Col. Adam, Mohawk, Mohawk committee
K. Fox, Capt. Christopher P., Palatine
W. Fox, Capt. Christopher W., Palatine, Palatine committee
Fox, Peter, Palatine
Fox, William, Palatine
Fox, Charles, Palatine
Fox, Christopher, Palatine
Fox, Philip, Palatine, brother of Captain Christopher W. Fox
Fox, Frederick, Palatine
Flock, John, Lt. Col. Campbell's battalion of Minute Men
Flint, Cornelius, Canajoharie
Flint, Adam, Canajoharie
Flint, Alexander, Canajoharie
Flint, Robert, Canajoharie
Flint, John, Canajoharie
Folts, Lieut. Jacob, Frankfort
Folts, Peter, Frankfort
W. Folts, Conrad, Frankfort
K. Failing, Jacob, Canajoharie
W. Failing, Henry, Canajoharie
Failing, Henry N. Canajoharie

Fralick, Valentine, Palatine
Fonda, Jelles, Mohawk
Fonda, Adam, Mohawk, Mohawk committee
Frank, Adam
W. Franks, Andrew, Mohawk
K. Frank, John, Mohawk Regt.
K. Gago, George, Canajoharie Regt.
W. Gardinier, Capt. Jacob, Glen
W. Gardinier, Lieut. Samuel, Glen
W. Garlock, Elias
K. Garlock, Sergt. Charles, Canajoharie Regt.
Garter, John, Manheim (teamster)
Garter, John, Jr., Manheim, teamster
Getman, Capt. Frederick, Palatine
K. Grant, Lieut. Petrus, Amsterdam
Geortner, Peter, Minden
Geortner, George, Canajoharie
K. Gray, Nicholas, Palatine
Gray, Lieut. Samuel, Herkimer
K. Graves, Capt. ——
Gremps, John (15 years old), Palatine
Gros, Capt. Lawrence, Minden
Gray, Silas, Florida
K. Grinnall, Lieut. James, Canajoharie Regt.
W. Groot, Lieut. Petrus, Amsterdam
K. Hahn, Conrad, Canajoharie Regt.
Horning, Lieut. Dedrick, Jr.
Horning, Adam
Horning, George
Horning, John
Horning, Lanert
[All sons of Dedrick Horning, Sr., a resident first of the Canajoharie district and later of Stone Arabia]
Hand, Marcus
Harter, John A., German Flats
Hufnagel (Hufnail), Christian
Harter, Henry, German Flats
K. Heath, Lieut. Nathaniel, Canajoharie Regt.
K. Herkimer, Gen. Nicholas, Danube, member Canajoharie committee
Herkimer, Capt. George, Fort Herkimer, member German Flats committee
Herkimer, Joseph (nephew of Gen. Herkimer)
Herkimer, Hendrick, German Flats.
K. Helmer, Capt. Frederick, German Flats, German Flats committee
W. Helmer, Lieut. George, Harkimer
Helmer, John Adam, German Flats
[Sent to fort by Gen. Herkimer; a famous scout.]
Helmer, Philip, Manheim
K. Henner, Peter, Palatine Regt.
W. Hess, Johannes, German Flats
House, Lieut. John Joseph, Minden
K. Hunt, Lieut. Abel (supposed), Florida
Hunt, Timothy, Florida
K. Hawn, Conrad, Herkimer
K. Hiller, ——, Fairfield, shot from a tree-top
Huyck, John, Palatine
Hand, Marcus, Florida
Hall, William, Glen
Hill, Nicholas
K. Hiller, Ensign Jacob, German Flats Regt.
Hansen, Henry, Mohawk
W. Helmer, Lieut. George, Herkimer
House, Lieut. Christian, St. Johnsville
K. House, Conrad, Canajoharie Regt.
Hoover, Jacob, Manheim
Hoover, Capt. John, Manheim
K. Hunt, Peter, German Flats Regt.
K. Iser, Corp. Frederick, German Flats Regt.
K. Jackson, Joseph, Canajoharie Regt.
Jones, Judah
Kaufman, ——, Manheim
W. Keller, John, Manheim
Keller, Henry, Manheim, both sons of Johannis Keller of Rhemensnydebush, present town of Manheim
Kellar, Jacob A., Minden
Kessler, Adam
Kessler, Jacob
Keyser, Capt. John, Manheim
Keyser, John, Manheim
Keyser, Corporal Michael, Manheim
Keyser, Henry, Manheim
Keyser, Barnard, Manheim, the four foregoing sons of Capt. John Keyser
Klock, Jacob I., Palatine
K. Klepsaddle, Maj. Enos, German Flats
Kilts, Conrad, Palatine
Kilts, Peter, Palatine
Keller, Andrew, Palatine
Keller, Jacob, Palatine
Keller, Solomon, Palatine
K. Klock, Adam (Lieut. of Exempts, so he must have been over 60 years old), Canajoharie Regt.
Klock, John, St. Johnsville
Klock, Col. Jacob G., St. Johnsville, member of Palatine committee
Klepsaddle, Jacob, German Flats
Loucks, Lieut. Peter, Palatine
W. Loucks, William, Stone Arabia
K. Lampman, Henry, Palatine Regt.
K. Lapper, Jacob, Palatine Regt.

K. Levy, Michael, Canajoharie Regt.
Lintner, George, Minden
Lighthall, ——, Palatine
Lighthall, George, Palatine
Longshore, Solomon, Canajoharie
Louns, Henry, Canajoharie
P. Lighthall, Francis, Ephratah
Lighthall, Nicholas, German Flats
Leonardson, John, Glen
Lonas, John, Rensselaer County
Louis, Atyataronghta, Oneida Indian officer with the rank of Lt. Col., generally called Col. Louis
McMaster, Lieut. Daniel, Florida
K. Moyer, Jacob, Fairfield [found with his throat cut]
W. McMaster, Hugh, Florida
K. Markell, William, Canajoharie Regt.
Marlett, John, Mohawk
W. Martin, Philip, Mohawk
K. Martinus (Mereness), Corp., Wm. Canajoharie Regt.
K. Mathias, Hendrick, Canajoharie
Miller, Adam, Glen
Miller, Jelles, Minden
Miller, John P., Minden
Miller, Henry, Minden
Murray, David, Florida
McMaster, Lieut. David, Florida
K. Markell, Jacob, Springfield
K. Merckley, William, Palatine
Myers, Jacob, German Flats
Myers, Joseph, Herkimer
Mowers, Conrad, supposed Danube
Mowers, ———
Mowers, ———, brothers
Moyer, Ludwick, Manheim
W. Nellis, Philip, Palatine
Nellis, Christian, Palatine
Nellis, John D., Palatine
Nellis, Joseph, Oppenheim
Nelson, Paul, Manheim
Nestell, Peter, Palatine
Neuman, Joseph, Manheim
Newkirk, John, Florida
Newkirk, Garret, son of John, Florida
K. Paris, Hon. Isaac (murdered) Palatine Committee of Safety
K. Paris, Peter, son of Isaac, Palatine
W. Petry, Dr. William, Fort Herkimer Committee of Safety
Peeler, Jacob
K. Petry, Lieut. Dederick Marcus, German Flats, German Flats committee
Petry, John Marks, German Falts
K. Pettingall, John, Mohawk Regt.
Pettingell, Capt. Samuel, Florida
K. Phillips, James, Mohawk Regt.
Putman, Ensign Richard, Johnstown
K. Putman, Martinus, Johnstown
Putnam, Lieut. Victor C.
K. Phillips, Cornelius, Florida
W. Price, Adam, Canajoharie
Pickard, Nicholas, Canajoharie
Pickert, Bartholomew, Manheim
K. Petrie, Sergt. Nicholas, Canajoharie Regt.
K. Petry, John, Herkimer, German Flats committee
W. Petry, Joseph, Herkimer
K. Petry, Lieut. Hans Yost, Herkimer
W. Pickard, Adolph, Canajoharie
W. Pickard, John, Canajoharie
Piper, Sergt. Andrew
Pritchard, Nicholas, Minden
Putman, Ludowick, Mohawk
Putman, Victor
Quackenbush, Lieut. Abm. D., Glen
W. Radnor, Jacob, Minden
K. Raysnor, George, Minden
Rasbach, Friedrich, Herkimer
Rasbach, Marx, Kingsland
W. Rasbell, Frederick, Palatine
K. Ratenhower, Godfrey, Canajoharie Regt.
W. Rechtor, Capt. Nicholas, Ephratah
K. Renckel, Lawrence, German Flats Regt.
K. Riebsom, Maths., Canajoharie Regt.
K. Ritter, Jacob, Fairfield
K. Ritter, ———, Fairfield. [Suffrenus Casselman, a tory, boasted of having cut Ritter's throat.]
K. Ritter, Sergt. Johs., Palatine Regt.
Ritter, Henry, Manheim
Rother, John, Minden
Roof, Johannes, Fort Stanwix; afterwards captain of exempts at Canajoharie
Roof, John, a son (Col. of militia after the war)
Rose, Willard
W. Saltsman, John
Sammons, Sampson, Mohawk Committee of Safety
Sammons, Thomas, Mohawk
Sammons, Jacob, Mohawk
Scholl (Shull), Lieut. Johan Jost, Stone Arabia
Shoemaker, Rudolph, Canajoharie
Sitts, Peter, Palatine
Snook, Capt. William
K. Sharrar, Christian, Herkimer
K. Sharrar, ———, a school teacher, Remesnyderbush
Staring, Hendrick, Schuyler
Shoemaker, Thomas, Herkimer

Siebert, Rudolph
Shults, George, Stone Arabia
Shaull, Henry, Herkimer
Shimmel, ——, Herkimer
Sanders, Henry, Minden
W. Shafer, William
K. Seeber, Major William H., Minden, Canajoharie district committee
K. Seeber, Capt. Jacob, Minden
K. Seeber, Suffrenus, Canajoharie
Schultz (Shults), Johann, Stone Arabia
Seeber, Adolph, Jr., Minden
W. Seber, Henry, Mohawk
W. Sparks, Pearl, Canajoharie
K. Spencer, Thomas (Oneida Indian)
Spore, John
Stevens, Frederick
K. Seeber, Audolph, sons of William S., Minden
K. Seeber, James, Canajoharie
W. Seeber, Henry, Canajoharie
Seeber, Lieut. John, Canajoharie
K. Spencer, Henry (interpreter), an Oneida
Schell, Christian, Schellsbush
Schuyler, William, Florida
K. Schuyler, Philip, German Flats Regt.
Serviss, Christian, Florida
Serviss, George, Florida
Shoemaker, Major Han Yost (John Joseph)
Smith, George, Palatine
Smith, Henry
Swarts, Lieut. Jeremiah, Mohawk
Sillenbeck, John G.
K. Small, Capt. Jacob, German Flats Regt.
Shults, John Palatine
Shults, George, Stone Arabia
Sommer, Peter
K. Steinway, Sergt. Arnold, German Flats
W. Sulbach, Garret, Palatine Regt.
Stevens, Amasa, Mohawk
Stowitts, Philip G. P., Root
K. Snell, Frederick, Snellsbush
K. Snell, Joseph, Snellsbush (now Manheim)
K. Snell, Jacob, Snellsbush
K. Snell, Jacob F., Palatine Regt.
K. Snell, Suffrenus, Snellsbush
Snell, Peter, Snellsbush
Snell, George, Snellsbush
K. Snell, John, Stone Arabia
K. Snell, John, Jun., a fifer, Stone Arabia
K. Snell, Jacob, a committeeman, Stone Arabia
P. Sponable, John, Palatine
K. Stephens, Fred, German Flats Regt.
Sitts, Henry
Suts (Suits), John I.
Terwilliger, James, Johnstown
Thum, Adam, St. Johnsville
Tewahangaraghkan, Capt. Han Yerry, Indian officer
Thompson, Henry, Glen
Thornton, James, Florida
Timerman, Conrad, Manhiem
W. Timerman, Lieut. Henry, Manheim
Timerman, Jacob, St. Johnsville
Timerman, William, Manheim
K. Tuthill, Corp. Stephen, Mohawk
Vedder, Henry
Van Alstyne, Philip, Canajoharie
Van Alstyne, Lieut. Martin C. Canajoharie
Van Alstine, Martin G., Canajoharie
Van Deusen, George, Canajoharie
K. Van Slyke, Maj. Harmanus, Palatine, Palatine committee
K. Van Slyke, Nicholas, a fifer, Palatine
Van Horne, Henry, Florida
Van Slyke, ——, Canajoharie
K. Van Antwerp, John, Glen
Van Epps, Charles, Glen
W. Van Epps, Evert, Sergeant and Paymaster, Glen
Van Horne, Cornelius, Glen
Van Slyck, Jacobus, Manheim
Van Horne, Henry, Glen
Van Evera, Capt. Rymier, Glen
Van Evera, John, Glen
Van Horne, Abram, Florida [later sheriff of Montgomery county; founder Van Hornesville]
Van Eps, Jan (John), Hoffmans Ferry [13 years old, one of a number of volunteers from Schenectady city and township, who marched to join Herkimer's army. He helped carry the wounded General Herkimer to a seat at the trunk of the beech tree].
Van Driesen, Peter, Schenectady [Volunteer in Palatine Regiment]
Van Vechten, Major Anthony, Palatine Regt., Palatine Committee
Van Vechten, Derrick
K. Vatterly, Henry, Canajoharie Regt.
Veder, Lt. Col. Volkert, Mohawk, member Mohawk District Committee., Lt. Col. 3rd Tryon County Regt.
Veeder, Johannes, Mohawk
Veeder, Volkert, Mohawk

Veeder, Abram, Mohawk
Vrooman, Hendrick, Mohawk
Veeder, Hendrick
Visger, John, Manheim
Wagner, Lieut. Col. Peter, Palatine, Palatine committee
Wagner, Lieut, Peter, Palatine
W. Wagner, George, Palatine
Wagner, John, Palatine (sons of Lieut. Col. Peter Wagner)
Wagner, Jacob, Minden
Wagner, John, Canajoharie
Wormuth, ——, Palatine
Weaver, George J., German Flats
Weaver, George M., German Flats
P. Walrath, Garret, Minden
W. Walter, George, Palatine
Wemple, Capt. Johannes B., Mohawk
K. Westerman, Peter, Minden
Walrath, Lt. Col. Heinrich, German Flats Regt.
K. Wohlever, John, Fort Herkimer
Wohlever, Richard, Fort Herkimer
Wohlever, Peter, Fort Herkimer
Wohlever, Abram, Fort Herkimer
P. Walrath, Lieut. Henry, Herkimer
Weaver, Jacob, German Flats
Weaver, Peter James, German Flats
Widrick, Michael, Schuyler
Walrath, Jacob, Palatine
P. Walrath, Henry, Herkimer
W. Walrath, Nicholas, Palatine
Windecker, Frederick, Manheim
Windecker, Nicholas, Manheim
W. Wright, Jacob, Canajoharie
Yates, Capt. Robert, supposed Root
Yerdon, John, Canajoharie
W. Yerdon, Nicholas, supposed Minden
Young, Peter Warren, Florida
Young, Richard, Minden
P. Younglove, Moses, surgeon, Stone Arabia
P. Youker, Jacob, Oppenheim
W. Young, Godfrey, Canajoharie
P. Zoller, Andrew, Minden
K. Zoller, Jacob

CHAPTER 64.

1777, AUG. 2-22, SIEGE OF FORT STANWIX.

ACCOUNT OF THE MARCH OF ST. LEGER'S ARMY FROM OSWEGO TO FORT STANWIX AND INVESTMENT OF THE FORT, BY COL. DANIEL CLAUS —NARRATIVE OF LIEUTENANT COLONEL MARINUS WILLETT— DIARY OF WILLIAM COLBRAITH, A SOLDIER OF THE GARRISON, FROM APRIL 17 TO AUGUST 22, 1777—MAKING AND RAISING OF AMERICA'S FIRST BATTLEFLAG—THRILLING INCIDENTS OF THE SIEGE—RELIEF BY GEN. ARNOLD'S AMERICAN BRIGADE, AUGUST 23, 1777.

The following description of the investment and siege of Fort Stanwix by 1200 English, Tory and German troops, and Indians, under the command of Col. Barry St. Leger, is taken from "Oneida County" by Daniel E. Wager. Judge Wager was a distinguished citizen of Rome and probably is the historical writer who is best informed as to the exact positions of the British camp and of the movements connected with the siege of Fort Stanwix.

Judge Wager's account follows, omitting quotations, for the sake of added clearness:

* * * * *

This chapter embodies an account of events which, in their results, more vitally affected the destiny of this county (Oneida) and of the nation than any others in their history. The territory embraced in this county was, more than a century ago, the theater of passing events which then and there practically decided the question whether the thirteen American colonies, then struggling for independence, were to continue as dependencies of Great Britain, or were to become the first and probably the only republic on this continent. Within this territory the battle was fought and won which practically settled that question; hence it is fair to assume that the student of local history will desire to be informed in detail of each step in the progress of events which gave this county of ours [Oneida] such paramount historical interest.

In a former chapter is outlined the plan of the British for their campaign of 1777. With the Burgoyne movement up Lakes Champlain and George, across the country to the Hudson and down that stream until the army met its fate on the field of Saratoga, this chapter has very little to do. But the expedition of St. Leger from La Chine, near Montreal, up the St. Lawrence to Lake

Ontario, and thence to Oneida Lake and Wood Creek to Fort Stanwix, with the purpose of meeting Burgoyne at Albany, is of the greatest local importance and historical interest.

Sir John Johnson was with this expedition, and a copy of his Orderly Book is before the writer. This Orderly Book was captured by Colonel Willett when he made his sortie at the siege of Fort Stanwix. The troops to accompany the expedition were of the 8th regiment and of the 34th, each of 100 men, Sir John Johnson's regiment, 133, and, as was intended 342 Hanau Chasseurs. In the Orderly Book, date of June 20, 1777, is this order:

"Forty-eight batteaux to be delivered to the Royal Regiment (8th), 45 felling axes, and 3 broad axes; 75 felling axes and 2 broad axes to the 34th regiment. The 8th regiment to take 440 barrels of provisions, allowing 10 bbls. each for 44 batteaus; the rum or brandy to be put for security in the officer's boats. The 8th reg't to be completed with 14 days provisions, commencing Saturday, June 21st."

On the 21st is this order:

"Forty boats to contain 400 bbls of provisions, and 7 of rum; the remainder to be left at St. Leger's quarters."

Lieutenant-Colonel St. Leger was to command and accompany this expedition, and Sir John Johnson and Colonel Claus, his brother-in-law, subordinates. Colonel Claus, under date of October 16, 1777, after the expedition was over, wrote to the home government as follows:

"On the 23d of June I set out from La Chine near Montreal. The Brigadier was getting the artillery boats ready to take in 2 sixes, two 3's, and four coharon (being our artillery for the expedition) was to follow the day after, and proceeded for an island destined for our rendezvous in the entrance of Lake Ontario, called Buck (Carleton) Island, in company with Sir John Johnson and his regiment. In my way thither I collected a body of 150 Missagues (a Huron Clan of Indians) and six nation of Indians. The foregoing Indians the Brigadier intended should accompany him on an Alert to Fort Stanwix by a short cut thro' the woods from the mouth of the Salmon River, about 20 miles from Oswego, in order to surprise the garrison, and take it with small arms. Between 60 and 70 leagues from Montreal, the reconnoitering party I sent to Fort Stanwix returned and met me with five prisoners (one lieutenant) and four scalps, having defeated a working party of 16 rebels as they were cutting sods toward repairing and finishing the old fort, which is garrisoned by upward of 600 men—the repairs far advanced and the rebels ex-

pecting us, and were acquainted with our strength and route. The Brig. was about 15 leagues in our rear; on reaching Buck island, he admitted our artillery was insufficient, if the rebels intended to defend themselves in their fort. Here he had opportunity of sending for a better train of artillery, he was, however still on the alert. We arrived at Buck Island July 8th."

This expedition remained at Buck Island until the 19th of July. On the 17th an order appears on Sir John's Orderly Book for forty days' provisions for 500 men, by which it is argued by the British authorities that not more than 500 men, Indians and all, were with St. Leger until he reached Oswego, where an addition of Indians was made to his force. On the 18th of July the Orderly Book had the following entry:

"The 8th and 34th regiments will receive 10 boats each for their men and 20 days provisions; the officers allowed a proper portion for their baggage on their way to Oswego. The corps of Canadians will move at same time and carry 20 days provisions to shut any possibility of want of provisions from delay, etc. The artillery to carry 20 days provisions for their own detachment. The artillery, the chasseurs, officers and Rangers of the Indian department and Canadians, to hold themselves in readiness to embark at four in the morning, to-morrow."

There is a hiatus in the Orderly Book from the above date until after Oswego was reached and passed, and until July 31st, when Oswego Falls (Fulton, Oswego county) was passed and the troops ready to proceed in boats up the Oswego River. The letter of October 16, 1777, from Colonel Claus, is continued as follows:

"The Brigadier [St. Leger] set out from Buck Island July 19, for Salmon river, I having been ordered to proceed to Oswego with Sir John's regiment and a company of chasseurs, lately arrived, there to convene and prepare the Indians to join the Brigadier at Fort Stanwix. I reached Oswego July 23d, and there found Brant, who informed me that his party of 300 Indians would be there the next day; and that having been more than two months upon service, were destitute of necessaries, ammunition and some arms. July 24th I received an express from St. Leger at Salmon River to repair there with what arms and vermillion I had, and wished I would come prepared for a march thro' the woods. I had no arms nor vermillion, but I prepared to go upon the march, and was ready to set off when Brant came to my tent and told me, that as no person was there to take care of the Indians with him, he apprehended that in case I should leave

them, they would become disgusted and disperse, which might prevent the rest of the six nations to assemble, and be hurtful to the expedition, and begged I would first represent these circumstances to the Brig. by letter. The Brig. had mentioned by letter to me, that my going was chiefly intended to quiet the Indians with him, who were very drunk and riotous; Capt. Tice, the messenger, informed me that the Brig. had ordered a quart of rum apiece, which made them beastly drunk, and in which case, it is not in the power of man to quiet them; so I mentioned these suggestions to him of Brant; upon which, and finding the Indians disapproved of my going, the Brig. came away from Salmon river, and arrived at Oswego the next day, with the companies of the 8th and 34th regiments and about 250 Indians.

On the 26th of July the expedition left Oswego with the purpose of meeting at Three River Point such other Indians as were expected to join. On the 31st, after reaching Oswego Falls, around which it required three days to transport the baggage and guns, the following entry was made in the Orderly Book:

"The detachment of the Royal artillery, and the company of Canadians are to take in their loading immediately; each Capt. boat to carry four bbls.—10 lieut. boats five bbls. each, private boats six each, and to hold themselves in readiness to embark at 2 P. M."

There is no entry in the Orderly Book after the above date.

After leaving Oswego St. Leger sent in advance a small detachment of thirty men of the regular troops under Colonel Bird (who was killed in the battle of Oriskany), to proceed to Fort Stanwix, cut the communications of the garrison with their friends down the valley, and capture the supply boats then on their way to the fort with supplies. From the diary of Colonel Bird, which was captured by Colonel Willett on his sortie from the fort, as detailed later on, the following entries are taken. Colonel Bird evidently expected an ambuscade.

"Tuesday, July 29, 1777: After going two miles and no savages coming up, waited two hours for them. Sixteen Senecas arriving proceeded to Three Rivers; waited there two hours; 70 or 80 Indians came up; they had stolen two oxen from the droves of the army, and would not advance, but stayed to feast. I advanced seven miles farther without them—in all 19 miles.

"Wed., July 30: Set off next morning at six, having waited for the savages till that time, tho' none arrived. Ordered the boats to keep 70 rods behind each other—half of the men keeping arms in their hands, while the others rowed; ordered that if any

of the boats were fired upon, the men should jump ashore. Rowed all night, encamped at Nine Mile Point, probably Bernhard's Bay.

"Thursday, July 31st: With 27 Senecas and nine Hurons, joined Mr. Nair's party. Many savages being with us, we proceeded to Wood Creek, a march of 15 miles.

"Friday, Aug. 1st: The savages hinted an intention to send parties to Fort Stanwix, but to proceed no farther in a body. I called a council of the Chiefs, and told them of my orders to go to the fort, and if they would not go with me, I should take the white men and go; the Hurons said they would go with me. The Senecas said it was their way to proceed with caution. I told them I would wait until next morning at daybreak, and then certainly go. They said they would send out large scouts to prepare the way; accordingly 18 or 20 set off this evening."

The Indians were very insubordinate and intractable, demonstrating the embarrassment that often arose in attempting to employ them with regular troops. It was owing to the acts of the Indians that Colonel Bird was prevented from reaching the fort in time to intercept and capture the supply boats * * *. On Saturday, the 2nd of August, Colonel Bird reached the fort and immediately wrote back to St. Leger, who had arrived at Nine Mile Point. He wrote that no savages would advance with him, except two of the Six Nations. "Twelve Hurons came up two or three hours after I had left; those with the scout of fifteen, I mentioned in my last, are sufficient to invest Fort Stanwix, if you favor me so far as not to order me to the contrary." St. Leger at once replied as follows:

"You will observe that I will have nothing but an investment of the fort; and to enable you to do it with greater effect, I send Brant with his Indians to re-enforce you; and in case the enemy observing the discretion and judgment with which it is made, should offer to capitulate, you are to tell them, you are sure I am well disposed to listen to them. I leave here at 11 this A. M. and shall reach the entrance to Wood Creek (15 miles) early in the afternoon."

The foregoing extract indicates how confident St. Leger was of success and how little he realized the terrible earnestness of the garrison and of the colonies. Not unlikely he had heard so much from the tory leaders of the imbecility and cowardice of the "rebels" and of their willingness to lay down their arms and join the king's troops, if they dared, he expected to capture the fort without firing a gun.

After St. Leger left Oswego, the expedition was "shadowed"

all the way to Wood Creek by friendly runners from the Oneidas, who kept the garrison daily and almost hourly advised of the progress of the advancing foe. When Wood Creek was reached the enemy found the channel completely blocked by trees fallen into it by orders of Colonel Gansevoort. A hundred and fifty of the garrison were fourteen days in cutting down those trees, thus forcing St. Leger's troops to travel through the forest by an Indian path. In his report of the expedition St. Leger says that it took 110 of his men nine days to clear Wood Creek of the trees and that before he could get his cannon and munitions, with seven days' provisions, from Oneida Lake to the fort, he had to cut a road through the woods sixteen miles long, and that it took two days to do this.

On Saturday, August 2d, the fort was formally invested by Colonel Bird and by Brant, who had been sent in advance of the main body. On Sunday forenoon following, St. Leger and the remainder of the forces reached the site of Fort Bull at the lower landing of Wood Creek. At that point the troops formed in line and marched to the upper landing, the site of the old U. S. Arsenal. From that point to the fort was an open plain in full view of the soldiers on the rampart. The first heard by the garrison was martial music and then the columns appeared in sight. The garrison was paraded on the ramparts to watch the coming of the enemy. Onward they marched, deploying as they approached, while the Indians spread themselves out on the flanks, with feathers fluttering in their head-gear and tomahawks glistening in their hands, their yells at times drowning the sound of the bugle and the drum. The bright scarlet uniforms of the regulars, taken out fresh that morning, the banners and flags waving in the air as the march proceeded, the shimmer of the rifles in the sun and the precision of the military tread of the trained were all calculated to strike terror to the hearts of the garrison. But the spectacle had a contrary effect. They knew that they need not expect mercy at the hands of the invaders, and that they must defend to the last extremity the fort entrusted to their charge. The garrison watched in silence the oncoming of the foe. Not a gun was fired, not a shout of defiance was heard, and stillness reigned. It was Sabbath, and the silence of the garrison compared with the solemnity of the day. The men on the ramparts were intent upon counting the number of the besiegers. A flag of truce was sent into the fort by St. Leger demanding surrender, which was promptly refused. The 4th and 5th of August were occupied by St. Leger in cutting out a road and getting his can-

non from Oneida Lake. On Monday, the 4th, active hostilities began. During that day and the next Indians concealed themselves behind stumps and trees to pick off those who were on the ramparts making repairs. Both evenings were passed by the Indians in spreading themselves through the woods, crossing the river and encircling the fort, making the nights hideous with their yells. It was uncertain what would be attempted in the dead of night by the savages in their greed for scalps, and hence the garrison took no rest. St. Leger established his headquarters on the eminence now occupied by St. Peter's church, 600 yards northeast of the fort, and there he planted his cannon, with which he intended to drive out the garrison or batter down the walls of the fortification.

Over the brow of the hill, where the batteries were placed, the camps and tents of St. Leger were located, within easy distance of the cool spring of water which then and for half a century thereafter gushed forth from the hillside and formed the small stream that flowed past and near the fort; this stream has passed into history as "Spring Brook." Following down the Mohawk and near the bend in the river below where the railroad bridge [in 1896] crosses it, Sir John Johnson with his tories and chasseurs was posted, while, between that encampment and the fort and on both sides of the river, Brant and his Indians were located with license to roam at will through the woods surrounding the fort. A part of St. Leger's troops were encamped on Wood Creek near the site of the United States Arsenal. It will thus be seen how effectually the garrison was surrounded by the implacable and savage enemy.

On the evening of Tuesday, August 5, the sentinels on the ramparts observed that a large body of the Indians and some of Sir John's forces were moving in the direction of Oriskany along the edge of the woods, and early the next morning other men from Brant's and Sir John's camps were seen hurrying eastward. The cause of these movements was involved in mystery to the garrison.

The foregoing from "Wager's History of Oneida County" covers the investment of Fort Stanwix on August 2nd, 1777, and its siege up to the day of the battle of Oriskany, Wednesday, August 6th, 1777. The battle of Oriskany is described in an earlier chapter, while the siege is given in full in "Willett's Narrative" and the very interesting "Diary of William Colbraith," which follow.

* * * * *

WILLETT'S NARRATIVE OF THE SIEGE OF FORT STANWIX.

Under Chapter V of "Willett's Narrative," with its heading "Siege of Fort Stanwix," Col. Willett's son gives the following account which is among the most valuable documents we possess in relation to the Oriskany campaign and the defense of Fort Stanwix. Rev. William M. Willett compiled this account from written and oral descriptions given him by his father. Major Colbraith's diary, written at the time of the siege, and Willett's narrative are the two most interesting personal relations, of which we have knowledge, regarding this epochal struggle for possession of this frontier fortress.

Early in 1777 Colonel Willett was assigned to the command of the 5th New York Regiment, which was placed in garrison at Fort Constitution, near present Bear Mountain Station. On March 22d, 1777, Colonel Willett received an express from General McDougall, in command at Peekskill, saying that a British force had landed there and were burning and destroying property. Willett immediately set out with his command, sailed across the Hudson and joined McDougall. The latter seems to have been possessed of undue caution, to put it mildly, and refused to attack the enemy. After begging for a long time, Colonel Willett received permission to attack the British. In a fierce bayonet charge, the New York soldiers drove the British back to the shore and aboard their boats.

"Willett's Narrative," relative to the siege of Fort Stanwix and Colonel Willett's prominent part therein, follows:

The day after the hasty departure of the enemy from Peekskill, Colonel Willett returned with his troops to Fort Constitution, where he remained until the 18th of May, employed in disciplining his recruits. Having been ordered to remove to Fort Stanwix, he set out for Albany with his regiment on board of three sloops. He reached there on the 21st. From Albany he went to Schenectady and from there to Fort Stanwix; but from the number of loaded batteaux they had to take with them, they did not reach the fort until the 29th.

Upon Colonel Willett's arrival at Fort Stanwix, of which Colonel Gansevoort was the commandant and himself the second in command, the fort was in a weak and untenable state. The fort, built where the village of Rome now stands, about half a mile from the Erie Canal, was considered, at that early period, the principal key to the whole of the Mohawk country. It had been built, as we have seen, by General Stanwix, in the year 1758. It was a square fort, with four bastions, surrounded by a ditch

of considerable width and depth, with a covert way and a glacis around three of its angles; the other being sufficiently secured by low and marshy ground. In front of the gate there had been a drawbridge covered by a salient angle, raised in front of it on the glacis. In the center of the ditch, a row of perpendicular pickets had been erected, with rows of horizontal pickets fixed around the ramparts under the embrasures. But, since the conclusion of the French War, the fort had fallen into decay, the ditch was filled up, the pickets had rotted and fallen down.

The engineer who had been employed to repair the fortifications was a French gentleman, but was wholly incompetent to his task. Instead of repairing the works after the manner of their original construction, which could easily have been done,—for, though in a state of decay, the principal outlines of the old fort were still sufficiently visible—the engineer sent out large parties to procure logs from a swamp. Having ordered them to be drawn near the fort, he began to erect them in the covert way, and not in the center of the ditch, where they had formerly been placed. After having, with much labour, procured the logs, it appeared that each log was seven feet longer than was necessary; the logs being seventeen feet in length when the pickets that were to be made of them only required ten feet. This blunder of the engineer, together with the general remissness he showed at so critical a moment, led Colonel Willett to suggest to Colonel Gansevoort the propriety of discharging him from the office he filled. Colonel Gansevoort, however, from the circumstance that the engineer had been appointed by the commander-in-chief of the northern department, General Schuyler, to superintend the fortifications, was reluctant to take this step.

The fortifications consequently continued to go on under the superintendence of the engineer. The barracks were repaired within the fort, and a large and commodious building, intended for that purpose, was erected a little beyond the foot of the glacis. But all these works were of secondary importance; indeed the barrack, out of the fort at the foot of the glacis, could be of no use in case of investment, but rather an injury. And so it actually proved; for the enemy set fire to this very building at a time when the wind, blowing fresh towards the fort, occasioned considerable inconvenience to the garrison. In the meanwhile, little was done to strengthen the fort, though there was every reason to expect the instant arrival of the enemy.

The anxiety of Colonel Willett, arising from a conviction of the incompetency of the engineer in connection with the critical

state of the fort, led him closely to inspect the progress of the fortifications. The engineer had begun to erect a salient angle to cover the gate with two embrasures in it. He was also engaged in erecting pickets along the covert way. The pickets were placed about three feet from the parapet of the glacis. Two of them were framed together with cross pieces and formed a kind of port-hole, which was intended to be placed opposite the embrasures. But it soon appeared, from the manner in which the pickets were ranged, that the port holes, formed of pickets with cross pieces, would come opposite the neck of the embrasures. By this means, the salient angle would be rendered wholly useless. Colonel Willett, at an early stage of the work, noticed the error, but thought it best to let the engineer take his own course, until the line of pickets should be carried to that part of the salient angle, where they would be opposite to the embrasures. When the engineer reached this part of his work, his ignorance would be without the least covering; and yet he never discovered his error until the pickets were erected opposite the neck of the embrasures. Then, for the first time, he saw that all his labour in erecting the salient angle had been in vain; and that it could not be used without first knocking away the neck of the embrasures. The case being stated to Colonel Gansevoort, he directed Colonel Willett to arrest the engineer, which was accordingly done. He was permitted to repair to headquarters, a letter, at the same time, being sent to General Schuyler assigning the reasons of the arrest.

It was not until some time in the month of July that this step was taken. Information had already been received that the enemy was advancing toward the garrison. Scouts of Indians, belonging to the enemy, had been frequently discovered in the vicinity of the fort. The approach of the enemy and the prowling scouts of Indians had rendered it necessary to issue orders forbidding the garrison to go any distance from the fort or to fire any guns, which had previously been allowed, pigeons being very abundant in the neighboring woods.

Notwithstanding these orders and the precautions that were taken, Captain Gregg, whose story is so familiar and who belonged to Colonel Willett's regiment, taking with him one of his corporals, proceeded about two miles from the fort; when, supposing his gun would not be heard, he commenced shooting pigeons; but, being soon discovered by a scout from the enemy's Indians, both himself and his corporal were shot and tomahawked. Not far from the place where they were shot, two men

were fishing, whose attention was attracted by the significant motions of a dog, who, running towards them, began to bark; he then ran back towards that part of the woods from whence he had issued, still continuing to bark and looking back as if entreating them to follow. The singular behavior of this faithful and affectionate animal induced the men to follow him and, by this means, they were led to the spot where Captain Gregg and the corporal lay weltering in their gore. Alarmed by so bloody and unexpected a spectacle, they hurried to the fort, and, having told what they had seen, a party was immediately sent out to bring in the bodies of the unfortunate men. The corporal was dead, but signs of life were still seen in the captain. His case was, however, extremely critical; as he had received a shot which entered his side, ran along near the middle of the back, passing near the spinal bone, just beyond which it went out. He had also been struck with a tomahawk on the head, when he was scalped. Doctor Woodruff, the surgeon of the regiment, dressed his wounds; and the unremitting attention which he paid him, after a few days, removed the most alarming symptoms, so that hopes began to be entertained that the captain would yet survive the terrible disaster. In about three weeks he was pronounced out of danger; and, as the enemy was expected in the course of a fortnight, it was thought expedient that Captain Gregg, with the rest of the sick and other ineffective persons, should be removed to Schenectady. The captain arrived safe at Schenectady, was restored to health, and remained in the service to the end of the war. He lived several years after the peace.

Captain Gregg recollected every circumstance of the transaction, and related it afterwards with great composure. It appears that, upon receiving the shot, he fell, and, seeing the Indian running towards him, he lay perfectly still, with the intention of leading the Indian to think that he was dead; and when the Indian proceeded to scalp him, giving him at the same time a cut with his tomahawk on the upper side of his forehead, such was his fortitude through the whole of this trying scene as to show no signs of life. Shortly after the Indian left him, he looked around and, seeing the corporal lying at a short distance from him, he crawled up to him. He then took his watch out of his pocket to observe the hour of the day. Discovering after awhile that the corporal was dead, he laid his head on the body and continued in that position until he was taken up and conveyed to the fort.

The disaster of Captain Gregg caused a greater degree of circumspection to be used in venturing at a distance from the fort

unguarded. Sunday, the 3rd of July, being a very warm clear day, as Colonel Willett lay resting in his room about noon, three guns, fired in quick succession, gave him warning that there were Indians near. He ran to the gate of the fort and, on reaching the parapet of the glacis, saw a sentinel running toward the edge of it, and, at a short distance from him, a girl also running, holding in her hand a small basket. On their coming nearer, he saw blood running down the breast of the little girl, who, as he afterwards learned, with two other girls, had been picking blackberries not two hundred yards from the foot of the glacis, when they were fired at by the Indians. Upon going to the spot, Colonel Willett found the two other girls killed and scalped. One of the girls that was killed was the daughter of a man who had served many years in the British artillery. He had been stationed as one of the guard at this fort for several years. As he was considerably advanced in life and infirm, he received a discharge with a recommendation to a Chelsea hospital. But, as he had been indulged with the privilege of cultivating a piece of ground and allowed the use of a small house to live in, he preferred living where he was to returning to his native country and enjoying the benefits to which his services entitled him. The girl who had made her escape had been shot through the upper part of her shoulder; the wound proved to be slight and she soon recovered.

A great degree of interest now began to be felt throughout the garrison. Indians were constantly hovering around them, and they soon became so numerous that strong guards were sent out to protect parties that left the fort. About the middle of July, one of these parties was attacked, several killed and wounded and the officer who commanded was taken prisoner. The enemy were instantly pursued, but without success. The condition of the fort rendered it improper to send out strong scouting parties, as every moment of time was required to prepare for defense.

The engineer having been dismissed, greater diligence than ever was necessary to put the fort in proper state of defense. Accordingly, officers, as well as men, exerted themselves with the utmost assiduity and the work went on very rapidly. By the first of August the wall around the whole of the fort was repaired, the parapets were nearly raised and embrasures made on three of the bastions, horizontal pickets fixed around the covert way. The gate and the bridge were also made secure, though the time had been too short to make any material alteration in the salient angle, so as to derive any benefit from it. The garrison had just finished laying the horizontal pickets at night, as the enemy in-

vested the fort the next day [August 2nd, 1777]; but at the time of the arrival of the enemy, none of the parapets had been completed. It was necessary, therefore, to finish these after the fort was regularly invested and, as the men engaged in work at them were unavoidably exposed, they became marks for the enemy's rifles, so that several of them were killed. The engineer had neglected to build a magazine, though he knew that there was no secure place for the ammunition. The garrison, in order to remedy this difficulty, took the seven spare feet which were left of the pickets, in consequence of the mistake of the engineer as to their length, and, having framed them so as to form a square inclosure, the whole was placed within the body of one of the bastions and, being covered with earth, formed a safe deposit for the powder.

On the last day of July advice was received that a number of batteaux, loaded with ammunition and provisions intended for the garrison, were on their way under a guard of two hundred men. As the very safety of the fort depended in a great measure upon their safe arrival, a detachment of one hundred men was sent out in order to assist them in case of need. These boats arrived about 5 o'clock p. m. on the second day of August, and the stores were immediately conveyed into the fort. At the instant the last loads arrived, the enemy appeared, on the edge of the wood near where the boats lay, and the captain who commanded them, remaining behind after the rest left, was taken prisoner.

The fort had never been supplied with a flag. The necessity of having one had, upon the arrival of the enemy, taxed the invention of the garrison a little and a decent one was soon contrived. The white stripes were cut out of ammunition shirts; the blue out of the camlet cloak taken from the enemy at Peekskill; while the red stripes were made of different pieces of stuff procured from one and another of the garrison. [The flag was raised on the southwest bastion on August 3, 1777.]

The two hundred men who guarded the batteaux were commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Mellon of Colonel Weston's [Wesson's] regiment [at Fort Dayton]. This reinforcement increased the number of the garrison to about seven hundred and fifty men, including officers and artificers. Upon examination, it appeared that they had provisions sufficient to support the garrison six weeks, but the ammunition was so scanty as to allow, for six weeks, only nine cannon to be fired per day. It was there-

fore necessary to use the cannon as little as possible. Of musket cartridges they had a sufficient quantity.

A flag came from the enemy the morning after their arrival. From this it was ascertained that the troops investing the fort were commanded by the British colonel, St. Leger, accompanied by Sir John Johnson. The flag left with the garrison one of Burgoyne's pompous declarations.

Very early on the morning of the 4th a brisk fire from rifles was commenced by the Indians, who, by concealing themselves behind the stumps of trees and other covers, considerably annoyed the men who were employed in raising the parapets. Several of them were wounded. Marksmen were immediately placed, in different parts of the fortification, to return the fire as opportunities might offer. The greater part of the 5th was spent by both parties in nearly the same manner, with the addition of a few shells thrown by the enemy from five-inch royals, several of which came within the fort, and some into the barracks. On the evening of this day, soon after it was dark, the Indians, who were at least one thousand in number, spread themselves through the woods and commenced a terrible yelling, which was continued at intervals the greater part of the night.

While the fort was thus invested, General Herkimer made an ineffectual attempt to relieve it. The General, having collected with all possible dispatch one thousand Tryon County militia, set out upon this expedition, having previously sent an express to Colonel Gansevoort informing him of his intention. This express was brought by two men, who reached the fort in safety about 10 o'clock on the morning of the 6th of August. The letter which the General sent was dated the night before. Upon the receipt of this letter, agreeably to the directions of General Herkimer, cannon were fired as a signal to let him know that the express he had sent had reached the fort in safety. Arrangements were immediately made to effect a diversion in favor of General Herkimer by a sally upon the enemy's camp. Accordingly, two hundred men were ordered on parade for this purpose and placed, by Colonel Gansevoort, under the command of Colonel Willett; but a heavy shower of rain coming up at that moment delayed the sally near an hour.

General Herkimer * * * advanced prematurely upon the enemy. * * * The General was a brave and resolute man; his troops were composed of Germans and Low Dutch and amongst them were the principal men of the county. They were enthusiastic in the cause they were endeavoring to support, impatient

of delay and under little subordination. They urged and finally prevailed on the General to commence his march long before he could have expected the signal and, of course, before a diversion could be made in his favor from the fort. The enemy, who were informed of his approach, had marched and taken possession of a commanding situation about half way between their camp and the place where he lay. The want of judgment in forming their line of march was another unfortunate circumstance for the General and his troops, in consequence of which, when they fell into the ambuscade laid for them, they were not in a condition to support each other. The militia in the rear (for the line of march was so scattered as to extend a mile in length) showed but little courage; indeed, many of them began early to make their escape.

Suddenly and unexpectedly attacked by the enemy, the General, with a number of brave men, formed themselves in a circle and defended themselves with great gallantry. There were a variety of instances in which much personal courage was shown; in some cases attacks were made with tomahawks by the militia, as well as by the Indians, and with equal effect. The courage of the greater part of the militia was such as clearly showed that if they had been sufficiently compact and under such direction as to have been prepared to support each other, they would have been an overmatch for the enemy; but the loose manner in which they marched and the want of precaution produced such sudden confusion as could not be remedied.

The action continued until the shower of rain commenced, when the enemy withdrew and gave time for those brave men who remained on the field to collect their wounded, with whom they returned unmolested to the settlements.

As to the sally from the fort, it was completely successful. In addition to the two hundred men placed under Colonel Willett's command, mentioned before, fifty more were added to guard a light iron three-pounder, which increased his number to two hundred and fifty men. The cannon was mounted on a traveling carriage. With these troops and this piece of mounted cannon, as soon as the rain ceased, Colonel Willett lost not a moment in sallying forth from the gate of the fort. As the enemy's sentries were directly in sight of the fort, his movements were necessarily very rapid. The enemy's sentries were driven in and their advanced guard attacked before they had time to form their troops. Sir John Johnson, whose regiment was not over two hundred yards distant from the advance guard, and who himself, it being

very warm, was in his tent with his coat off, had not time to put it on before his camp was forced. So sudden and rapid was the attack that the enemy had not time to form so as to make any opposition to the torrent that poured in upon them. Flight, therefore, was their only resource. Adjoining the camp of Sir John Johnson was that of the Indians. This also was soon taken; so that a very few minutes put Colonel Willett in possession of both these encampments. Sir John with his troops took to the river and the Indians fled into the woods. The troops under Colonel Willett had fair firing at the enemy as they were crossing the river.

The quantity of camp equipage, clothing, blankets and stores which Colonel Willett found in the two camps rendered it necessary to hasten a messenger to the fort and have the wagons sent, seven of which were stored in the fort, with horses. These wagons were each three times loaded, while Colonel Willett and his men remained in the camps of the enemy. Among other articles they found five British flags, the baggage of Sir John Johnson, with all his papers, the baggage of a number of other officers, with memoranda, journals and orderly books, containing all the information which could be desired.

Colonel Willett, on returning to the fort, found Colonel St. Leger stationed with such force as he could collect opposite the landing on the other side of the river, not more than sixty yards from the direction in which he was marching, with the intention of intercepting him. Colonel Willett's position, however, enabled him to form his troops so as to present him with a full fire in his front while, at the same time, he was enfiladed by the fire of a small field-piece; and, though Colonel St. Leger was sufficiently spirited in returning his fire, it was so wild as to be altogether without effect. Colonel Willett returned in triumph to the fort without having lost a single man.

Upon his return the five flags taken from the enemy were hoisted on the flagstaff under the Continental flag, when all of the troops in the garrison, having mounted the parapets, gave three as hearty cheers as perhaps were ever given by the same number of men.

Several prisoners were brought into the fort, among whom was a Mr. Singleton, a lieutenant of the light infantry company of Sir John Johnson's regiment. A few Indians and some troops were found dead in their camps, and, no doubt, several were killed in crossing the river. Upon the whole, the enterprise was successful beyond Colonel Willett's most sanguine hopes. The

loss of the enemy was, undoubtedly, great. Many of the articles taken from them were much wanted by the garrison. The happy result of this sally appeared to inspire the garrison with an enthusiastic assurance of complete conquest over their enemies.

The success with which the sortie from the fort was attended added to the loss the enemy, and especially the Indians, had sustained in the action with General Herkimer, created considerable uneasiness in the enemy's camp. The afternoon of the next day, the beating of the chamade and the appearance of a white flag, was followed with a request that Colonel Butler, who commanded the Indians, with two other officers, might enter the fort, with a message to the commanding officer. Permission having been granted, they were conducted blindfolded into the fort and received by Colonel Gansevoort in his dining room. The windows of the room were shut and candles lighted; a table also was spread, covered with crackers, cheese and wine. Three chairs, placed at one end of the table, were occupied by Colonel Butler and the two other officers who had come with him; at the other end, Colonel Gansevoort, Colonel Mellen and Colonel Willett were seated. Seats were also placed around the table for as many officers as could be accommodated, while the rest of the room was nearly filled with officers of the garrison, indiscriminately, it being desirable that the officers in general should be witnesses to all that might take place. After passing round the wine, with a few commonplace compliments, Major Ancrom, one of the messengers, with a very grave, stiff air and a countenance full of importance, spoke in nearly the following words:

"I am directed by Colonel St. Leger, the officer who commands the army now investing the garrison, to inform the commandant, that the colonel has, with much difficulty, prevailed on the Indians to agree, that if the garrison, without further resistance, shall be delivered up, with the public stores belonging to it, to the investing army, the officers and soldiers shall have all their baggage and private property secured to them. And in order that the garrison may have a sufficient pledge to this effect, Colonel Butler accompanies me to assure them, that not a hair of the head of any one of them shall be hurt." (Here turning to Colonel Butler, he said, "That, I think was the expression they made use of, was it not"?—to which the Colonel answered, "Yes".) "I am likewise directed to remind the commandant, that the defeat of General Herkimer must deprive the garrison of all hopes of relief, especially as General Burgoyne is now in Albany; so that, sooner or later, the fort must fall into our hands. Colonel St. Leger,

from an earnest desire to prevent further bloodshed, hopes these terms will not be refused; as in this case, it will be out of his power to make them again. It was with great difficulty the Indians consented to the present arrangement, as it will deprive them of that plunder which they always calculate upon, on similar occasions. Should, then, the present terms be rejected, it will be out of the power of the Colonel to restrain the Indians, who are very numerous, and much exasperated, not only from plundering the property, but destroying the lives of, probably the greater part of the garrison. Indeed the Indians are so exceedingly provoked, and mortified by the losses they have sustained, in the late actions, having had several of the favourite chiefs killed, that they threaten,—and the Colonel, if the present arrangements should not be entered into, will not be able to prevent them from executing their threats,—to march down the country, and destroy the settlement, with its inhabitants. In this case, not only men, but women and children will experience the sad effects of their vengeance. These considerations, it is ardently hoped, will produce a proper effect, and induce the commandant, by complying with the terms now offered, to save himself from future regret, when it will be too late."

With the approbation of Colonel Gansevoort, Colonel Willett made the following reply. Looking the important major full in the face, he observed, "Do I understand you, Sir? I think you say, that you come from a British colonel, who is commander of the army that invests this fort; and by your uniform, you appear to be an officer in the British service. You have made a long speech on the occasion of your visit, which, stript of all its superfluities, amounts to this, that you come from a British colonel, to the commandant of this garrison, to tell him, that if he does not deliver up the garrison into the hands of your Colonel, he will send his Indians to murder our women and children. You will please to reflect, sir, that their blood will be on your head, not on ours. We are doing our duty: this garrison is committed to our charge, and we will take care of it. After you get out of it, you may turn round and look at its outside, but never expect to come in again, unless you come a prisoner. I consider the message you have brought, a degrading one for a British officer to send, and by no means reputable for a British officer to carry. For my own part, I declare, before I would consent to deliver this garrison to such a murdering set as your army, by your own account, consists of, I would suffer my body to be filled with splinters, and

set on fire, as you know has at times been practised, by such hordes of women and children killers, as belong to your army."

The manner in which the message of Colonel St. Leger was received, together with the resolution of Colonel Gansevoort to come to no terms with the enemy, was re-echoed with applause by all the officers of the garrison who were present. Several of them pertinently remarked, that in their opinion, half the pains would have not been taken to induce them to surrender, if the enemy had not cause to fear that they should fail in their attempt.

Colonel St. Leger's deputation, seeing no likelihood of their terms being acceded to, asked permission for the surgeon, who accompanied their flag, to visit such of their wounded prisoners as had been taken in the sortie. This was granted; and while the British surgeon, in company with Mr. Woodruff, the surgeon of the garrison, was visiting the wounded, Major Ancrom proposed a cessation of arms for three days. As the garrison had more reasons to fear the want of ammunition than provisions, this proposition was agreed to: soon after which the flag returned to their camp, and the troops of the garrison enjoyed a brief interval of tranquility and ease.

The relief of the fort being still an object of the utmost importance, and no doubt remaining on the minds of any, but that General Herkimer had been defeated, it was thought advisable to make another effort for the purpose; and the militia of Tryon County, having formerly expressed a particular attachment to Col. Willett, it was the general opinion that if he could shew himself among them, it might have the effect of inspiriting them with fresh resolution, and leading them a second time to exert themselves to raise the siege. Influenced by these considerations Col. Willett agreed to make the hazardous attempt to reach the settlements down the river.

Accordingly, about 10 o'clock on the night of the 10th of August, Col. Willett left the fort, accompanied by Major Stockwell, whom he selected for the purpose, as he was a good hunter, and was well acquainted with the Indian method of travelling in the wilderness. They passed privately through the sally port of the fort, and proceeding silently along the marsh, they reached the river, which they crossed by crawling over a log unperceived by the enemy's sentinels, who were not many yards from them. Having thus happily succeeded in crossing the river without being discovered, they advanced cautiously into a swampy wood, where they soon found themselves enveloped in darkness as to be unable to keep a straight course. While in a state of uncer-

tainty as to the safest step for them to take, they were alarmed by the barking of a dog, at no great distance from them. Knowing that the Indians, after their camp had been broken up on the other side of the river, had removed it to this side, they thought it most advisable to remain where they were, until they should have light sufficient to direct their course. Placing themselves therefore against a large tree, they stood perfectly quiet for several hours. At length perceiving the morning star, they again set out, but instead of proceeding in a direct line to reach the settlement, they took nearly a northerly direction, which after a few miles brought them again to the river. With the intention of concealing their route, in case their tracks should be discovered, they stepped in and out of the river several times, crossing occasionally to the opposite side, until reaching a spot where they could completely conceal their track by stepping on stones, they left the river, took a north course for a few hours, and then travelled east until night, without making a single stop. As it was necessary for them to be encumbered as little as possible, they had left the fort with no other weapon but a spear for each, eight feet in length, which was intended to serve as a staff as well as a weapon of defence. They had taken no baggage or blanket; and all the provision they had with them consisted of a few crackers and cheese, which they had put in their pockets, together with a quart canteen of spirits. Having halted for the night, they refreshed themselves with such provision as they had: after which their situation being too perilous to think of kindling a fire, they lay down to sleep wrapped in each other's arms. Though it was then the height of summer, yet the night was so cold, as, together with hard traveling the day before, and sleeping on the ground without any covering, made them feel very stiff when they arose the next morning. Colonel Willett had so severe a rheumatic attack in one of his knees, as to cause a limp in his walk for several hours. Setting out once more, they directed their course farther to the south, and about 9 o'clock came to an opening in the woods, occasioned by a windfall. In this opening, among the fallen trees, they found a forest of raspberries and blackberries, quite ripe, which afforded them a most delicious and refreshing repast. Though the day was very warm, yet, deriving new vigour from their banquet of berries, they proceeded expeditiously toward the settlement, where they arrived at three o'clock, having travelled in this time about fifty miles. On arriving at Fort Dayton, a small stockade fort at the German Flats, they received a hearty welcome from Colonel Weston, who was

stationed there with his regiment. From Colonel Weston, Colonel Willett obtained the agreeable intelligence that General Learnard had been ordered by General Schuyler to march with his brigade of Massachusetts troops (which had been stationed on Van Schaick's Island, about ten miles above Albany), to the relief of the fort.

Having rested that night at Fort Dayton, Colonel Willett, still accompanied by Major Stockwell, set out on horseback early next morning to meet these troops, which they had the satisfaction of doing the very same night. Having been informed by General Learnard, that the troops intended for the relief of the fort, were to be commanded by General Arnold, who was at Albany, Colonel Willett proceeded next day to that place. Here he learned from General Arnold, that the first New York regiment was also on its march to join Learnard's brigade. The day following, Colonel Willett accompanied General Arnold to join the troops, and in two days arrived at Fort Dayton, where the whole force intended for the relief of the fort was assembled.

During Colonel Willett's absence from Fort Dayton, Lieutenant Walter Butler, with six or eight soldiers, and eight or ten Indians, had been taken prisoners. They had been surprised at the house of a Mr. Shoemaker, about two miles from Fort Dayton, the evening previous to General Arnold's and Colonel Willett's arrival at that place. Mr. Shoemaker was one of the King of England's justices of the peace, and being known by Mr. Butler to be disaffected to the congressional government, he had prevailed upon him to assemble as many of the timid and disaffected inhabitants at his house as he could collect, with the intention of endeavoring to persuade them to join the army of Colonel St. Leger. Colonel Weston, having received information of what was going on, detached a party of soldiers, with orders to surround the house, and take the whole of them prisoners. This was promptly done, Mr. Butler being at the time in the midst of his harangue.

General Arnold having ordered a court-martial, of which he appointed Colonel Willett judge advocate, in order to try Mr. Butler as a spy from the enemy, the court found him guilty, and sentenced him to die; which sentence was approved of by General Arnold, and ordered to be put in execution the succeeding morning: but a number of officers belonging to the First New York regiment, petitioning to have him respited, the general granted their petition, and Butler was sent to Albany. He escaped from

this place the winter following, and became afterwards a severe scourge to the inhabitants of these frontiers.

Shortly after this, the news of the approach of General Arnold to relieve the fort having reached the enemy, the Indians being already extremely disaffected, in consequence of the ill success of the siege, and Colonel St. Leger, finding that the mulish obstinancy, as he termed it in a letter written to General Burgoyne, of the garrison, could not readily be overcome, on the 22nd of August, the siege was suddenly abandoned, after it had been carried on twenty days.

Throughout the whole of the siege, Colonel St. Leger, certainly made every effort in his power to render it successful. Having sent after Colonel Willett's departure, to Colonel Gansevoort, a written summons to surrender, which he found unavailing as his message by Major Ancrom, he commenced approaching by sap, and had formed two parallels, the second of which brought him near the edge of the glacis, but the fire of the musketry from the covert way, rendered his further progress very difficult; besides, his ordnance was not sufficiently heavy to make any impression from the battery which had been erected. The only way in which he could annoy the garrison, was with his shells, and this was so trifling as to afford him but a poor prospect of success. It appears that he made large calculations upon intimidating the garrison with threats; and perhaps his expectations were the more sanguine, as Ticonderoga had been but a little time before abandoned, upon the approach of General Burgoyne.

The unexpected and hasty retreat of Colonel St. Leger, and his host of Indians, accompanied by Sir John Johnson, whose influence among the settlers along the Mohawk river, it was supposed, would procure considerable reinforcements, defeated all the calculations that had been made in the event of the success of St. Leger, which was hardly doubted. Great, indeed, was the disappointment and mortification, when, instead of Colonel St. Leger taking the fort, and, by this means, obtaining possession of the Mohawk country, as well as effecting a junction with General Burgoyne, he was obliged to retreat, wholly baffled in all his designs.

After the retreat of the enemy, Colonel Willett passed several months in comparative inactivity. Colonel Gansevoort, having gone to Albany, the command of the fort devolved on him. He improved this interval, in completing the works, and disciplining the troops. Toward the last of September, Colonel Gansevoort, having returned to the fort, Colonel Willett set out to visit his

family at Fishkill, where he arrived, on the very day on which Fort Montgomery was taken. During this visit, he was not inactive, but assisted in the defence of that part of the country against the enemy, who, having obtained the entire possession of the Hudson river, threatened the inhabitants along its banks, at every point. After this, he visited the grand army, under the immediate command of General Washington, which he found encamped at White Marsh, about twelve miles from Philadelphia. It was late in January before he returned to the fort, where he continued until the following June [1778].

The following note will be found on page 53 of Willett's Narrative concerning General Herkimer who was mortally wounded at the battle of Oriskany.

Among the wounded was the gallant general himself, who received a shot in one of his legs, about six inches below the knee, which fractured the bone very badly. Col. Willett saw the wound dressed about two weeks after he received it. The leg itself was afterward amputated. Col. Willett called to see the general soon after the operation. He was sitting up in bed with a pipe in his mouth, smoking and talking in fine spirits. Early the next morning, however, he learned that the general had died in the night, having bled to death. Such was the unfortunate end of this brave man.

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DIARY OF WILLIAM COLBRAITH.

The following diary of William Colbraith, a soldier of the garrison before and during the siege of Fort Stanwix, is one of the most important papers connected with the Burgoyne campaign of 1777, and it is also one of the most interesting and valuable personal documents connected with the entire Revolutionary war. No feature of the entire eight years of conflict has more interesting personal narratives and descriptions connected with it than the Oriskany campaign and the siege of Fort Stanwix. William Colbraith settled at Fort Stanwix (Rome) after the war and he was sheriff of Herkimer county and later Oneida county. Colbraith's Journal follows without quotation marks:

* * * * *

1777—Journal of the Most material occurrences preceding the siege of Fort Schuyler (formerly Fort Stanwix) with an account of that siege, etc.

April 17th.—A detachment of Colonel Gansevoort's regiment,

under command of Major Cochran, arrived to reinforce Colonel Elmore, who was stationed there.

May 3d.—Colonel Gansevoort arrived and took command of the garrison agreeable to instructions.

May 10th.—Colonel Elmore's regiment march for Albany.

May 28th.—The remainder of the regiment under the command of Colonel Willett arrived here from Fort Constitution, who informed Colonel Gansevoort that by order of Major Gen. Gates he had relieved Fort Dayton, (then in charge of Lieutenant Colonel Livingston,) with one captain, two subalterns, two sergeants, one drum and fife and forty rank and file of his detachment. Some Oneida Indians arrived here with a flag from Canada, who informed the Colonel that they had been to Caughnawaga [Canada] to request them not to take up the hatchet in favor of Great Britain and gave him assurance of that tribe being much inclined to keep the peace, that had for so long a time subsisted between them and their American brethren, and that some of the sachems would be here in eight days on their way for Albany to treat on this subject. And also, as they were going to Canada they met the enemy on their march from thence to Oswego, being destined for this place, and after the treaty was over, which Sir John Johnson was to hold with the Indians in that country at Oswego, we might hourly expect them.

June 25th.—Capt. Grigg, with Corporal Maddeson of his company, being between the Forts Newport and Bull, about 1¼ miles from Fort Schuyler, were attacked by a party of Indians who wounded and tomahawked them and scalped them. The captain was alive when found, but the corporal dead.

July 3d.—Ensign Sporr, being in command of seven men cutting sods for the fort at Fort Newport, were attacked by a party of Indians, who killed and scalped one, wounded and scalped another, and took the ensign and four men prisoners.

July 19th.—Capt. Grigg, being much recovered of his wounds, set off for Albany.

July 19th.—Same day arrived Captain Swartwout, Lieutenants Diefendorf, Ball, Welch, McClellan, Bowen, Ostrander and Colbreath and Ensign Denniston, with a number of recruits for the regiment.

July 26th.—The sachems of Caughnawaga arrived here with a flag agreeable to the intelligence received from the Oneida Indians. A party of one hundred of the garrison went to guard a number of the militia sent to obstruct Wood creek by falling trees from either side into the creek.

July 27th.—Three girls belonging to the inhabitants, being about two hundred yards from our out-sentinels, were fired on by a party of Indians, two of whom were killed and scalped, the other wounded in two places, neither of them dangerous. The party returned who had been to stop the creek.

July 28th.—The Colonel sent off those women which belonged to the garrison which have children, with whom went the man that was scalped, the girl that was wounded yesterday and sick in the hospital.

July 30th.—An Indian arrived express from the Oneida castle with a belt of wampum and a letter from the sachems of Caughnawaga and the Six Nations, in which letter they assured us they were determined to be at peace with the American brethren; that the enemy were at the Three Rivers and two detachments were to set off before the main body; one body of eight would be sent to take prisoners, and another of 130 to cut off communication on the Mohawk river. Major Badlam arrived with 150 men of Colonel Weston's regiment from Fort Dayton; with him came Captain Dewitt and his party who had been left at Fort Dayton by Colonel Willett, the whole making to the garrison a reinforcement of about 200 men. Mr. Hansen, commissary of this garrison, arrived and acquainted us that seven bateaux, loaded with ammunition and provisions, were on their way for this place. The letter and belt was agreeable to the request of the Indians, sent down by express to the several committees on the Mohawk river.

Aug. 1st.—Three Oneida Indians came express from their castle informing us that they had seen three strange Indians, who told them that there were 100 more at the Royal Black House, and that they were to march for this place. Supposing them to be a party sent to cut off communications, the colonel detached 100 men under command of Captain Benschoten and three subalterns to meet the bateaux that were hourly expected in order to reinforce the guard sent with them from Fort Dayton.

Aug. 2d.—Four bateaux arrived, being those the party went to meet, having a guard of 100 men of Col. Weston's regiment from Fort Dayton, under the command of Lieut. Col. Mallon of that regiment. The lading being brought safe into the fort, guard marched in, when our sentinels on the southwest bastion discovered the enemy's fires in the woods near Fort Newport, upon which the troops ran to their respective alarm posts; at this time we discovered some men running from the landing toward the garrison. On their coming they informed us that the

bateaux men who had staid behind when the guard marched into the fort had been fired on by the enemy at the landing, that two of them were wounded, the master of the bateaux taken prisoner, and one man missing.

Aug. 3d.—Early this morning a Continental flag made by the officers of Colonel Gansevoort's regiment, was hoisted and a cannon leveled at the enemy's camp was fired on the occasion. A small party was sent to the landing to see if the enemy had destroyed any of our bateaux last night. This party found the bateaux man that was missing, wounded through the brain, stabbed in the right breast and scalped. He was alive when found and brought to the garrison, but died shortly after. The bateaux lay at the landing no ways damaged. About 3 o'clock this afternoon the enemy showed themselves to the garrison on all sides, carried off some hay from a field near the garrison, at which a flag brought by Captain Tice came into the fort with a proffer of protection if the garrison would surrender, which was rejected with disdain.

Aug. 4th.—A continual firing of small arms was this day kept up by the enemy's Indians, who advanced within gunshot of the fort, in small parties under cover of bushes, weeds and potatoes in the garden. Colonel Mellon and his party of 100 men, who came from Fort Dayton as a guard to the bateaux, was to have returned this day, but we were now beseiged and all communication cut off for the present. The firing ended with the close of the day, we having one man killed and six wounded. This night we sent out a party and brought 27 stacks of hay into the trench and set a barn and house on fire belonging to Mr. Roof.

Aug. 5th.—A continual firing was kept up by the savages. One of our men was shot dead on the northeast bastion. The enemy set fire to the new barracks standing about 100 yards from this fort, between four and five o'clock this afternoon.

Aug. 6th.—This morning the Indians were seen going off from around the garrison towards the landing; as they withdrew we had not much firing. Being uneasy lest the Tories should report that the enemy had taken the fort, Lieut. Diefendorf was ordered to get ready to set off for Albany this evening to inform General Schuyler of our situation, but between nine and ten this morning three militia men arrived here with a letter from General Harkeman wherein he writes that he had arrived at Orisco with 1,000 militia, in order to relieve the garrison and open communication, which was then entirely blocked up, and that if the colonel should hear a firing of small arms, desired he would send

a party from the garrison to reinforce him. General Harkeman desired that the colonel would fire three cannon, if the three men got safe into the fort with his letter, which was done and followed three cheers by the whole garrison. According to General Harkeman's request the colonel detached two hundred men and one field piece under command of Lieut. Col. Willett with orders to proceed down the road to meet the General's party; having marched half a mile, they came upon an encampment of the enemy which they totally routed, and plundered them of as much baggage as the soldiers could carry. Their loss is supposed to be between fifteen and twenty killed. The number of wounded, who got off, is unknown. They took four prisoners, three of whom were wounded, and Mr. Singleton of Montreal, who says he is a lieutenant, without the loss of one man killed or wounded. Our party returned immediately and brought in a number of blankets, brass kettles, powder and ball, a variety of clothes and Indian trinkets and hard cash, together with four scalps the Indians had lately taken, being entirely fresh and left in their camp. Two of the scalps taken are supposed to be those of the girls, being neatly dressed and the hair plaited. A bundle of letters was found in the enemy's camp, which had been sent by one Luke Cassidy for this garrison, who it is supposed is either killed or taken; the letters were not broke open. Four colours were also taken, and immediately hoisted on our flagstaff under the Continental flag, as trophies of victory. By our prisoners we learn that the enemy are 1210 strong, 250 British regulars, that they are all arrived and have with them two six pounders, two three pounders and four royals. We also learn that they were attacked by our militia on this side of Orisco, that they drove the militia back, killed some and took several prisoners, but the enemy had many killed, and among them one Stephen Watts of New York. Our party found among the enemy a Tory named Harkeman, brother to the General. He belonged to the German Flats. One of General Harkeman's militia came in here this evening and gave an account of the militia being drove back by the enemy, that in the battle he hid himself in the mud and grass, and that General Harkeman and a number of regular officers and Indians passed him in conversation. (This was a lie.) One of the prisoners we took today died of his wounds this evening.

Aug. 7th.—Very little firing to-day. At 11 o'clock this evening the enemy came near the fort, called to our sentinels, telling them to come out again with fixed bayonets, and they would give us satisfaction for yesterday's work; after which they fired four

small cannon at the fort. We laughed at them and they returned to rest. The four militia men who came in yesterday went off about 12 o'clock this night. Two men deserted from us to the enemy this night.

Aug. 8th.—The enemy threw some shells at us to-day, but did no damage, and in order to return the compliment, they were saluted with a few balls from our cannon. About 5 o'clock this evening Colonel Butler, with a British captain and a doctor from the enemy, came to the garrison with a flag, whose message from Gen. St. Leger was that the Indians, having lost some of their chiefs in a skirmish with our party that sallied out on the 6th inst., were determined to go down the Mohawk River and destroy the women and children, also that they would kill every man in the garrison when they got in; that Gen. St. Leger had held a council with them for two days in order to prevent them, but all to no purpose, unless we would surrender. The general therefore, as an act of humanity, and to prevent the effusion of blood, begged we would deliver up the fort, and promised if we did, not a hair of our heads should be hurt. A letter also came by them (as they say) from Mr. Fry and Colonel Bellinger, whom they took in the fray with the militia, begging us to surrender, telling us our communication was cut off, that the enemy had a large parcel of fine troops, and an excellent park of artillery, and further, that they expected General Burgoyne was in Albany, and could see no hopes of our having any succor, as the militia had many killed and taken. The answer to the general's tender and compassioned (?) letter was deferred until to-morrow morning at 9 o'clock, and a cessation of arms agreed to by both parties till then. Late this evening a party was sent to get water for the garrison, with a guard. One of the guards deserted from us, but left his firelock behind. One of our sentinels fired at him but missed him. Our guard heard the enemy's sentinels challenge him twice and fire on him. Colonel Willett and Lieutenant Stockwell went out of the garrison at one o'clock in the morning on a secret expedition.

Aug. 9th.—Agreeable to the proposals of yesterday, between Colonel Gansevoort and Brigadier General St. Leger, a flag was sent out to him requesting him to send his demand in writing and the Colonel would send him an answer, which request he agreed to. The demands in writing was the same in substance with that verbally delivered yesterday by Colonel Butler, to which the Colonel returned for answer: That he was determined to defend the fort in favor of the United States to the last extremity. Upon

receiving the answer hostilities again commenced by a number of shot and small arms on their side which were not suffered with impunity on ours. This day the Colonel ordered all the provisions to be brought upon the parade for fear of shells setting fire to the barracks and destroying it; also all the public papers and money in the hands of Mr. Hansen and the papers in the hands of Mr. Van Veghten belonging to the paymaster to be lodged in the bomb-proof in the S. W. bastion. The enemy began to bombard us at half past ten this evening and continued till daylight; their shells were very well directed. They killed one man and wounded another, both of our regiment. None killed or wounded through the day. This day the enemy kept out of sight, except one or two who appeared about their battery doing nothing. About three o'clock this afternoon three or four of them were seen running across a field near the garrison and setting fire to some cocks of hay standing there which soon consumed them. This maneuver of the enemy led us to believe that the enemy's intention was to deceive us to imagine thereby that they were going off and put us off our guard and induce us to send out parties which they might fall on, and thereby diminish our strength, knowing us to be too many for them. Was this their scheme, they fell far short of their conjecture. Some of our officers imagined they were going off or they would not destroy the hay, it being out of our reach and much wanted by them for their troops to lay on, as it is certain they have nothing to shelter themselves from the weather except their blankets which they make tents of.

Fearing they meant to lull us to sleep and storm us in the night, the Colonel ordered the guard and piquet doubled and the troops to lay on their arms. Between twelve and one o'clock tonight they bombard us and continues till daylight. This night's work did us no other damage than breaking the thigh of a young man, an inhabitant. This unfortunate young man was brought up in the same family with one of the girls that was killed and scalped on the 27th, and whose scalps we have now in the fort. They were remarkably industrious and faithful, both orphans and were by consent of their former master to have been married very soon. The young man died of his wound.

Aug. 11th.—This day the enemy having observed that we brought water from the creek altered its course so that it became dry. This would have done us much damage had we not been able to open two wells in the garrison which with one we had already proved a sufficient supply. The enemy kept out of sight

and no firing from them of any kind. They were seen by our sentinels drawing near the landing, by which we imagine a reinforcement is coming to our relief. At twelve o'clock a shower of rain coming up the Colonel ordered a fatigue party to turn out with a subaltern's guard to bring in some barrels of lime, a number of boards and some timber lying at the foot of the glacis. Which they effected without having a shot fired at them. The enemy was seen to muster in the road below the landing while our men were out. At sundown they gave us some shot and shells from their battery. At midnight they sent four shells, but a thunder shower coming up at that instant they left off. The night being very dark and excessive raining till day, the Colonel ordered the troops to their alarm posts lest the enemy should attempt to surprise.

Aug. 12th.—The enemy kept out of sight all day and no firing from them till noon, when they gave us some shot and shells, without doing any damage. We imagined the enemy drew their forces in the daytime between us and Orisko, as we have not seen them so plenty these two or three days as we are used to do; neither do they trouble us all night, which gave our troops an opportunity of resting.

Aug. 13th.—The enemy were very peaceable all day till towards night, when they cannonaded and bombarded for two hours, during which time a shell broke a soldier's leg belonging to Colonel Mellon's detachment.

Aug. 14th.—Toward evening they were again at their old play, cannonading and bombarding us. A shell bursting slightly wounded one of Colonel Mellon's men in the head. No other damage was done. One of Captain Gregg's company, Colonel Gansevoort's regiment, deserted his post to the enemy. He was placed on the outside picket and deserted between ten and twelve o'clock at night.

Aug. 15th.—At 5 o'clock this morning the enemy threw two shells at us. Did no damage. The number of shells they have thrown at us is 137. The enemy were very troublesome with their small arms this afternoon, by which we had one man of our regiment and one of Colonel Mellon's detachment slightly wounded. In the evening they threw their shells at us and slightly wounded a woman and one of Captain Savage's artillerymen.

Aug. 16th.—This morning the enemy threw some shells horizontally at our works, but fell short. One of those shells falling on the parade killed a man of Colonel Mellon's detachment. They continued to throw them all day and some part of the night, but

did no further damage. A party of our men were ordered out this evening to bring in wood for the garrison, and being discovered by some skulking Indians near the garrison, gave the alarm to the rest. They advanced near where our men were at work, but luckily our men had been called in before they came nigh enough to do any mischief. They finding our men had got in began a most hideous shout. A cannon being fired at them they departed. The regular's drums were heard beating to arms after the cannon was fired. We suppose they expected us to sally out again upon them with a field-piece. At midnight they threw three shells at us, but did no damage.

Aug. 17th.—The enemy were quiet all day and night; neither a shot or shell was fired at us during the twenty-four hours, although we fired several cannon at them.

Aug. 18th.—This morning one of our regiment was slightly wounded in the cheek by a musquet ball. A black flag or coat was seen in enemy's bomb battery.

Aug. 19th.—The enemy threw some shells at us near noon. They were busy in their trench all day. At night they struck their trench towards the point of our northwest bastion, and by daylight had got within 150 yards of the ditch. We fired some grape shot at them now and then all night. At every shot we fired they threw shells at us but did no damage. At midnight the colonel sent out one of his regiment and one of Colonel Mellon's detachment to meet Colonel Willett if possible, whom we expected was on his way to this place with a reinforcement, to make him acquainted with the enemy's maneuvers on the southwest side of the fort, that he might govern his attack accordingly.

Aug. 20th.—This morning one of Colonel Mellon's men was wounded by a musquet ball. The enemy could work but little this day at their trench, it being so nigh that our small arms, as well as our cannon shot, was too hot for them. In the evening they began their trench again and worked all night at it, under fire of our cannon and small arms, but did not approach any nearer.

Aug. 21st.—At two o'clock this morning a party was sent out to bring in firewood, who brought in a great quantity undiscovered. They cannonaded and bombarded by turns all night. A man of our regiment deserted this evening. This morning we discovered that the enemy approach nearer to us and had begun a bomb battery, where they left off yesterday morning. The artilleryman who was wounded in the knee with a musquet ball died on the 4th inst. of his wounds. One of Colonel Mellon's men and the lad belonging to the inhabitants died likewise of their

wounds. The enemy kept working all day in their trench though not so close as last night. No firing from their batteries. This day our guard kept a constant fire at those at work in the trench, and in the evening twelve of the best marksmen were picked out to harass them when at work in the night, which galled them so much that their Indians were sent for to draw off our attention, who advanced near the fort, which caused a general alarm, by which a heavy and continued firing was kept up for near two hours, during which their cannon and mortars were playing on us very briskly, in which interim we had a man of the artillery wounded and a woman big with child wounded in the thigh. A corporal and three privates deserted this evening of our regiment.

Aug. 22d.—This morning the enemy bombarded very smartly. The sergeant-major and two privates were wounded. At noon a deserter came to us, whose examination was: that the enemy had news in the camp that Burgoyne's army was entirely routed and that three thousand men were coming up to reinforce us, and further that the enemy was retreating with great precipitation, and that he with another was conveying off one Lieut. Anderson's chest, when he had made his escape, and that most of the baggage was gone. Upon which the commanding officer ordered all the cannon bearing on their works to fire several rounds to see whether they would return it, which partly confirmed the report of the deserter. Some time after four men came in and reported the same, and that they had left part of their baggage. Upon which the colonel ordered fifty men and two wagons under command of Captain Jansen to go to their camps, where they killed two Indians and took four prisoners; one of them was an Indian. After they had loaded the wagons with what baggage they could carry, they returned, but night coming on, they could not return to fetch what baggage was still left in their camp. At night, two men came in: one of them was assisting the first deserter in carrying off Lieutenant Anderson's chest, the other John (Han) Yost Schuyler, who informed the commanding officer that he was taken prisoner at the German Flats and confined at Fort Dayton five days. That General Arnold had sent him to General St. Leger, commander of the King's troop, to inform him that 2,000 militia were on the march for this place to reinforce the garrison, that he had informed General St. Leger of it and in consequence of which he ordered his troops to strike their tents and pack up. And further, after he had done his errand, he hid himself in the woods till night, and coming across the above men they came in together. He likewise informed us that near seventeen Indians

were at Fort Newport quite drunk; upon which the colonel ordered a party of men under the command of Major Cochran to go and take them, who in about an hour returned and informed the colonel he had been there and did not find any, and that he went to Wood creek and found eight new bateaux, which the enemy had left behind. While they were out, the woman that was wounded with a shell last night was brought to bed in our southwest bomb-proof, of a daughter. She and the child are like to do well, with the blessing of God. Our blockade ended, and the garrison once more at liberty to walk about and take the free air we had for twenty-one days been deprived of. At twelve o'clock this night the commanding officer sent off three of his regiment to inform General Arnold of the precipitate retreat of the enemy. A deserter came in who said he had just left the enemy's cohorts below Wood creek bridge.

Aug. 23d.—This morning the colonel sent out a party under the command of Major Cochran to take them, who returned with three prisoners and four cohorns and some baggage, and reported there were seventeen bateaux lying there. Another party was sent to the enemy's north camp to bring in the rest of the baggage left by us last night, consisting of ammunition, camp equipage and entrenching tools. Another party was sent to the enemy's southeast camp, who brought in fifteen wagons, a three-pound field-piece carriage with all its apparatus. Most of the wagon wheels were cut to pieces, as were the wheels of the carriage. Several scouts were sent out to-day, one of whom took a German prisoner, who reported that the Indians had, when they got about ten miles from this fort, fallen on the scattering Tories, took their arms from, and stabbed them with their own bayonets. And that for fear of said Indians, he and nine more German soldiers took to the woods. The rest are not yet found. Their design was not to come to the fort, as Butler and Johnson told them, when orders were given to retreat, that those who fell into our hand would be hanged immediately. Another scout proceeded to Canada creek, found a carriage for a six-pounder and three boxes of cannon shot, which they brought in. This afternoon the Honorable Major General Arnold arrived here with near a thousand men. They were saluted with a discharge of powder from our mortars, formerly the enemy's, and all the cannon from the bastions, amounting in the whole to thirteen, attended with three cheers from the troops on the bastions.

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Here is an incident of the defense of Fort Stanwix, of a time probably after the Oriskany battle, from Judge Pomeroy Jones's "Annals of Oneida County": "A sentinel, posted on the northwest bastion of the fort, was shot with a rifle while walking his stated rounds in the gray of the morning; the next morning the second met the same fate, on the same post; the crack of the rifle was heard but from whence it came, none could conjecture, and the alarm being given, no enemy could be discovered. Of course, on the third night this station was dreaded as being certain death and the soldier to whose lot it fell, quailed and hung back; but, to the surprise of the whole guard, a comrade offered to take his place and was accepted. Towards morning, the substitute sentinel drove a stake into the ground at the spot where his predecessors had been shot, on which he placed his hat and watch coat and with the help of a cord and a well stuffed knapsack, he soon had a very good apology for a portly soldier, who stood to the life at 'support arms', with his trusty shining musket. Having thus posted his 'man of straw', he quietly sat down behind the parapet closely watching through an embrasure for coming events. At early dawn, the well known report of the same rifle was heard, and the column of smoke ascending from the thick top of a black oak tree some 30 or 40 rods distant, showed the whereabouts of the marksman. The sergeant of the guard was soon on the spot and the commandant notified that the perch of the sharpshooter had been discovered. A four pounder was quickly loaded with canister and grape, and the sound of this morning gun boomed over the hill and dale in the distance, immediately succeeded by a shout from the garrison, as they beheld one of Britain's red allies tumbling head foremost from the tree top. On examining the counterfeit sentinel, the holes through the various folds of the knapsack were more than circumstantial evidence that the aim was most sure, and that, had the owner stood in its place, he would have followed to his account those who had preceded him there. It is hardly necessary to add that the sentinels on the northwest bastion were not afterwards molested."

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After the raising of the siege of Fort Stanwix, by Arnold's American Army, supplies were sent westward to the fort. Provisions and military supplies had run low during the three weeks' siege and the garrison was in need of food, ammunition and many other war-time necessities. There were a number of Mohawk Valley soldiers in the garrison of Fort Stanwix. When the enemy ran away, several women, wives of the Valley defenders, decided

to visit the fort. A drove of beef cattle was sent to the frontier post at about this time to furnish much needed provender for the garrison of 700 men. A number of Valley women, who wished to visit their husbands in the fort, joined this supply train, riding westward on horseback. Probably others went with other supply trains. This particular supply train is known through one of those examples of simple humor, which characterize much of the Mohawk Valley Revolutionary anecdotal records. It was told to Pomeroy Jones, the author of "Annals of Oneida County", in 1850 by Nicholas Harter, a Revolutionary veteran, then 90 years old. Harter was one of the pioneer settlers of Utica—members of the Weaver, Reall, Damoth and Harter families, who settled Deerfield Corners (North Utica) in 1773 and who resettled there in the spring of 1784. As a boy of 17, Harter was at River ford in present Utica, when the train of cattle came up. The drivers were on foot, while the women from the settlement who were going to see their warrior spouses at the fort, were riding horses. "Upon arriving at the fording place in the Mohawk at the point named, and as one of the women was descending the steep bank to the river, a brawny Dutchman, who did not wish to wet his feet, jumped upon the horse's back behind the woman. The horse, offended either on account of this unceremonious accession to his load or else the reverse order in which his cargo was arranged, sprang forward and, by a well-directed effort, threw the Dutchman into the center of the stream, while the woman landed in safety."

As the account of the siege of Fort Stanwix shows, there were a number of settlers about the fort who took refuge there, on the approach of the enemy. One of the girls who were killed and scalped, was engaged to one of the young settlers, who was killed in the fort by an enemy shell, a double tragedy offering a theme for a touching love story. One of the settler's wives, who was struck by a shell, and severely wounded, gave birth to a child. These incidents are recounted in Colbraith's diary. Both mother and child evidently survived the siege. Besides the women and children from the adjoining farms, who sought refuge in the fort, there were evidently several soldiers' wives in the Fort Stanwix, during the siege.

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CHAPTER 65.

1778—MOHAWK VALLEY RAIDS.

1778—INDIAN COUNCIL AT JOHNSTOWN, MARCH 9—MANHEIM, GAROGA, SPRINGFIELD, ANDRUSTOWN, GERMAN FLATS RAIDS—BATTLE COBLESKILL, MAY 30, 1778—CHERRY VALLEY MASSACRE, NOV. 11, 1778.

The Fairfield settlement, north of Little Falls was the first visited in the raids of 1778. A party of Indians and Tories, traveling with snowshoes, attacked the place in the middle of March, 1778. Cobus Mabee was then moving to the vicinity of Indian Castle with his family, consisting of his wife and four children. Because of their exposed situation, many Fairfield settlers were going to more protected localities, a movement which was on foot during the earlier years of the war. In the latter years, the settlers of the Mohawk and Schoharie valleys were mainly collected in or around the forts. Mabee had gone to the new home, with his wife and two younger children, leaving his older children, John and Polly, to take care of their Fairfield home. The raiders scattered over the Fairfield settlements and two Indians, who knew the Mabees, ran to their home to kill Mr. Mabee. They found John cutting potatoes for cattle. He called to his sister in Dutch, "Polly, take care of yourself, or—" and then he was struck down with a tomahawk and scalped. Polly hid herself in some cornstalks and escaped death and capture. Simms says:

"Returning to his former residence after the enemy left it, Mr. Mabee found his unfortunate son—then fifteen years of age —still alive and receiving the caresses of his sister, two years younger than himself. As stated, these children had been sent from home to school and had well improved their time. They were devotedly attached to each other and John was considered the most promising boy in the settlement. Placing his son upon the sled, where Polly again acted the nurse, he drove as carefully as possible to (his new home in) the Mohawk Valley, but soon after arriving at the Castle the boy was released from his suffering.

"Of the Fairfield settlers surprised and carried into captivity were Conrad, Jacob, Adam and Joseph Klock, Mabus Forbush,

Robhold Ough, Adam and Rudolph Furrie, Henry Shafer and son, Henry Shafer, Junior. * * * No females, it is believed, were either killed or captured in this settlement at this time, and the father of Forbush, who was too old to make the journey and too bald to afford a bounty paying scalp was, by some freak of humanity or some other motive, left behind. On leaving Fairfield the enemy crossed over to the east Jerseyfield road and there captured John Keyser and his sons, Michael and John, burned his buildings and, from his sheep and cattle, they replenished their larder. The prisoners received their share of suffering on their way to Canada and probably all came back. Some of the dwellings of the settlement, from motives of policy, were not burned until a later invasion of the enemy."

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Early in 1778 the alarming news came to the valley that the western Indian tribes were to unite with the Mohawks, Cayugas, Onondagas and Senecas in a war upon the frontier, instigated by the Johnsons, Claus and Butler. Congress thereupon ordered a council held with the Six Nations at Johnstown in February and appointed Gen. Schuyler and Volkert P. Douw to conduct it together with a commissioner named James Duane, appointed by Governor Clinton. The Indians showed little interest in the conference and delayed coming until March 9. There were then present more than seven hundred of them, mostly friendly Oneidas and Tuscaroras and hostile Onondagas, with a few Mohawks, three or four Cayugas and not one of the Senecas, whose warriors outnumbered those of all the other Iroquois. Instead of attending the council the Senecas sent a message expressing surprise that they were asked to come while the American "tomahawks were sticking in their heads, their wounds bleeding and their eyes streaming with tears for the loss of their friends," meaning at the battle of Oriskany, which shows the extent of the damage the patriots inflicted on that fateful day.

The Oneidas and Tuscaroras expressed their allegiance to the United States and predicted the extinction of the hostile tribes. The rest of the Indians had little to say, excepting an Onondaga chief who hypocritically lamented the course of his tribe, laying it to the young and headstrong warriors. Nothing was effected by the conference, except the satisfactory expression of allegiance on the part of the Oneidas and Tuscaroras. The commissioners closed the council by warning the hostile Iroquois to look to their behavior as the American cause was just or a terrible vengeance

would overtake them. The Marquis de Lafayette, who was temporarily in command of the northern department was at the Johnstown council and considerably improved the frontier defences by ordering forts built at Cherry Valley and in the Oneida country, the three Schoharie forts garrisoned and armed and other border fortifications strengthened. Learning among other Tory activities, Col. Guy Carlton, nephew of the governor of Canada, was on a spying tour in the neighborhood, efforts were made for his capture, Lafayette himself offering a reward of fifty guineas for his arrest.

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Irruptions of scalping parties of Canadian Indians and Tories began in the Mohawk valley about 1778 and continued up to 1783, when a peace treaty was signed. It is impossible to tell of each of these because they were so numerous, and records of all have not been preserved. One of the first in the settlement of Manheim, occurred on April 3, 1778, under command of Captain Crawford, two weeks after the sacking of Fairfield, Herkimer county. About 50 Indians and Tories raided the Mohawk valley in the settlement of Manheim, near Little Falls. Among the Tories were L. Casselman, Countryman and Bowers, who had gone to join the British forces in Canada from the lower Mohawk. The marauders captured the miller, John Garter and his boy John and Joseph Newman and Bartholomew Pickert, who happened to be at the mill. At Windecker's place, James Van Slyck, his son-in-law, was sick in bed and, for a wonder, was unharmed by the savages. The prisoners made here and in the vicinity were John House, Forbush, John Windecker, a boy of 13; Ganet Van Slyck, another boy; John Cypher, Helmer, Jacob Uher, George Attle. The two latter were rangers on a scout from Fort Snyder. Garter's mill was burned, but no other dwellings were destroyed and no one was killed. Four Whigs were captured in Salisbury, Herkimer county. The march to Canada was made through the snow and great hardships were suffered. Windecker's Indian captor proved very kind and carried him across several rapid streams on his back. Windecker said afterward, concerning their scarcity of food, that "An Indian would eat anything except crow." This raid was one of the earliest of the war and was not marked by the bloody ferocity which characterized the later ones.

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The following, concerning the invasion of Ephratah in the Palatine district, in April, 1778, is abridged from Simm's "Frontiersmen of New York," Vol. II., pp. 146-151:

In 1773, 20 or more German families settled along Garoga creek in the present town of Ephratah and some at the present site of Kringsbush. These Germans were part of a shipload of immigrants, mostly from the district of Nassau near Frankfort-on-the-Main, which landed at Baltimore in 1773. Many of them settled in the Mohawk valley. The immigration from Germany, and even from Holland, into New York state was practically continuous from the time of first settlement up to the Revolution. On this voyage very rough weather was encountered on the Atlantic, the masts went by the board and the ship nearly foundered.

The settlement of Ephratah was so called after a place of that name in Germany. Prominent among these settlers was Nicholas Rechtor, whose father, Johannes Rechtor, came from Hesse in Germany and settled at Niskautau, six miles below Albany. These early Ephratah families all built log houses, except Rechtor, who put up a frame house and barn. Simms says this house was still standing (in 1882), "just back of a public house in Garoga, so called after the creek passing through it—the original name still attaching to the settlement." Rechtor was located about three miles west of the stone grist mill Sir William Johnson had built for the use of that region which was then known as Tilleborough. Within a radius of five or six miles from Nicholas Rechtor's house the following were located: Jacob Appley, Jacob Frey, John Hurtz, Conrad Hart, John Smith, Henry Smith, John Cool, Jacob Deusler, Leonard Kretzer, Henry Hynce, Flander, Phye, John Spankable (now Sponable), John Winkle.

Among the settlers in the Kringsbush section were Matthias Smith, Leonard Helmer, Joseph Davis and his brother-in-law, John Kring, after whom the settlement was named.

In 1775, a small company of militia was organized among these settlers along the Garoga. The officers were Nicholas Rechtor, Captain; John Williams, George Smith, lieutenants; John Sholl, ensign. This company was in the Oriskany battle where Capt. Rechtor was thrown from and stepped on by his horse disabling him.

About four in the afternoon of April 30, 1778, about 20 Indians and Tories invaded the Ephratah settlement. Most of the farmers were making maple sugar. Rechtor was drilling 20 men of his militia company about a mile from his home. Six of the enemy made their first appearance at the Harts' home and killed Conrad Hart, the father, and took captive his son Wilhelmus, a youth of 16. They plundered and burned Hart's building

and from thence went to Jacob Appley's, where they destroyed all property. A daughter of Hart had, in the meantime escaped, at the time of the first attack, and ran to where the militia company was drilling. Instead of Rechtor and his men attacking the enemy in force they split up and ran singly or in small companies of three or four toward their homes. Jacob Appley, Daniel Hart and Peter Shyke went with Capt. Rechtor to his home.

The enemy had already reached Rechtor's. Here the savages, both Tory and Indian, found considerable plunder as the captain was well provided with the worldly goods for that time and locality. They were some time in packing up and Mrs. Rechtor, objecting to the wholesale looting of her household, was struggling with a big Indian over a long-handled frying pan. The Americans came up on the run and fired at the Indian. The shot struck the pan handle, glanced down and wounded the woman in the ankle. A general melee took place. Appley shot an Indian and was himself shot down. Shyke was severely wounded and Captain Rechtor was hit in the right arm. Helmus Hart came up with his hands bound, he having been tied to a tree when the Hart house was attacked. The Americans released his hands and he joined in the fight, which soon ended in the enemy running away.

At this time few of the settlers had been killed as they were in the sugar bush distant from their dwellings. Rechtor gathered all of his family (of seven children) that he could find and set out for Fort Paris, which he reached at midnight. The two youngest girls and the youngest boy could not be found in the bush, as they evidently feared Indians and would not venture forth even in reply to the calls of their parents. Appley was so severely wounded that he had to be left and, at his request, was propped up against the oven with a gun in his hand. Rechtor's little four-year-old boy Henry now came home and got himself some bread and milk and began eating it. Just then the savages came back. Appley shot and killed one and was himself killed and scalped and left with a bayonet sticking through his heart. The little boy Henry was killed and scalped and thrown into the creek. Here the dead little body was found next day, one hand still clutching the spoon with which he had been eating. The enemy's stay was short as they were gone when, shortly after, the two youngest Rechtor girls came out of the bush. Seeing Appley's dead body they ran in fright to their neighbor Hart's house. This they found burned and Hart dead and mangled and, so in great fright, they ran back into the bush where they stayed

all night. In the morning they found neighbors and were taken to Fort Paris, where they rejoined their family.

After leaving Rechtor's the enemy captured Peter Loucks, whom they took to Canada. A company of American soldiers, from Fort Paris, started in pursuit the next morning, May 1, 1778. They had Henry Flathead, a "friendly" Indian, for a guide. Coming upon the enemy's campfire this Indian gave a yell, probably to warn his red brethren. When the company came up meat was still cooking in the fire, but the enemy had vanished and could not be found.

At the time of the Ephratah invasion, two Indians of the raiding party shot and killed a girl named Rickard, as she was driving home cows near Fort Klock in the east end of the present town of St. Johnsville. Hearing the shot, George Klock came running out with his gun and as the Indians made for the girl's body to scalp it, he fired and they made for the woods and disappeared. Going north this pair of savages made John Smith a prisoner at Kringsbush and took him to Canada. He was a son of Matthias Smith, a veteran of Oriskany.

After the Ephratah raid most of the Whig families abandoned their homes, which were left standing by the Tories to afford themselves shelter on subsequent raids. Rechtor removed to his old home below Albany until after the war, when most of the surviving Ephratah settlers came back to their lands there. The raid along the Garoga was one of the first in the Mohawk valley attended with bloodshed.

On the day of the Ephratah raid a party of Senecas ravaged a portion of the Schoharie valley.

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Joseph Brant and his warriors gathered at Oghkwaga early in 1778. This place is now Windsor, in Broome county.

Brant appeared at Unadilla in the spring of 1778 and Capt. McKean was sent by the people of Cherry Valley with a small force to reconnoitre the Indian position. McKean injudiciously wrote Brant a letter violently denouncing him and asking him to come to Cherry Valley, with the taunting remark that there he would be changed from a "brant" to a "goose." Brant was enraged by this letter and answered it later with the Cherry Valley massacre.

Brant's first hostile movement of consequence, after his return to Oghkwaga in the spring of 1778, was to fall upon the little settlement at Springfield, at the head of Otsego lake. This was in the month of May and every house was burned but one, into

which the women and children were collected and kept unharmed. Several men were captured and much plunder was taken but no one was murdered, probably because of no Tories being present.

At this same time, in May, 1778, Brant started out to destroy the Cherry Valley settlement. While reconnoitering the village from a distant hill he saw a company of boys drilling on the open space in front of the fort. He mistook these young patriots for soldiers and, thinking this post was strongly garrisoned, he deferred his attack until a later time. Drawing off his warriors he repaired to the deep glen northwest of the village to see if he could intercept any travellers along the road to the Mohawk and so pick up any information. Lieut. Matthew Wormuth, with a companion, started from Cherry Valley that evening to Fort Plain. The same day he had left Fort Plain to tell the Cherry Valley people that the militia would come up the next day, as Brant was known to be in the neighborhood. While Wormuth and Peter Sitz, his companion, were riding along the edge of this glen on their return to Fort Plain, Brant's warriors fired upon them, mortally wounding Wormuth and capturing Sitz. Lieutenant Wormuth was of Col. Klock's Palatine battalion, and that officer came up the next day with the valley militia, but Brant had fled and all that could be done was to take back Wormuth's body to Fort Plain, and thence to his father's home across the river in Palatine. Wormuth had been a personal friend of Brant, who expressed regret at the young officer's death.

Brant's "regrets" and expressions of grief over the people he killed are ludicrous and merely the expression of a savage tendency to dramatize himself. Many other protestations of virtue like those of the savage Brant have fooled a lot of people.

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The American valley forts, during the Revolution, constantly had scouting parties out over the main trails to observe the enemy. John Adam Helmer (the famous Revolutionary scout) was one of a party of four rangers riding near Little Lakes when Brant's scouts came on them, on August 31, 1778. Three of the Americans were killed but Helmer escaped and rode over the 15-mile trail back to the Mohawk, pursued by Indians, one of whom he shot. He reached Fort Herkimer at sunset and scouts were immediately sent out to warn the settlers who hurried to Forts Herkimer and Dayton for refuge.

Brant's savages camped near the Shoemaker place in Mohawk and on August 1 he started to plunder, burn and destroy. Owing to Helmer's heroic ride, all the settlers were saved except two, who

were killed. The settlers fled to Forts Dayton and Herkimer, taking with them their most precious belongings. Brant and his red and white warriors devastated the country in the vicinity of these forts, early the next day, and the whole valley thereabouts was illuminated with the light of burning houses, barns and crops. Only two or three persons were killed in this foray, but 63 dwellings, 57 barns, three grist-mills and two saw-mills were burned, and 235 horses, 269 sheep, 229 cattle and 93 oxen were taken and driven off by Brant and his raiders. This happened on Sept. 1, 1778. No scalps or prisoners were taken and the enemy ventured no attack on the forts.

Outside of Helmer's truly heroic ride, there are very few available details concerning this raid which, in property loss, was one of the most severe ones that ravaged the Mohawk Valley during the Revolution.

The Upper Mohawk Valley did not have a Simms later residing there to describe its Revolutionary history in the great detail with which Jeptha R. Simms covered the story of the Middle Mohawk Valley during the War for Independence.

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Brant's next attack was directed at the flourishing settlements of Whigs along the Cobleskill. He made this raid, after murdering Wormuth at Cherry Valley.

As the year 1778 brought threatening invasions, a small company from Albany under Capt. Patrick was retained at the Schoharie stone fort to defend the residents while they attended to their farm labors. Scarcely had the spring opened when the enemy's trail was detected in the upper Cobleskill valley. The dreaded Brant with 350 Indians and Tories entered the valley at where is now Richmondville, unnoticed, and threatened the desolation of that beautiful valley.

Captain Patrick and Captain Brown were dispatched, with a small company of volunteers, and arrived at the residence of Captain Brown on the 26th of May, where they remained until May 28th when they moved up to the dwelling of Lawrence Lawyer. Scouts were kept out constantly but nothing worthy of notice transpired until that day when Lieut. Borst, his brother Joseph, and one of the Freemires were on a scout some miles up the creek. The latter was several hundred yards from his companions, seated upon a pile of driftwood fishing, when two Schoharie Indians, ONes-Yaap and Han-Yerry (the latter chief) with a savage yell intended to intimidate, sprang upon the bank of the creek from a place of concealment, and approached them.

After a friendly salutation, they began to reproach the brothers for being in the woods to shoot Indians who did them no harm. Joseph replied to the speaker, that they intended no harm to those who were friendly. Han-Yerry approached him, seized his gun in a playful manner threw open the pan, and gave the gun a sudden jerk to spill out the priming, exclaiming as he did so, "Yo yenery hatste" signifying "it is good if this be gone." Borst seeing the object of the Indian was to disarm him, instantly dropped his own gun and seized that of his adversary, and wrenching the flint from the lock, he replied in the Indian dialect "Yo yenery sagat," "it is good if this be served so." He then dropped his gun and clinched Borst, but the latter giving a loud whoop, closed manfully with his antagonist and soon brought him upon his knees. While they were each struggling for mastery, the other Indian approached the lieutenant and bade him surrender himself prisoner, but instead of doing so, he stepped back and sent a bullet through his body. Han-Yerry succeeded in freeing himself from the grasp of his adversary and, seeing his comrade upon the ground, instantly fled, leaving his gun. The lieutenant ran and caught up the gun of his brother, snapped it at the fleeing Indian but, as it was not primed, the latter escaped. On the same day George Warner and John Foster returned from Cherry Valley, where they had been the day before to carry a letter, doubtless to apprise that settlement of the proximity of the enemy. The day after Borst had the encounter with the Indian scout, the Cobleskill battle was fought, which occurred on May 29th. On the morning of that day, Capt. Miller, who was sent from the Schoharie Fort with part of a company to reconnoitre, arrived at Lawyer. Several of his men, one of whom was named Humphry, volunteered to remain with Capt. Patrick, and he returned to the Fort, before the enemy in force was discovered. After Capt. Miller left Lawyer's, the troops under Capt. Patrick marched up the creek to the residence of George Warner, who was one of the Schoharie Committee, and father of the namesake before mentioned. Warner's was the southernmost house of the settlement, and stood on a knoll at Cobleskill Centre. An orchard at this time covers the site. The troops had been at Warner's but a short time when 15 or 20 Indians showed themselves a little distance above the house, and the whole force was marched in pursuit of them. Brown was opposed to the pursuit and told Patrick he was afraid they would be ambushed. The latter ridiculed the idea, and was disposed to assign another motive than that of caution to the militia Captain who, stung by the imputation, then

yielded to the wishes of Patrick, notwithstanding the misgiving of his own better judgment. The enemy who kept up a running fight had not been pursued for a mile, before it was evident their numbers were increasing. A halt was made by the Americans near the present residence of Lambert Lawyer with the militia on the right toward the creek, and a sharp engagement followed. Both parties fought in the Indian style, under the cover of trees. It soon became manifest from the first, that the enemy was very great. After several of his men had fallen around him, Capt. Patrick received a shot which broke his thigh. Two of his brave soldiers, in an attempt to bear him from the field, were surrounded by a party of the enemy and shared his unhappy fate. A lieutenant under Capt. Patrick is said to have been spared by giving a Masonic sign to Brant. When Patrick fell, Brown ordered a retreat, which was most timely for had it been delayed a few minutes until the enemy could have extended his flanks, so as to surround the little band of patriots, few if any, would have survived that day. The families in that settlement, hearing the firing, very properly sought safety in the depths of the forest, or by rapid flight to Schoharie ten miles distant. On arriving at the house from which they had been so artfully drawn into an ambush designedly laid, three of Patrick's men and two of Brown's took refuge within it, which providentially favored the escape of their fugitive friends. Being fired on from the house, the Indians halted to dislodge its inmates, by which the rest of the party gained time sufficient to make good their retreat. The house was set on fire and three of its inmates were burned in its ruins. The Continental soldiers in attempting to make their escape from the burning building were slain. One was evidently shot, but was supposed to have been taken alive and tortured to death. The party who first visited the scene of blood after the battle, found this soldier not far from where the house had stood, with his body cut open, his intestines fastened around a tree several feet distant. In one hand was a roll of Continental bills, placed there by the enemy in derision of our country's almost valueless "promise to pay". It was subsequently known that the enemy fired at least 87 balls into one window of this house, at its inmates.

The names of the men under Capt. Brown in this engagement were: Lieut. Jacob Borst, Nicholas Warner, George Warner, Jr., George Freemire, John Schaeffer and Lawrence Lawyer who escaped uninjured. Six—John Zeh, Martinus and Jim Fester, Jacob and John Freemire and Jacob Schaeffer, killed. Peter and Henry Schaeffer, and Leonard King wounded. The whole num-

ber killed in the engagement, including Capt. Patrick, was about twenty-two. Five or six of his men were wounded and two made prisoners. More than half the Americans engaged were either killed or wounded. The enemy, as was afterward ascertained, consisting of Indians (mostly Senecas, Schoharies and Oquagos) and Tories, numbered over three hundred and fifty, and were commanded by Joseph Brant. Service, a noted Tory, who lived near the Charlotte River, and the Schoharie chief, Seth's Henry, acted a conspicuous part in the engagement. The loss of the enemy was never known, but was supposed to equal, if it did not exceed that of the Americans. A mulatto who was with the enemy at this time and returned after the war, stated that twenty-five of their number, mostly Indians, were buried in a mudhole near David Zeh's. He also stated that seven of the enemy who were wounded in battle died on the way to Canada. George Warner's house was the first one burned in the Schoharie settlement in the Revolution. The enemy after the engagement, plundered and burned all the dwellings in Cobleskill as far down as the Church, except an old log house, formerly occupied by George Warner, which stood near the present residence of his son David. This house was left, as was afterwards supposed, with a belief that its owner might return and occupy it, after losing his frame dwelling, which would give an opportunity to capture a Committee man. The dwellings burned at this time were those of George Warner and his son, Nicholas, George Fester, Adam Schaeffer, William Snyder, John Freemire, Lawrence Lawyer, John Zeh, John Bouck and John Shell (the latter owned by Lawrence Lawyer), in all, ten with the barns and other outhouses, making as stated in the record of the Lutheran Church at Schoharie, "Twenty buildings burned."

The two militiamen who took shelter in the house of Warner were Martinus Fester and John Freemire. The remains of Fester fell into a tub of soap in the cellar and were known by his tobacco box, and those of Freemire were known by his knee-buckles and gun barrel. Jacob Schaeffer was wounded in one leg early in the battle and was carried by his neighbor, George Warner, Jr., to a place of temporary safety, who agreed to take him to the Fort on a horse. After the battle terminated unfavorably, he was left to his fate, and was discovered by the enemy the next morning and was killed. The remains of George Fester were not discovered until a piece of wheat was harvested, into which he had fallen. Jonas Belknap, one of Patrick's men, received a ball in his right hip and was borne out of the battle by

Lawrence Lawyer. After having been carired to one side, Belknap discovered a hollow log into which he crept. The next day he backed out of his hiding place cold and stiff, and while seated upon a fence, reflecting on the events of the last twenty-four hours, he discovered two Indians laden with plunder approaching him, having two dogs. Unobserved by them, he let himself fall into a bunch of briars. They halted near him and the dogs placed their paws on the fence and growled. He supposed himself discovered, but soon one of them took out a bottle, from which both drank, and he had the satisfaction of seeing them resume their march, without noticing the irritation of their canine friends. Casting his eyes along the beautiful valley and surveying the ruins of the preceding day, he discovered the old house of Warner, on the west side of the creek still standing, to which he made his way. He found it unoccupied, but victuals were on the table and after eating, he laid down, faint and sad, upon a bed which the house also afforded. In the afternoon, two men came and conveyed him to the Schoharie Fort, where his wound was properly dressed and he recovered.

Henry Schaeffer, mentioned as being wounded in this engagement, received a ball in his thigh which brought him to the ground. The bone was not fractured, but the limbs were benumbed. He regained his feet but the instant his weight came upon the wounded limb he fell. Disencumbering himself of his gun and powder horn, after several unsuccessful attempts to run, action returned to the limb and he fled. He directed his steps toward Schoharie, and on the way fell in with Peter Snyder, his brother-in-law. They traveled nearly to Punchkill together, when Schaeffer, too weak to proceed, concealed himself and requested his comrade to inform his friends at the Fort where he might be found, desiring them to come after him. His fellow traveler went to the Fort, but instead of doing the errand as desired by his wounded relative, reported him dead. Schaeffer waited beneath the shelving rock until Monday morning when, by great exertion he arrived at the house of a friend at Kneiskerndorf. As he was so exhausted, he was prudently fed gruel until he revived, when he was taken to the Fort and cured of his wound.

After the engagement, the Indians burned ten houses and as many barns. The residents of the valley together with the remnant of the militia became panic-stricken and fled to the Stone Fort. The scenes witnessed within the fortress during the night and the following day after the battle were beyond the imagination to conceive. The struggle ended late in the afternoon and

as the torch was applied to the homes and the life blood flowed from patriotic hearts night cast her sable pall over the earth as if to hide the scene of suffering and desolation; the lurid flames cast their reflection upon the heavens telling the inmates of the Fort the result of the contest. From the belfry anxious ones peered along the border of the forest to welcome friends, and, as the hours rolled by, they brought weeping and frightened fugitives to recount the horrors of the day, and their own sad experience.

Frantic appeals were made by heart-broken mothers, wives and sisters, to equally helpless actors as themselves, for the restoration of dear ones who had given their lives for home and freedom or were wandering in the trackless forest or captives of the merciless foe—sighs, groans, prayers of the Godly, and curses of the frantic and wounded all intermingled and echoed along the walls of the Fort, once consecrated to the worship of a living God; thus was liberty's garland woven, such was our liberty's price.

The night after the battle of Cobleskill it rained and a dreary one it must have been to the surviving citizens of Cobleskill Valley, many of whom were in the forests to which they had fled from their burning dwellings, exposed to the mercy of wild beasts —foes less to be dreaded than those left behind. The wife of Lawrence Lawyer, with several other persons, was in the woods for three days, and finally came out near the mouth of the Cobleskill. Scouts were sent out to reconnoitre and look after the wounded and absent members of families, but it was several days before the dead were buried. Col. Vrooman with part of the Schoharie troops and Colonel Yates with a detachment of Schenectady militia went to perform the last sad duties for those martyrs to the cause of Liberty. As the weather had been wet and cool the bodies were found to have suffered but little change. A pit was dug near the place where the George Warner house had stood into which several boards were laid. The charred remains of the three soldiers taken from the cellar and the mutilated remains of those near were then buried within it. Pits were also dug, so as to require as little moving of the bodies as possible, in which Capt. Patrick and the other soldiers were deposited. None can realize, after a period of one hundred and fifty years has transpired, the solemnities of that burial. Several of the deceased left wives and children, to mourn their untimely fate, while all had left friends who had centered on them hopes of future usefulness and aggrandizement. This blow was a most severe one for the little settlement of Cobleskill.

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On the occasion of his visit to Johnstown to attend the Indian Council, in March, 1778, Lafayette gave orders for the erection of a strong fort at Cherry Valley and that a garrison be sent for its protection. "The fort was accordingly built during the summer. It was situated in the (present) Cemetery, near the Church, and a stockade enclosed the two buildings. A regiment, under the command of Col. Ichabod Alden, was sent from Connecticut and took possession of the fort in the summer of 1778. Unfortunately, Col. Alden had no experience in Indian warfare and underestimated the courage and ferocity of the Indian. The mere presence of the troops he judged sufficient to intimidate the redmen and refused to allow the settlers to move into the stockade, even after reports were brought to him that the Indians under Brant were rendezvousing on the Susquehanna, where they had been joined by a body of Tories under Captain Walter Butler, son of that Col. John Butler, who gained such an infamous notoriety from his participation in the Wyoming massacre."

Alden named the fort at Cherry Valley, Fort Alden. The subsequent raid and massacre and attack on Fort Alden by Butler and Brant, with 700 Tories and Indians is told in the next chapter.

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Late in the fall of 1778, at the request of Sir John Johnson, the Canadian Governor-General Haldimand, sent fifty men to recover his and his father's papers which had been buried in an iron chest on the premises at Johnson Hall. They recovered the papers which were found to be practically worthless from dampness. A Tory, named John Helmer was captured by American scouts at this time.

John Helmer was a son of Philip Helmer, who lived at Fonda's Bush; when he was captured he was imprisoned at Johnstown. The sentinel at the jail one day allowed Helmer to take his gun in hand to look at it, as the prisoner expressed admiration for it. Helmer, with the weapon, intimidated the guard and escaped again to Canada. With characteristic recklessness, he returned later to recruit British soldiers among his Tory neighbors and was again captured and jailed at Johnstown. Fortunately for the venturesome Tory, a sister of his had a lover among the garrison stationed at the jail, which was then also a fort; and he not only released Helmer but with another soldier set out with him for Canada. The two deserters were shot dead by a pursuing party and Helmer, although severely wounded by a bayonet thrust, escaped to the woods. Later he was found half dead and was returned to the jail for the third time. His wound, having healed,

he again escaped and reached Canada after almost incredible sufferings. Here he remained and made his home after the war. Among the Tory fighters seem to have been many of reckless valor.

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The Saratoga and Oriskany campaigns have been summarized in the Oriskany chapter. The national events from the fall of 1777 through 1778 are summarized as follows: 1777, Oct. 4, American defeat at Germantown; winter 1777-8, American army in winter quarters at Valley Forge, Pa.; 1778, February, French recognize American independence and become allies of the colonies; 1778, June, British evacuate Philadelphia and indecisive battle of Monmouth follows; 1778, July, Wyoming, Pa., massacre of settlers by British and Indians under Col. Butler; 1778, Dec., Savannah, Ga., captured by British. In addition to the foregoing, Washington won the brilliant victory at Trenton in December 1777, which so heartened the Americans.

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The following gives some details regarding the building of the Lower Middle and Upper Schoharie Forts and some Schoharie Valley blockhouses which were erected near it.

In November, 1777, Colonel Dubois and a detachment of Continental troops were sent to the Schoharie, where they wintered at the Lower Fort, now called the Old Stone Fort, at present Schoharie Court House. Adjutant Dodge, Major Rosecrans, Captain Stewart and Ensign Johnson were quartered in the kitchen of the chairman of the committee of safety. In addition to the stockade, built of pickets that were erected around the fort, two blockhouses were built, one in the southwest corner of the enclosure, directly opposite the window, and the other in the southeast corner. The grounds enclosed were about 150 feet square. The palisades or pickets were logs ten feet long and ten inches in thickness. In the northeast corner, where the cemetery gate is now located, there was a sentry box and beside it, to the south, was a small gate. To the west of it was a small hut built by Captain Snyder, to which his family resorted in time of danger and, during the winter months, he kept it as an inn for the entertainment of the soldiers. Rum and whiskey were generally used in those days and Snyder's hut was a favorite drinking and tippling place for the soldiers. Along the west and north pickets were small rude huts for the accommodation of the settlers when they came here for refuge from the enemy. The large gate was on the north of the southeast blockhouse. Each blockhouse had

a floor nearly level with the top of the pickets and a roof and shed connected each one with the main building. The sentinels in the cupola were protected by oak timbers laid breast high outside of the pillars. It was an actual sentry box, as, from its height, a large area of country could be seen and an enemy could not approach on either side of the enclosure without being seen, as the cupola was high above the palisade. The fort was often too small to accommodate both its garrison and the settlers who took refuge there in time of danger. The several buildings then standing to the east were then occupied. This fortification had the old Stone (Reformed) Church in the center, which made it an exceptionally strong post. It was known, during the Revolution, as the Lower Fort. It is now generally called the Old Stone Fort.

During Col. Dubois' command in the Schoharie Valley, in 1777 and 1778, several blockhouses were built along the Schoharie River for the protection of this exposed frontier. One was at Hartman's dorf, about midway between Middleburgh and the Lower Fort. One was at Kneiskerndorf, near the outlet of the Cobleskill into the Schoharie. A blockhouse was also built at present Central Bridge. In 1781 a fort was erected near present Cobleskill called Fort Dubois, which is mentioned under the chapter covering that year of the Revolution.

The Middle Schoharie Fort consisted of a palisade surrounding the stone house of Johannes Becker, on the farm owned in 1912 by William J. Pindar. The usual huts for use by the settlers were built within the enclosure. The Middle Fort was the headquarters of the Schoharie military district. It was built in the fall of 1777 and was somewhat larger than the Lower Fort. The Middle Fort had blockhouses on the northeast and southwest corners, where cannon were mounted.

The Upper Schoharie Fort consisted of a palisade and earthwork around the John Feeck house with blockhouses in two corners. It was generally commanded by Captain Jacob Hager, a noted Revolutionary fighter. It was near Fultonham. Near the original Feeck family burial plot stood the house of Johannes or John Feeck. It was begun in the fall of 1777 and finished in the following summer. The Upper Fort stood at the upper end of Vrooman's land. One side of enclosure was palisaded and, on the other three sides, a breastwork was thrown up consisting of logs and earth, which was ten feet high. This earthwork was wide enough to draw a wagon on its top. A ditch surrounded the earthwork. Military barracks and small log huts were

erected inside for both the garrison and for the settlers. Blockhouses and sentry boxes were built in the northwest and southeast corners, each mounting a small cannon to guard its sides. The Feeck house and farm were later owned by the celebrated Revolutionary fighter, Tim Murphy.

The Revolutionary forts of the Mohawk and Schoharie valleys were not built for defensive purposes only. Toward the close of the struggle many of the surviving farmers and their families came into the forts and lived inside the palisades or in huts erected in the immediate vicinity of the posts. From here the farmers went forth and cultivated the fields and, in spite of the constant raids, managed to produce a considerable quantity of supplies.

Drawings have been made supposed to represent the Schoharie forts which represent them as vast enclosures. These pictures are very misleading. Revolutionary Mohawk Valley and Schoharie forts generally averaged from 150 to 300 feet on each side of the square.

* * * * *

In July, 1778, Colonel William Butler, commanding the 4th Pennsylvania Regiment and three companies of Morgan's Riflemen, was placed in command of the Middle Schoharie Fort. Among them were some of the most distinguished marksmen of the war, including Lieut. Thomas Boyd, Sergt. John Wilbur, Joseph Evans, Timothy Murphy, David Elerson, William Leck, William Boyd, Philip Hoever, Elijah Hendricks, John Caraway, Derrick Hagadorn. Early in October, 1778, Col. Butler proceeded with the troops under his command to Unadilla and Oquago, Indian towns on the Susquehanna, which he destroyed together with large quantities of provisions. The troops suffered greatly on this expedition, being obliged to carry their provisions on their backs, to ford creeks and cross rivers and, at night, to lie down to sleep without blankets or the means of keeping their arms dry. The expedition was out sixteen days.

Col. Butler had a well deserved reputation as a valiant, aggressive and capable fighter. Upon news of the Cherry Valley massacre he marched to the relief of that fort. Being over thirty-five miles away, he could not reach the place before the enemy had decamped. A messenger from Fort Alden met him on his way, telling that the enemy had fled and Col. Butler returned to the Middle Fort. Col. Butler and his command took part in Gen. Clinton's campaign in 1779.

CHAPTER 66.

NOV. 10, 1778—CHERRY VALLEY MASSACRE.

GEN. HAND WARNS COL. ALDEN OF BRANT'S INTENDED ATTACK—COL. ALDEN SCOFFS AT DANGER—SETTLERS BEG FOR SHELTER IN FORT—ATTACK AND MASSACRE, ON NOV. 11, BY TORY AND INDIAN RAIDERS UNDER BRANT AND BUTLER—48 KILLED AND 40 MADE PRISONERS—HIDEOUS SAVAGERY OF TORIES AND INDIANS—FORT ALDEN ATTACKED NOV. 11 AND 12, WHEN ENEMY WITHDRAWS—VALLEY RELIEF FORCE ARRIVES TOO LATE—CAPT. WARREN'S DIARY OF THE MASSACRE.

A few days prior to the Cherry Valley massacre of November 11, General Hand, then in command of the Army of the North at Albany, visited Fort Alden and held a council with Colonel Alden and his officers. Alden was informed that Brant was on the march against Cherry Valley. Outside of sending out a scouting party, Alden seemed to ignore the menace of attack. He seemed one of that vain type of man who ridicules actual dangers, with the Godlike presumption that no men exist who would dare to harm him. Warfare and history abound in such defective intellects, the fools who make the tragedies of history. The conceited Yankee colonel, however, paid the price for his stupid vanity with his life. The inhabitants begged to be allowed to seek safety in the fort, which request Alden refused.

Brant, with a force of 700 Indians and Tories, made his descent upon Cherry Valley, under the cover of a rainy, misty November morning—November 11, 1778. The following is from "Sawyer's History of Cherry Valley":

"Soon after daylight, a horseman from Beaverdam rode in hot haste into the village saying that he had been fired upon by Indians. Too late Colonel Alden repented of his over-confidence. His scouts and outposts had shared in his confidence of safety and, in their consequent carelessness, had been captured by the approaching forces.

"Hard upon the heels of the rider came Butler and Brant [with a savage force of] twice the number of all the men, women and children in the neighborhood. On they came that cold, drizzly, November morning, bringing mutilation and death, or a yet more to be dreaded captivity, to the peaceful, innocent inhabi-

Monument to Col. Clyde on the left and Col. Alden's grave on the right, Cherry Valley Cemetery.

SITE OF FORT ALDEN, CHERRY VALLEY

Attacked by Brant and Butler during the Massacre of 1778. Successfully defended on November 11 and November 12, 1778, by the Sixth Massachusetts Regiment. Photo by the Author.

tants of the little valley. There was not time either for citizens or soldiers to reach the fort. Col. Alden, who was at the house of Mr. Wells and whose over-confidence was the cause of the massacre, hastened toward his command. He was hotly pursued by an Indian, who called upon him to stop. The order not being obeyed, the savage threw his tomahawk which hit the colonel in the head and this put him in the power of his dusky pursuer. He was killed and scalped.

"Meanwhile the bloody work had commenced in all parts of the little settlement. Many of the soldiers were either quartered among the citizens or were making them friendly visits. Sixteen of them fell beneath the murderous tomahawk and fourteen were taken prisoners. Men, women and children were killed indiscriminately or were taken prisoners, according to the mood of the Indians or the yet more barbarous Tories. The Indian war whoop was heard in every direction, mingled with the screams of the affrighted and the cries and shrieks of the wounded and dying.

"Here a husband and father was killed while endeavoring to protect his wife and children. There a mother was tomahawked while striving to guard her helpless offspring. Children's brains were knocked out before the eyes of agonized parents. Wives were killed while their husbands stood bound in the hands of the captors. A few reached the fort; some fled to the woods, preferring the chances of death by cold and starvation rather than certain destruction or capture at the hands of their barbarous enemies. In a few hours the work of destruction and desolation was complete. What was at sunrise a fair and flourishing settlement, with comfortable houses, well filled barns and lowing herds was at sunset a homeless waste, with only here and there a house, while amid the smouldering embers of the burned buildings were found the charred bones of the victims of the unholy massacre.

"The house of Mr. Wells was among the first attacked, the village having been entered at that point. The family were engaged in their morning devotions when the Indians entered the house. Mr. Wells was tomahawked while offering supplications at the throne of Grace. The entire family consisting of Mr. and Mrs. Wells, a brother and sister, three children and three domestics, were killed. One daughter, especially beloved for her kindness of heart and many Christian graces, having escaped from the house, was pursued by an Indian who, as he approached her, raised his tomahawk. She begged him, in Indian language to spare her life. A Tory, who had been a servant in her father's

family, and who knew her amiable qualities stepped between her and the savage, and asked him to spare her life, claiming she was his sister. The Indian pushed him roughly aside and buried his hatchet in the head of the innocent and pure hearted girl. One representative of the family was left, a boy who was at school in Schenectady. He ultimately became a prominent lawyer in New York City. One of his descendants was present at the unveiling of the monument, erected to the memory of the victims at the centennial of the massacre in 1878.

"The home of Rev. Mr. Dunlop, the venerable and beloved minister of the settlement, was attacked. His life was spared through the influence of Little Aaron, an Indian chief, who had attended Dr. Wheelock's school in Lebanon. Mrs. Dunlop was killed and mutilated in his presence. He was taken prisoner, but was not retained. With a daughter he went to New Jersey, where he died the following year, never having recovered from the effects of the awful scenes through which he passed at the massacre.

"The home of Mr. Mitchell was the scene of great barbarity. He was himself not in the house when the attack was made, though in sight of it. Seeing the impossibility of aiding his family, and hoping that his wife and children would be spared, he concealed himself until the party left the house. He returned immediately upon their leaving but it was to find Mrs. Mitchell and three children dead and bathed in their own blood. A fourth child was not quite dead, a little girl ten or twelve years of age. Taking her up tenderly he was endeavoring to restore her to consciousness when he saw another party approaching the house. He again concealed himself and from his place of concealment he saw a white man, Newberry by name, cleave with his hatchet the head of his little daughter. Newberry was hung [as a spy by General Clinton] at Canajoharie the following summer, Mr. Mitchell's testimony having much to do with his conviction.

"The Dicksons lived on a knoll about two miles below the fort. Hearing the Indians approach, Mrs. Dickson and her children climbed the precipitous hill back of their house and concealed themselves in the woods. Some time after the Indians had apparently all gone by, Mrs. Dickson, cautioning her children to remain in concealment, returned to the house in search of food. She was at once seized and killed by a party of Indians who had remained behind as an ambuscade. The children lay in hiding all that day and the following night. The next morning the eldest child crept to the brink of the hill and found the Indians encamped

a little below their home. One of the first sights she saw was a tall pole stuck in the ground, on which were hung a large number of human scalps and conspicuous over the rest was one of long fiery red hair which she knew at once had belonged to her mother. Later in the day a scouting party brought the motherless children into the fort.

"The first person killed in the massacre was James Gault, one of the original settlers. His house was half a mile north of the Dicksons and was, with that exception, the first house in the settlement in that direction. They had no notice of the approach of the Indians and the entire family was captured. Mr. Gault was at once slain. The other members of the family were only retained in captivity a day or two.

"Col. Samuel Campbell was from home at the time of the attack. On his return he found neither mother, wife nor children. Later he learned that Mrs. Campbell and four children had been taken prisoners. When the house was attacked it had been vigorously defended by her father, Mr. Cannon. He was finally wounded and the family captured, with the exception of one child, who was concealed by the negro nurse.

"Among those who escaped captivity was the family of Col. Clyde. The colonel was not at home. Mrs. Clyde, having learned of the attack, fled with her seven children and a negro lad, from the house before the arrival of the Indians and Tories. With the aid of the lad she succeeded in keeping the children quiet in their concealment, although the savages passed within a few feet of their hiding place. She was taken into the fort the following morning, as was also a daughter, ten years of age, who was separated from her when they fled from the house.

"A story is related of the escape of a family living in the fulling mill in Livingston's Glen, which has in it a touch of humor, the only break in the record of the sad and awful horrors of the massacre. Hearing the Indian outcries, the mother hurried her children up the bank on the side of glen. Telling them to conceal themselves in the bushes and cautioning them under no circumstances to answer any calls, no matter by whom given, she sought another hiding place and eventually reached the fort without her children. The following morning a scouting party tried to find the children, but no answer was returned to their calls and shouts and finally discouraged they sent a party after the mother. She had no better success. In vain she called them again and again. There was no response. Heart-broken in the belief that the Indians had captured them she was about to return to the fort when

one of he soldiers discovered them huddled together, in fear and trembling, in a dense thicket of brush, cold and hungry, but unharmed.

"As morning drew on, the prisoners assembled together and commenced their weary march down the valley, in a pitiless November storm. They encamped about two miles from the village and, after a sleepless night, upon the dismal morning of the twelfth again started on their doleful way. Mrs. Cannon, on account of her age and otherwise enfeebled condition not being able to keep up with the party, was killed and left by the roadside. A sad day's march and another sorrowful night, and then came the joyful announcement that the women and children were to be sent back with the exception of the families of John Moore and Samuel Campbell, whose prominence was such that their families were carried into a long and severe captivity. An exchange was not made until near the close of the war. Among the captives was the late James Campbell, then a boy of five or six years, who died about 1870.

"The fort was attacked upon the 11th, but the assailants were repulsed. An attack was again made on the 12th, but wisely heeding the remonstrance of the cannon of the garrison the attacking party soon retired and soon after departed down the valley. Two hours after they had gone a company of Continental troops under command of Col. James Gordon, accompanied by a regiment of the Mohawk Militia under Col. Klock, arrived at the fort, having been notified by some of the fugitives of the attack on the settlement. They were too late to do more than help in collecting the fugitives hidden in the woods and assist in burying the dead.

"The charred and mutilated remains of those who had perished were collected and consigned to a common grave in the village cemetery. It was decided to abandon the settlement in which nothing was left except the fort, the church, and here and there a house. The cattle had been killed or driven away; the grain burned, and the vegetables destroyed by fire or frost. Most of those who survived the massacre wended their way to the Valley of the Mohawk, where they remained until the close of the war. The fort was occupied until the following summer, when the regiment was ordered to join Clinton in the Sullivan expedition.

"The number of Indians and Tories engaged in the massacre at Cherry Valley has been variously estimated at from seven to eight hundred. Campbell in his 'Annals' places the number at

seven hundred, composed of five hundred Indians and two hundred [Tory] rangers. Another authority states that the force was about equally divided between Indians and Tories, while still another states that there were four hundred Tories engaged in the attack. As none of the authorities place the number at more than eight, or less than seven hundred, it may safely be assumed that the force numbered somewhat over seven hundred.

"The circumstances leading to the attack, as given in the Annals, were as follows: Capt. Walter Butler was taken prisoner while on a visit to Tryon County, in the summer of 1775, and confined in the Albany gaol. Pretending sickness, he was transferred to a private house from which he effected his escape and joined his father at Niagara. Here he procured command of a part of the regiment known as 'Butler's Rangers,' together with permission to employ the Indian forces under Brant. Burning with a desire for vengeance, he at once started for Cherry Valley. On his way he met Brant, who was returning to winter quarters at Niagara. The latter reluctantly consented to accompany him, Campbell states, at displeasure of being placed under the command of Butler. Others took the more charitable view that, knowing the vindictive spirit with which Butler was animated, he [Brant] was fearful that the outrages which would be committed would sully his reputation for humanity, of which he was very tenacious. Strange as it may seem to the majority of people who are woefully ignorant of the true character of this remarkable man, it was doubtless fortunate for the inhabitants of Cherry Valley that he finally consented to join his forces with those of Butler. His whole effort during the massacre seems to have been directed to protecting the women and children so far as he had the power. It is known that he endeavored, by taking a short cut, to reach the house of Mr. Wells in advance of the Senecas, the most blood-thirsty of the Indians, and to whom most of the barbarities of the massacre are to be traced, in order that he might protect them. Unfortunately he was delayed in crossing a large plowed field and arrived too late to save the lives of this very estimable family. Another act, showing his humanity, is related in the Annals: In a house which he entered, he found a woman engaged in her usual business. 'Are you thus engaged, while all your neighbors are murdered around you?' said Brant. 'We are King's people,' she replied. 'That plea will not avail you to-day. They have murdered Mr. Wells' family, who are as dear to me as my own.' 'There is one Joseph Brant; if he is with the Indians he will save us.' 'I am Joseph Brant; but I have not the

command, and I know not that I can save you; but I will do what is in my power.' While speaking, several Senecas were observed approaching the house. 'Get into bed and feign yourself sick,' said Brant hastily. When the Senecas came in, he told them there were no persons there, but a sick woman and her children, and besought them to leave the house; which after a short conversation, they accordingly did. As soon as they were out of sight, Brant went to the end of the house and gave a long shrill yell; soon after, a small band of Mohawks were seen crossing the adjoining field with great speed. As they came up, he addressed them—'Where is your paint? Here, put my mark upon this woman and her children.' As soon as it was done, he added, 'You are now probably safe.' She was not again molested.

"Brant's greatest act of mercy was in securing the return, to their homes, of the women and children captured at the time of the massacre. That he did not also secure the release of the Campbell and Moore families was, doubtless, owing to the fact that Walter Butler insisted on retaining them in order to obtain the release of his wife, who was held captive by the authorities of Tryon County, by effecting an exchange.

"The number killed in the massacre is given at forty-eight, of which sixteen were soldiers of the garrison. The captives taken have been variously estimated at from thirty to forty. The latter were all released the second day, and returned to their homes, with the exception of Mrs. Samuel Campbell and four children. Mrs. John Moore and three daughters, Mr. Cannon, several officers and men. Among the officers captured was Lieut. Col. Stacey, against whom Molly Brant had, for some unknown reason, a deadly hostility. In order to bring about his death, she resorted to the Indian method of dreaming. She informed Col. Butler that she dreamed she had the Yankee's head, and that she and the Indians were kicking it about the fort. Col. Butler ordered a small keg of rum to be painted and given to her. This, for a short time, appeased her, but she dreamed the second time that she had the Yankee's head, with his hat on. Col. Butler ordered another keg of rum to be given to her, then told her, decidedly, that Col. Stacey should not be given up to the Indians. Col. Stacey was afterwards exchanged.

"The prisoners were taken to Kanedaseago, Mrs. Campbell carrying a child of eighteen months in her arms the entire distance. Here the families were separated, the several members being adopted into different Indian families. Mrs. Campbell was detained at Kanedaseago about a year and then removed to

Niagara. Arrangements having been completed for her exchange her children were again gathered together, with the exception of one boy of six or seven years. Later, Mrs. Campbell found him awaiting her at Montreal, whither she was sent with her family. He had entirely forgotten his native tongue but spoke the Indian language fluently.

"At about the same time, Mrs. Moore and her children were exchanged and returned to Cherry Valley, with the exception of one daughter, Jane, who had, not long after her arrival in Niagara, married a Capt. Powell, an English officer of excellent reputation, with whom she remained in Canada."

Simms, in his "Frontiersmen," relates the following anecdote, giving Brant himself as the authority:

"Among those captured at Cherry Valley was a man named Vrooman with whom Brant was acquainted. Desiring to aid him in escaping, the latter, when the party was a few miles from the settlement, sent Vrooman back about two miles after a few strips of white bark, expecting that he would take advantage of the opportunity and escape to the fort. Greatly to Brant's surprise and disgust, in a couple of hours, Vrooman came panting back, bringing with him the bark.

"Col. John Butler, naturally sensitive of the stigma which attached to the memory of his son by reason of the inhumanities practiced at the time of the massacre, claimed that Brant's exhibition of humanity was prompted by a desire to cast discredit on Walter Butler's humanity. Brant always strenuously denied this, and pointed to his conduct at other places as evidence that he warred neither on women nor children.

"Although the greater part of the inhabitants of Cherry Valley sought more protected places of residence, immediately after the massacre, a few hardy settlers still clung to their homes, doubtless in the belief that there was so little in the way of plunder left to repay them that the Indians would not make another attack, or perhaps, in their poverty, dreading more the seeking of new homes among a strange people than the chance of an attack from the Indians.

"Only two incidents of especial moment occurred during the early winter [of 1778-1779] following the massacre. The first was the killing, by the Indians, of John Thompson, a son of Alexander Thompson, a resident of Cherry Valley, who had fled to the Mohawk at the time of the massacre. Young Thompson, who was a promising youth of about twenty, had started to ride up from the Mohawk with a party of young men to visit his former

home. When at almost the identical spot at which Lieut. Wormuth was slain they were fired upon by a party of Indians and Thompson was instantly killed. The remainder of the party escaped.

"The other incident which occasioned considerable talk at the time, was the hanging of Wiggy Willson. Willson's sympathies were known to be with the Tories and he was suspected by the settlers of acting as a spy on the settlement. At about the time of the killing of young Thompson, and perhaps in consequence of that act, the garrison became suspicious that the Indians contemplated another attack on the settlement. It was thought that Wiggy Willson might be able to give information regarding the intentions of the Indians. Accordingly a party, composed of settlers and soldiers, visited him and demanded that he should inform them as to the intentions of his red friends. Unfortunately for himself he could not give the desired information; doubtless for the reason that he was as ignorant of the matter as his neighbors. The latter had, however, little faith in Wiggy's sincerity, and believing that a little 'moral suasion' was needed, produced a rope and in a moment he was swinging from a convenient apple-tree. Leaving him thus suspended a sufficient length of time to convince him of their earnestness, and to give him a fair idea of the unpleasantness of that means of ending life, he was let down to the ground. The shock had, however, added neither to his knowledge nor imagination and he was again suspended in the air. This time he was allowed to hang so long that it was only after much labor that his blood was started in circulation. Frightened at their narrow escape from committing murder the settlers took a hasty departure, leaving the rope with Wiggy alike as a warning and a momento. The episode created a good deal of unfavorable comment at the time but it completely cured Wiggy of his Tory proclivities.

"Brant, when some time after he heard of a reflection made on his cruelty, by a resident of Cherry Valley, retorted that 'he had never himself made war on women or children, nor hanged a neighbor on suspicion.'

"John Foster was another resident whose Toryism was more pronounced than that of Wiggy Willson. Brant himself visited him in the summer [of 1778] preceding the massacre and there is little doubt but that he was in constant communication with the Indian and Tory leaders. It seems somewhat singular but apparently after the war all ill feeling between the patriots and the Tories appears to have been dropped, so far at least as this

settlement was concerned. Foster continued to live here many years after the close of war and was always well treated. In fact 'Old Jacky Foster' became quite popular during his later years. Foster and Willson were both illiterate men."

* * * * *

The site of Fort Alden lies on the west side of the Cherry Valley Cemetery and on and across the highway on its front. The fort's location is marked by cannon. In the cemetery is a handsome monument erected to the memory of the victims of the Cherry Valley massacre and the Revolutionary heroes of the town, on the centennial of the massacre in 1878.

The eastern face of this stone reads:

Vicus	Sacred to the Memory	Vastatus
1740	of those who died by	1778
Conditus	Massacre	Per Caedam

in the destruction of this village
at the hands of the Indians and Tories
under Brant & Butler
Nov. 11, A. D. 1778

The four sides of the monument, at the top, bear the words:

"Cherry Valley, Oriskany, Frontenac, Durlagh."

The western face of the monument reads:

"Col. Ichabod Alden, XIV private soldiers, Robert Wells, his wife, Mary Dunlop, their four children, John Wells, Jane Wells and three servants, Wm. Gallt, Mrs. Elizabeth Dickson, Mrs. Eleanor Cannon, Mr. and Mrs. Gill, Mrs. Jane Scott, & others, above Forty in all, whose bodies lie near this spot—mostly in a common grave beneath this stone,

also

Lieut. Robt. Campbell, killed at Oriskany, Lieut. Wormwood, shot by Brant at Tekaharawa, Maj. Robt. McKean & his men who fell at Durlagh."

* * * * *

The many references to Brant's "humanity" sound ridiculous to the historian who follows his bloody career through the Mohawk Valley during the Revolution. Joseph Brant led raiding expeditions through the Mohawk Valley which had for their objects the killing of the patriot men, women and children and the burning of their homes, barns and crops and the destruction or capture of their livestock. The object was to eliminate human life and property in the valley, as far as the Whigs were concerned. Brant led bands of Indian savages on these expeditions. These barbarians went to war, not for the sake of King George

and his cause, but for the pleasure of murdering, burning and plundering, which was the Indian warrior's highest ideal of pleasure aside from his delighted gambols around his burning and tortured victims. Our own Nordic ancestors had much the same ideas of war and amusement some five thousand years ago. However, it is ridiculous to conceive of Brant leading great bands of bloodthirsty devils against the Mohawk Valley and at the same time try to consider him as posing as a humanitarian among the bloody, screaming orgies which he planned and executed. Where Brant saved one twenty were killed. Brant had a keen sense of the theatrical. However, with all his savagry and drunkenness, Joseph was not as much of a savage as his sister Molly, who begged Colonel Butler for the head of Colonel Stacey, second in command at Cherry Valley, that she and the other Indians at Niagara might kick it about the yard—Molly having a grudge against the patriot colonel.

Because our own remote ancestors were equally savage does not excuse a silly and sentimental attitude toward the beastly white Tories and the naturally savage and bloodthirsty Indians who ravaged our valley from end to end and left trail after trail of bloody corpses and of blackened ruins to mark their career of horror during the Revolution.

* * * * *

Col. Klock at the head of the Mohawk Valley militia and the commander of the Continental troops who came up from Fort Plain to the relief of Fort Alden and Cherry Valley, are accused by Captain Warren of slowness and timidity in not marching boldly to attack Brant's raiders. Warren's diary follows, in which he accuses the relief force of lying in the woods until they were sure the enemy had gone. The facts of the case are difficult to ascertain at this late day. The Tryon County militia and its leaders showed no timidity on other occasions and it is hard to believe that they were guilty of anything of the sort. It is undeniable that they were slow in coming to the relief of Fort Alden, but we are unfamiliar with all the circumstances.

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The following is a diary of Captain Benjamin Warren of the 6th Massachusetts Regiment, commanded by Col. Icabod Alden, which was stationed at Cherry Valley at the time of the terrible massacre of November 11th, 1778. The portion of the journal from the time of the regiment's arrival in August, 1778, until a short time after the massacre is here printed in full because it gives new light on the massacre, as well as some interesting de-

scription of scouting parties from Cherry Valley and details of the raid of 1778 at German Flats. Captain Warren also makes the assertion that the Mohawk Valley militia, under Colonel Klock, marched up from Fort Plain and its surrounding posts and remained in camp within four miles of Cherry Valley until assured that the enemy had fled. Warren's journal has had no prior publication in any Mohawk Valley history so far as the writer knows. It certainly is one of our most valuable Revolutionary documents.

David E. Alexander in his notes on this diary (Journal of American History, Vol. 3, pp. 377-384) says:

"This is the remarkable narrative of a soldier's experience at the massacre of Cherry Valley in the American Revolution in 1778. It was recently revealed while searching through the manuscripts of the priceless Jared Sparks collection in the library at Harvard University. * * *

"This is undoubtedly one of the most valuable contributions to American history, bringing as it does new evidence to bear upon one of the most terrible massacres in American warfare. Moreover the witness is one of the great Americans of the Revolution—Capt. Benjamin Warren, who it is said refused a generalship to fight in the ranks. His experiences on the battlefield of Saratoga, one of the fifteen decisive battles of the world, were recorded from his own manuscripts in the preceding issue of the Journal of American Hostory (Vol. 3, pp. 202-216), with a brief biography of Capt. Warren. His experiences at the massacre of Cherry Valley add a new chapter to his career."

The following regarding Captain Warren is taken from the aforementioned source:

"Benjamin Warren was born in Plymouth, Massachusetts, on March 13, 1739, and was the son of Captain Benjamin Warren, the first of that family in America, who left Plymouth, England, and sailed on the Mayflower. He (Captain Warren) was a sergeant in Captain Abraham Hammatt's company. Warren was subsequently advanced to ensign and later lieutenant in the 25th Continental Infantry. In January, 1777, he became captain of the 7th Massachusetts Infantry, which, with other Massachusetts troops, served in the Saratoga campaign, during which Captain Warren wrote his famous diary of the decisive American victories of that period. He was later transferred to Colonel Ichabod Alden's Sixth Massachusetts Regiment, which was stationed at Cherry Valley at the time of the massacre, November 10th,

1778. Warren became a brigade major in 1781 and retired from the Service January 1, 1783. He died June 10, 1825, aged 85 years.

Captain Warren, under date of September 3rd, 1777, mentions "that at Fort Stanwix the enemy had raised the siege and fled," but he makes no reference to the battle of Oriskany.

Extracts from Captain Warren's diary follow, relative to his arrival and stay at Fort Alden, Cherry Valley, and the massacre there on November 11th, 1778.

"July—Friday, 24th, 1778. This morning drew provisions, cooked and took wagons on the south side [Mohawk] river; loaded our baggage and marched for Cherry Valley, soon after we began our march, came on heavy rain; about four o'clock arrived at the garrison, which was a meeting house picketed in, with a large number of distressed inhabitants crowded in; men, women and children; drew some rum for the men and placed them in their several quarters; the inhabitants received us with the greatest tokens of joy and respect and it was like a general gaol delivery; they began to take the fresh air and moved into the nearest houses, from their six weeks confinement in that place.

"Saturday, 25th. This morning shifted my linen and went out, having a very good night's rest after our fatigue, having marched now one hundred and eighty miles with stopping but two days during the whole march; paraded our men; called the roll; took breakfast and went down to the garrison [fort], consulted with the officers the best method of fortifying and covering our men. They being distributed in barns.

"Sunday, 26th. This morning, after roll call, went down to the garrison and from thence to the Col. quarters; about eleven o'clock returned to the garrison, where we had a sermon preached by the Rev. Mr. Johnson from these words: 'Be of good courage and play the man for our people and to these cities of our God, and the Lord will do what seemeth Him good.'

"Monday, 27th. I was officer of the day to inspect the guards and relieve Capt. Colburn.

"Tuesday, 28th. This morning it rained; did not go on the parade; about 12 o'clock Ensign Charles went with a party to guard the waggons down the [Mohawk] river after provisions. Nothing material or worthy of notice until August 10th; in the interim Col. Alden arrived.

"August 10th. On this day received intelligence of Brant and his party's design of attacking this garrison, by an express from Gen. Stark, in consequence of which Capt. Ballard with a party of 60 men was sent out to make discovery, who went to the but-

ternuts [Butternut Creek]. Took 14 tories of Brants party, collecting cattle, and about 100 head of cattle and horses. 40 sheep; all the troops on the ground were employed fortifying.

"August 16th. A small scout of six men went out near Tunalaefs [John Tunaeliffe, later Tunicliffe, at present Richfield Springs] fell in with a small party of Indians; killed one, but the rest escaped.

"[August] 19th. On receiving intelligence, by one of our scouts, that Brant and his party was to be at Tunaeliss, a party of 150 men commanded by Col. Stacy, marched by the way of Lake Osago [Otsego] came to houses about 17 miles and lodged there.

"[August] 21st. This morning about daybreak, paraded; marched through low and swampy ground; about ten o'clock crossed two creeks and twelve o'clock arrived on a mountain, looked down on Tunaeliss house; made no discovery of the enemy; sent a party each way to the right and left to surround the house; we then rushed down, found none of them, though a sumptious dinner prepared for the enemy, who, on our arrival at the house, fired a gun in the woods near us and some was seen to run off; the woman would give us no information but a lad, being threatened, informed that some Indians had been there that morning; we made good use of the victuals and proceeded to the foot of Schuyler's Lake; forded the creek and marched down to Schuyler's house, about nine miles; made no discovery of the enemy; lodged there.

"August 22nd. About six o'clock this morning, paraded and marched down by Young's Lake, through Springfield that was burnt [in May, 1778] to Cherry Valley about 66 miles lower; received intelligence that the French fleet was gone to Rhode Island to cover the landing of their troops and to lay siege to that place. On the British General receiving intelligence thereof the English fleet pursued them; on which an engagement ensued, in which the English fleet came off with loss and returned to York.

"[August] 28th. This day was informed by a letter from Albany that the French fleet had returned to Rhode Island and had brought in 25 sail of vessels prizes, viz; one sixty-four, two frigates, a number of tenders and transports to make up that number. By an English paper in the House of Lords in June it appeared that, in 1777, the King of Britain had in the sea and land service in America 60 odd thousand and that, by the returns, it appeared that his army, by being killed, wounded and taken, had diminished in America 28 thousand.

"September, 1778. We sent a scout down to Tunadilla [Unadilla] who took three prisoners out of their beds and came off discovered; who gave information, on examination, Brant was to muster and arm his men the next day, and march for this place or the flats [German Flats]; that his party was about four or five hundred strong. The Col. on getting this intelligence, sent dispatches to the General at Albany, to German Flats and to Scoharry, which intelligence proved true; for about a week after the enemy came and attacked the flats in the night of the 17th, burnt most of the houses and barns with grain, and drove off most of their cattle; killed or wounded but few of the inhabitants, they fled to the fort, and notwithstanding the timely notice, through the negligence of Capt. Clark, they had few men in the fort [Fort Herkimer] and his still greater negligence in not giving us timely notice, when they did come the enemy escaped with most of their plunder. Immediately on our receiving intelligence, which was 24 hours after it was done, though but 12 [22] miles distant, Major Whiting went out with 180 men; who pursued them as far as the butternuts, but could not overtake them; he took three of their party, tories, and brought them in, with some stock they left in their hurry; meanwhile the enemy were at German flats, a party of our Oneida Indians went down from fort Stanwix; fell on Tunadilla, burnt and took the spoil and brought off a number of prisoners; some continentals they retook that were prisoners there. Brants party, fearing the country would be upon their backs, made what haste they could; a division of them arrived first at Tunadilla and found the place had been beset with our people and put off immediately; the other coming in, found part of their party gone off; left all and followed them to Niagara. Col. Butler of Scoharry sent down a scout and found they had fled; he marched with his regiment and riflemen and Indians to the number of 500 men immediately for Susquehanna.

"Oct. 1st. Col. Alden received orders to arrange his regiment agreeable to the new establishment, which takes place from 1st inst. Oct. in the following order:

"1st. Capt. Ballard, Lieut. Lunt, Ensign Parker.

"2nd. Infantry Coburn, Lieut. Bufington, Lieut. Givens.

"3rd. Capt Day, Adjutant and Lieut White, Lieut. Day.

"4th. Capt. Warren, Lieut. Maynard, Ensign Bragnall.

"5th. Capt. Reed, Lieut. Holden, Ensign and Paymaster Tucker.

"6th. Capt. Lane, Lieut. Peabody, Ensn. and Q. Master Kindry.

"7th. Capt. Lieut. Parker, Lieut. Trowbridge.

"8th. L: C., Lieut. Curtis, Lieut. Carter.

"9th. M: Lieut. Thorpe, Ensign Garrett.

"Lieut. Billings requested a discharge and Ensign Charles was dropt. Mr. Hicker was chosen paymaster and had an appointment in the lines, but declined; on which Ensign Tucker was chosen.

"By intelligence from Albany we learn that the Brest fleet had arrived on our coast. By a young man belonging to the [Mohawk]river, who was retaken at Tunadilla, we learn that Lieut. Maynard was very ill treated by the Indians. Ensigne arrived from Albany who brings us information that our regiment was talked of to take Gansworts [Gansevoort's] place at Fort Stanwix, but we thought that Vansoits [Van Schaick's] would and we should march down in about three weeks. Mr. Smith, the Commissary of Massachusetts stores arrived, which was a welcome visitor. At the sale of the tory effects, I bought a horse for 85 dollars. Gave Lieut. Billings an order on Tobez Elwell to take my mare and dispose of her for me, if said Elwell had not sold her; if he had, Billings was to receive the pay for me and keep it till called for, or pay it to my wife at Plymouth.

"October 10th. It began raining and lasted until the twelfth and snowed so that considerable was left on the ground.

"October 12th. Cleared up and froze hard. 13th. It continued cold and blustering; yesterday Serjeant Bartlett joined the company from West Point; informed that the regiment was likely to be removed from here soon; Mr. Hickens left the regiment to go down after money for the regiment, by which means the Artillery company was put under my charge.

"About the first of November Gen. Hand who was ordered to the command of the Northern Department came to direct us to determine on the expediency of quartering troops here this winter. He called for a return of what ordnance stores, ammunition, atc. I had in the garrison; meanwhile an express arrived from Fort Stanwix, informing that one of the Oneidas was at a council of war of the enemies, in which it was determined to visit Cherry Valley. The General had the regiment turned out and reviewed them; he payed us a high compliment in orders and in consequence of the express, he went down and ordered Col. Klock to send immediately 200 men to reinforce us, which the Gen. wrote was to have been here the 9th of November and ordered up a large quantity of provisions and ammunition stores, which however did not come to hand nor any reinforcement of men and on Wednesday, the 11th about 12 o'clock the enemy to the number of

650 rushed upon us, surrounded headquarters and the fort immediately and pushed vigorously for the fort, but our soldiers behaved with the greatest spirit and alertness; defended the fort and repulsed them after three hours and a half smart engagement. Col. Alden in endeavoring to reach the fort was killed; Col. Stacy made prisoner together with Lieut. Holden, Ensigne Garret, the surgeons mate, and a serjeant, about 12 or 14 of the regiment; twelve of the regiment, beside the Col. killed and two wounded.

"November 12th. No reinforcements until about 9 or 10 o'clock. The Indians came on again and gave a shout for rushing on, but our cannon played brisk; they soon gave way; they then went round the settlement burnt all the buildings mostly the first day and collected all the stock and drove the most of it off; killed and captivated all the inhabitants, a few that hid in the woods excepted, who have since got into the fort.

"November 13th. In the afternoon and morning of the 13th we sent out parties after the enemies withdrew; brought in the dead; such a shocking sight my eyes never beheld before of savage and brutal barbarity; to see the husband mourning over his dead wife with four dead children lying by her side, mangled, scalpt, and some with their heads, some their legs and arms cut off, some torn the flesh off their bones by their dogs—12 of one family killed and four of them burnt in his house.

"Sunday 15th. This day some provision arrived being the first supply after the first attack when we had not a pound for man in garrison, for four or five days but a trifle of meat. In the afternoon a scout we thought had been taken by them, a serjeant and eight men, arrived in safe. By some they took prisoners they let go again; informed they had a number wounded we saw a number of them fall, so that we have reason to think we killed more of them than they killed of our regiment, though they butchered about 40 women and children that has been found. It came on to storm before the engagement began; first with rain, but for this day past it has been a thick snow storm.

"Monday 16th. The snow continued falling and is almost knee deep on a level. The Col. was buried the 13th with—under arms with all the honors of war—Though there was 300 men between this and the (Mohawk) river, most of them together before we were attacked, yet they came within four miles and laid there until they were assured the enemy was gone off. Col. Butler, though near 40 miles off, marched and got near and would have been the first to our assistance, had we not sent him word they

were gone off; we are here in a shocking situation, scarcely an officer that has anything left, but what they have on their backs.

"Tuesday 17th. The weather continued stormy; scouts were sent off, but no discovery made of the enemy near.

"Wednesday 18th. Nothing material; still stormy.

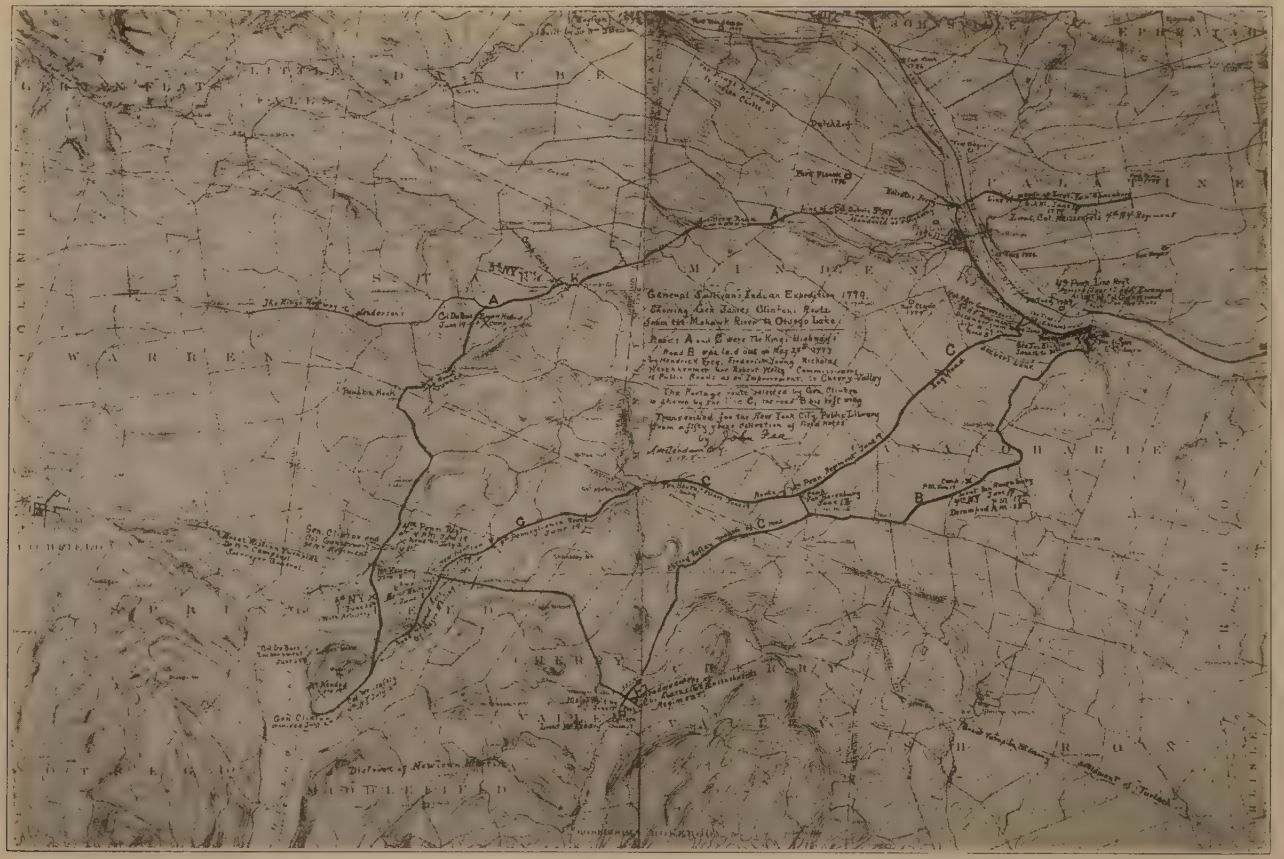
"Thursday 19th. A party of our men out discovered tracks on the mountains not far off.

"Saturday 21st. This day a scout from Col. Butler's came in from the river; informed that eight houses were burnt south west from fort Plank & 3 men made prisoners by the enemy; still stormy. Major Whiting got him a new house built and moved this day. Having cartridge paper come employed the Artillery men making cannon cartridges; received intelligence of Capt. Coburn's arrival at Albany with clothing for the regiment. I wrote to Major Desine to bring them forward immediately unless the Gen. should order us from this place, in consequence of our request for that favor.

"Sunday 22nd. This day by request of the Major, I took charge of a party to fix the guard house with chimney &c; wrote to the Gen. by request of the Major for a relief of the regiment and to have us join our brigade.

"Monday 23rd. From this to the end of the month, fatigue parties making ____ ____ ____ round the fort.

* * * * *


General Sullivan's Indian Expedition 1779
showing Gen. James Clinton's Route
from the Mohawk River to Otsego Lake
Roads A and C were The Kings Highways
Road B was laid out on May 25th 1779
by Messrs. Frey, Frederick Jacoby, Richard
Neshammer and Robert Wells Commissioners
of Public Roads as an Improvement to Cherry Valley
The Portage route pointed by Gen. Clinton
as shown by the C, the road B was left out
Transcribed for the New York City Public Library
from a fifty years collection of field notes
by
John Fea
Amsterdam
1917
WARREN
MINDEN
PALATINE
SPRINGFIELD
HERKIMER
Otsego Lake
Cherry Valley
Canajoharie
Fort Plain
Fort Klock
Fort Wagner
Fort Frey
Gen. Clinton encamped
Gen. Clinton encamped
Gen. Clinton encamped

CHAPTER 67.

1779. CLINTON'S OVERLAND PORTAGE MARCH FROM THE MOHAWK TO OTSEGO LAKE.

By John Fea, Amsterdam.

THE SULLIVAN AND CLINTON EXPEDITION OF 1779 AGAINST THE SIX NATIONS—GENERAL JOHN CLINTON'S ARMY MARCHES UP THE MOHAWK VALLEY FROM SCHENECTADY TO CANAJOHARIE; SUPPLIES AND ORDNANCE COMING UP THE MOHAWK IN BATTEAUX—PORTAGE MARCH, CARRYING OVER 200 BATTEAUX ON WAGONS, TWENTY MILES FROM CANAJOHARIE TO OTSEGO LAKE—THIRD, FOURTH AND FIFTH NEW YORK LINE, FOURTH PENNSYLVANIA LINE, SIXTH MASSACHUSETTS LINE REGIMENTS, WITH ARTILLERY, BATTALION OF MORGAN'S RIFLEMEN, TRYON COUNTY AND SCHENECTADY MILITIA, WAGONERS AND BATTEAUX MEN FORM CLINTON'S PORTAGE ARMY—FIFTH NEW YORK STATIONED AT FORT PLAIN; FOURTH PENNSYLVANIA AT MIDDLE SCHOHARIE FORT; SIXTH MASSACHUSETTS AT FORT ALDEN, CHERRY VALLEY—CLINTON'S ADVANCE PARTY LEAVES SCHENECTADY, FOR CANAJOHARIE, JUNE 11, 1779, WHERE CLINTON CAMPS WITH THIRD NEW YORK AND FOURTH PENNSYLVANIA—TWO TORY SPIES CAPTURED AND HUNG THERE—PORTAGE MARCH BEGINS JUNE 18, 1779—FIFTH NEW YORK, FORMING RIGHT WING, GOES OVER OTSQUAGO TRAIL—THIRD NEW YORK AND FOURTH PENNSYLVANIA, FORMING CENTER, GUARD SUPPLY AND BATTEAUX WAGONS OVER PORTAGE ROAD—FOURTH NEW YORK, FORMING LEFT WING, MOVES OVER CHERRY VALLEY ROAD—CAMPS ON THE MARCH—GENERAL CLINTON REACHES OTSEGO, JULY 2—CLINTON'S AMERICAN ARMY CELEBRATES THIRD INDEPENDENCE DAY ANNIVERSARY AT PRESENT COOPERSTOWN, ON OTSEGO LAKE, JULY 4, 1779—DAM BUILT AT OTSEGO LAKE OUTLET—AUGUST 9, 1779, CLINTON'S ARMY, WITH 200 BATTEAUX, MOVES DOWN THE SUSQUEHANNA—AUGUST 22, CLINTON JOINS SULLIVAN—AUGUST 29, BATTLE OF ELMIRA WON BY AMERICANS OVER INDIANS AND TORIES—IROQUOIS COUNTRY RAVAGED—MOHAWKS REMOVED FROM THEIR CANAJOHARIE AND ICONDEROGA CASTLES TO ALBANY—CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY OF CLINTON'S MARCH, ONE OF THE GREATEST FEATS OF ARMS DURING THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR.

The following chapter was written for the History of the Mohawk Valley—Gateway to the West, by Mr. John Fea, the historian, of Amsterdam. Mr. Fea was born at Cherry Valley and has lived there, at Fort Plain, in the vicinity of Ames, and at other Valley points as well as in Amsterdam. He early became interested in the history of the Mohawk Valley trails and roads and particularly in the Clinton routes taken by General Clinton's American Army in 1779, on its overland portage march from the Mohawk at and near Canajoharie to Otsego Lake. Mr. Fea has made this subject a lifelong study and has walked over all three roads many times. This chapter has been written from field notes Mr. Fea has compiled during fifty years of study of the subject.

Canajoharie was the chief point concerned in this movement, but the Happy Hollow Road and Fort Plain and the Otsquago

Trail were also involved. The exact batteau and supply wagon route taken by Clinton's men has been a matter of dispute. The two roads concerned in this controversy are comparatively short and they meet at Seeber's Lane, less than a mile from the Mohawk. The first road is that which leaves the Canajoharie village square and climbs Academy or West Hill, past the Hotel Wagner. It rises along the high plateau which forms the lower slopes of the Round Top, the height which dominates the Canajoharie section, with a sea elevation of 800 feet and one of 514 feet above the Mohawk. This road joins the old eastern Happy Hollow Road about a mile west of Canajoharie and about one-half mile south of the South Shore Highway. Clinton's Road runs from this point in almost a straight line past Sprout Brook and through Salt Springville to the present Great Western Turnpike, which it meets at Springfield. Mr. Fea says that Clinton's supply and batteaux wagons took the road which runs along the eastern branch of Happy Hollow Brook and which is now little more than a woodland path. It affords the easiest grade to the summit of the central south shore plateau, which averages about 500 feet above the Mohawk. By this route, this height was attained in less than two miles from the river. These factors had great weight in determining the route to be followed by the six and eight horse teams which drew the wagons laden with supplies and batteaux up this height.

The three roads were selected by General Clinton for military reasons. The Otsquago Trail force was the right wing, guarding the Happy Hollow center, while the regiment on the Canajoharie-Cherry Valley Road formed the left wing guard. As the supply and batteaux wagons moved southwest from the Mohawk over the center road, the right and left wings deployed and guarded the movement from attack by the Indians. Brant's savages seem to have erred in not attacking Clinton on his portage march or when he was moving down the Susquehanna from the site of present Cooperstown.

Clinton's portage march forms one of the greatest feats of arms of the American Revolutionary armies. It has had scant historical mention and Mr. Fea's article is the first full presentation of the subject within the writer's knowledge.

The editor has appended a chronological summary of Clinton's portage march for ready reference in historical study. Mr. Fea's important chapter follows. * * *

The hideous massacres of Cherry Valley and Wyoming, in 1778, by the Six Nations of Indians of New York under Brant

and the Tory Butler, led the Commander-in-Chief of the Continental armies to use energetic measures to subdue the atrocious depredations, by making an invasion of the Indian Country of the Six Nations to devastate and ruin their villages with a view of disabling them from further hostilities.

It was known that, in the fertile valleys of the Susquehanna and the Genesee and along the lakes of central New York, large crops of corn and vegetables were raised, not for the support of the Indians alone, but as supplies for the British Army. The territory it was proposed to lay waste was that occupied by the Senecas and Cayugas, then the two most powerful nations of the Iroquois.

Congress, on February 27, 1779, passed a resolution authorizing General Washington to take the most effectual measures for protecting the inhabitants of the Northwestern frontier and to chastise the Indians. A vigorous campaign was contemplated entailing the entire destruction of everything upon which the Indians depended for food and shelter. On March 6th, 1779, Washington appointed Gen. John Sullivan to take command of the expedition. The plan adopted was for the main army, under General Sullivan, to rendezvous at Wyoming, and from there ascend the Susquehanna River while Gen. James Clinton, starting from Albany, advancing with his brigade along the Mohawk as far as Canajoharie, was to transport his boats, troops and provisions overland to Otsego Lake and there await Sullivan's orders to form a junction with his troops at Tioga. To accomplish this, Clinton was compelled to erect a dam at the outlet of Otsego Lake to get sufficient volume of water impounded to float his loaded boats down the shallow Susquehanna to Tioga.

General Clinton, at Albany, had reecived his orders from General Sullivan on the 2d of June; but, in anticipation of these, active preparations had been making some time previous in accumulating stores and equipment. Before troops could be moved out on this expedition food had to be provided to support them. It is known that General Clinton had a three months supply accumulated, principally through the energetic measures adopted by his sturdy brother, George, then Governor of New York State. The purchasing power of Continental Bills of Credit was never at so low an ebb. Our most common staple commodities have never been so high in price in the history of our Republic. Flour was so shamefully manipulated by profiteers that the price soared to one dollar a pound.

On the 6th of April, Governor Clinton's instructions to Walter

Livingston, one of his new Commissioners, was to seize wheat, flour and meal in the County of Albany, for the use of the Army, and deposit such supplies in some safe place in the Manor of Livingston, there to remain until he, the Governor, gave further orders respecting the same.

The New York Army, commanded by Brig. Gen. James Clinton, consisted of the Third New York Regiment under Col. Peter Gansevoort; the Fourth New York (Livingston's Regiment) under Lieut.-Col. Frederick Weissenfels; the Fifth New York Independent Regiment commanded by Col. Lewis Dubois. The Sixth Massachusetts, or Alden's regiment as it was termed (from its late Col. Ichabod Alden ,who was killed in the massacre of 1778 at Cherry Valley), under command of Maj. Daniel Whiting, who had remained with the regiment at Cherry Valley to protect the place; the Fourth Pennsylvania Regiment, under Lieut.-Col. William Butler, who had been stationed with four companies of Morgan's Riflemen with Maj. James Parr, the senior officer in command, at Schoharie; a company of volunteers under Col. John Harper; Col. John Lamb's Regiment New York Artillery with the following officers—Isaiah Wool, Captain; Rev. John Gano, Brigade Chaplain; Thomas Machin, Captain; John Pratt, Assistant Commissary of Issues; Elisha Harvey, Lieutenant; William Popham, Aid-de-Camp; Dr. Stephen Macrea, Brigade Surgeon. It will be seen, from the foregoing, that three of the five regiments composing Clinton's army were from posts in the Mohawk Valley military zone.

The supposition generally prevailing among writers of history and contemporary records that General Clinton cut a road through the forest from the Mohawk River to Otsego Lake is ridiculous, as no such order is found in journals of his officers and roads following the former Indian trails were already in existence.

Previous to 1773, the roads coursing southward from the Mohawk Valley were scarcely more than the continuation of Indian paths made over into lines of clearing suitable to pass cattle through the wilderness to the inland settlers, but, in 1773, while under British control, and six years previous to the coming of Clinton and his army, the commissioners of roads for the Canajoharie District; Nicholas Herkimer, of the Fall Hill, Dutchdorf District; Hendrick Frey, of Frey's Bush, Canajoharie Section; Frederick Young, of the Canajoharie Creek, Sprout Brook, Turlock division; and Robert Wells, of the Cherry Valley, Springfield division; opened up and improved roads for the use of carts and wagons going to the interior settlements, thus making land

available for habitation. One of the roads thus improved was that running from present Canajoharie Village to Cherry Valley, known as the Cherry Valley Road. The old homestead building of Young was still standing, in the year 1863, near the present village of Buel, the writer of this chapter residing therein during that year.

The road marked B on the map attached to this chapter was designated an "improved road."

The Cherry Valley Road was the one used in deploying the left wing (as far as Sprout Brook) of Clinton's army. The road selected by Clinton for the portage of boats overland was the ancient "King's Highway," starting from Happy Hollow at the Mohawk River one-and-a-half miles west of the mouth of Canajoharie Creek. This portage road followed the left or south branch of Happy Hollow Brook to a point, about a quarter-mile east of the present Seeber's Lane Road. From this point it ran in a very direct, straight, westerly direction to Salt Springville and thence to Springfield. The south branch Happy Hollow Road is now only a wood road. The Seeber's Lane Road from Fort Plain to Canajoharie was not built until 1785.

The Commissioners had opened a new extension to wagon travel in 1773, from this road, at a point one-half mile west of the present village of Sprout Brook over through the valley of Salt Springville to Springfield. This extension had, previous to its enlargement, been a primitive path adapted to horse-back travel only. After being opened up by the Commissioners, it made the distance, to the residents of Springfield by wagon route from the Mohawk River, five miles shorter than by way of the Cherry Valley Road.

The Otsquago Trail, designated as A on the map, utilized by the right wing of the Clinton division, was an interesting road in all its details.

After leaving the river at Sand Hill near Fort Plain this road paralleled the Otsquago Creek inland about three miles in a westerly direction, then veered sharply southwest into the present highway at Hallsville corners. At the Loie Kill Brook the trail went over the hill through the Schnach and Wieting farms and passed at the rear of the present Levi Grey buildings, then took a direct line to the present village of Starkville, the main street of which forms its site. From Camp Creek, near Starkville, it went due west up the Steep Hill to the present Benjamin Ward farm house two miles from Starkville. Here it divided, one trail going to Otsego Lake, one up to Waiontha (Little)

Lakes, the other westward to Canandarago Lake. This last was a continuation of the ancient French trail from Canada which passed Johnson Hall at Johnstown and came through Stone Arabia to the Mohawk River. The Montressor English map of 1775 shows these roads plainly from the Mohawk River, also the ones to Cherry Valley and Springfield.

At the time of this expedition there was no wagon road along the Otsquago where the present village of Van Hornesville stands. The creek had its course in close against the west hillside and its bed was where the hotels known as the Orange Tunicliff and Signor Hotels now are. The bank, on which the village school now stands, diverted the creek eastward a hundred feet and it thence took a course along where the old Van Horne Stone mill is at the present time.

As it was found necessary to go over this short stretch of ground, to make connection with the Pumpkin Hook wagon road to Springfield, a log road was made in the bed of the creek where the hotels stand, and, over this improvised road, the two heavy pieces of artillery were taken up the trail to the Pumpkin Hook wagon road and on to Springfield.

The old Otsquago Trail crossed the creek near the present residence of Byron Wiles and is now the road to Willse Corners from Van Hornesville. It was on this trail that Matthew De Garmore, the hunter, trapper and scout resided.

The Waiontha beaver wilderness was well known to DeGarmore, who disposed of furs to John Tingue at his log tavern, a mile below Van Hornesville. Tingue, from his advantageous location, was on friendly terms with all who passed over the trails, being contiguous to all of those trails leading to his tavern, and he did a thriving trade with hunters and trappers and took the furs to Albany, which he bartered for rum and other things.

About one-half mile south of present Van Hornesville, a small settlement existed previous to 1775, in what is known as the Pumpkin Hook district. This was near the dividing line between the source of Otsquago Creek which flows to the Mohawk Valley and of Summit Lake, the most northerly source of Otsego Lake and the Susquehanna River. In this settlement resided three brothers, John, Sebastian and Mathias Shaul, also Frederick and John Bronner and a family by the name of Tetherly and a few others out toward Summit Lake. An old wagon road traversed this district easterly around Summit Lake, thence south two-and-one-half miles to Springfield.

Three miles west of Springfield and two miles from Otsego

Lake was the Waiontha Wilderness water-basin, which was prolific with beaver. At the present time the two pretty lakes there are commonly known as Little Lakes, with an outlet to Otsego Lake known as Lawyers Creek. In 1779, when water was held back by beaver dams on this outlet, the space covered three miles in length and over a mile in width within the borders of Waiontha, and at the present time this basin is the principal source of water flowing into Otsego Lake. The occupation of Matthew DeGarmore, in hunting and trapping beaver, gave him a better knowledge of the Waiontha water-basin than any other settler near its vicinity. He was early engaged as a scout to assist in breaking away the beaver dams when Otsego Lake had been prepared to hold the water of Waiontha at the time of Clinton's expedition.

Clinton's General Orders for the movement of troops commence on June 6th, 1779, at Albany, issued to the Third New York Regiment (Col. Peter Gansevoort's), and on the 8th, the artillery was ordered to hold itself in readiness to march at the shortest notice from Albany.

At Schenectady, June 11th, General Orders show the methodical movement of the Mohawk Valley part of the expedition, and is given herewith in full, from Capt. Leonard Bleeker's Order Book, following which is given a brief outline of the Fourth Pennsylvania Regiment, which acted as a convoy from Schenectady, taken from the Journal of Lieutenant Beatty. The boats to transport the provisions and stores of equipage had to be at hand and ready in the river at Schenectady. These boats were transported by land from Albany to Schenectady and loaded with the three months' stock of provision, all of which had been carted overland, and, at Schenectady, were put in charge of Henry Glen, a Division Quartermaster General, who loaded them and sent them up the Mohawk River under a proper escort.

On June 11, when General Clinton had his headquarters at Schenectady, he ordered Lieut.-Col. Pierre Regnier of the old Fourth Line New York Regiment to proceed to Canajoharie flats and lay out the ground upon which the troops would encamp. The Canajoharie flats had been the ancient maize land of the several Indian villages located on the highland of the Happy Hollow district in 1634. The flats had been denuded of all shrubbery for years and were now covered with luxuriant grass, which afforded excellent pasturage for the 500 horses and cattle collected there for this expedition. There was also a copious supply of springwater along the hillsides for the use of the troops.

"General Orders.

"Schenectady, June 11th, 1779.

"Tomorrow morning Colonel Gansevoort's regiment will proceed to load the batteaux now in the river, taking the direction from Mr. Henry Glenn, A. D. Q. General, with all possible dispatch. The commanding officer of the regiment will direct the officers to see that they are sufficiently manned. They will be divided in squads, each under the direction of an officer, who will see that those under his care are kept together, as he will be answerable for the cargo, until it is delivered at Canajohary. Commissary Pratt will proceed with the stores and provisions to Canajohary to receive it from the batteaux.

"When the detachment under Lieut.-Col. Butler (lately stationed at Schoharie) arrives in town, they will proceed to load the remainder of the boats in the same manner.

"Mr. Glen will take care that the boats now in his immediate service are loaded as soon as they arrive.

"The Qr. Mr. will spare no pains in collecting all the teams they possibly can, as a great number will be wanted.

"Those teams which may be collected in the vicinity of Schenectady or Albany will be loaded with the provisions and stores which may remain after all the boats are loaded."

Under date of June 15 Clinton notified his brother, the Governor, as follows:

"I have ordered one hundred boats to be loaded at Schenectady and transported up the river by the Third New York Regiment and the detachment under Colonel Butler, both which fleets have already sailed.

"I have ordered one hundred more boats to be in readiness immediately, as the General (Sullivan on June 2) has ordered me to embark all the troops and take no P. horses. I have ordered three or four hundred wagons to be collected at Canajoharie to transport the boats and stores across the carrying place to Lake Otsego the place of embarkation where I shall await further orders to proceed."

The batteaux of the army formed so important a part of the expedition that a description of them, gathered from Bouchette and Weld, will be of interest. They were flat-bottomed boats, having a plank around them to walk on or to pole, from thirty-five to forty feet long, each extremity terminating in a point; six feet of beam in the center; usual weight four and one-half tons; worked by oars; a mast sail; capable of carrying 1,500 lbs. of cargo; dragropes for towing, and long poles for setting them

HOTEL WAGNER AND CLINTON MONUMENT.

Monument marking the start of Gen. Clinton's army in its overland portage to Otsego Lake in the Sullivan and Clinton Indian expedition of 1779. Hotel Wagner (built 1878) is on the site of Roof's tavern, Clinton's Canajoharie headquarters. The Hotel Wagner is now owned and conducted by the Beech-Nut Packing Co.

CHERRY VALLEY MOUNTAINS.

Taken from Clinton's Road north of Sprout Brook, which is seen in the middle distance.

through the currents and rapids. The sides were about four feet high, and, for the convenience of the rowers, four or five benches were laid across, sometimes more, according to the length of the batteau. Four men managed them. On June 15, 1779, Clinton had his headquarters established at Canajoharie Creek. The debarkation of the boats on the Mohawk for the overland portage was at Happy Hollow Creek, one-and-a-half miles west of General Headquarters, and at the beginning of the portage road.

On the morning of June 11, the Fourth Pennsylvania Regiment and a detachment of Morgan's Rifle Corps, that had been stationed with them, marched from Schoharie, leaving 15 men there from each corps with proper officers for the safety of the place, and arrived at Schenectady at sundown, where they encamped. On Sunday the 13th, according to Lieutenant Beatty's diary, they crossed over the river opposite Schenectady and were put in charge of 36 batteaus to go up the Mohawk River with a quantity of provisions.

"Monday 14—Embarked in the boats at 2 o'clock, proceeded up the river very strong water went 3 miles encamped on the shore.

"Tuesday 15—Embarked this morning 8 o'clock proceeded on 10 miles middling strong water, encamped on shore."

This distance probably brought them up opposite to where the present Adirondack Power and Light Corporation steam plant now stands opposite Cranesville.

"Wednesday 16th—Embarked at sunrise went on 13 miles to Major Fundas where we encamped. [This was on or near the present Fonda Fair Grounds.]

"Thursday 17th—Embarked sunrise went up very good water all day, arrived at Canajoharie at sundown 17 miles where we found Colonel Gansevoort's Regiment encamped, we immediately unloaded our boats and encamped on the left of Colonel Gansevoort's Regiment."

Gansevoort was encamped on the flats near the Henry Failing residence. The distance from Fonda should read 13 1-2 miles.

The artillery detachment was from Col. John Lamb's Regiment. Isaiah Wool was its captain, Thomas Machin captain, lieutenant in the Second Battalion and Elisha Harvey, lieutenant. The ordnance consisted of a total of seven brass pieces; two six pounders; four three pounders and a small bronze mortar termed a "Coehorn." This ordnance was hauled overland from Albany to Schenectady, then transported by boats up the Mohawk River

to Canajoharie, where the small pieces were unloaded on the flats, and from there, together with the military stores, hauled over the portage road to Otsego Lake, after the boats had arrived safely at Hyde Bay.

After Clinton had arrived at Canajoharie on June 17, Major Whiting was ordered to proceed with that part of his regiment (the Sixth Massachusetts) which was stationed at Cherry Valley, to Springfield Landing (Hyde Bay) on the north end of Otsego Lake.

"He will apply to the Qr. Mr. Genl. for wagons to transport his Troops and Baggage. When the Troops arrive at the landing, he will throw up such Intrenchments as he may deem necessary, to prevent a surprise. He will exert himself in repairing the roads from the Lake downward. The Quarter Master General on Application, will provide him with Implements for that purpose. As soon as Capt. Dow arrives he will proceed to join his Regiment by the Springfield Road, which he will repair as he goes on. Major Whiting will dispatch a Party of Men to the outlet of the Lake, and erect a Dam, he leave a Subaltern's Guard at the Fort [Alden, Cherry Valley], to take care of the Stores and Sick till further Orders. When the Wagons arrive and are ready to proceed, Lieut. Col. Willet, who has offered his Services, will apply to Lieut. Col. Regnier for such a Number of Men as he thinks proper, who will issue a Detail for that purpose." Major Whiting and Adjutant White went from Cherry Valley and returned from Headquarters of Clinton with the orders for the Regiment to march from Fort Alden, for Lake Otsego, (June 18).

Lieutenant McKendry in his journal of the 6th Massachusetts Regiment states: "Ditto 18th. The Regiment marched from Fort Alden [in Cherry Valley] 11 o'clock A. M. encampt, this night in Springfield 6 miles from the Fort, Major Whiting ordered a fatiguing party on to mend the Roads toward the Lake, it was commanded by Capt. Ballards." McKendry journal records of the 6th Massachusetts is now given with their doings. "June 19th, The Regt. marched from Springfield with 8 waggons carrying the bagge. 12 o'clock A. M. Arrived at Lake Otsego 3 o'clock P. M.: Capt. Lane had gone forward to clear the encampment. Encampt on the heights [Mt. Wellington], 5 miles march this day."

In the General Orders issued at Camp Canajoharie Creek, June 17: "On the arrival of Lieut. Col. Wizenfelts Regiment, he will apply to the Quarter Master Genl. for Tools, and immediately

proceed to repair the Roads from this Place along the Cherry Valley Road till he comes to the Springfield Road, where he will take Post, until further Orders he will be careful to keep out Guards and Scouts as are necessary for his own security, as to afford every Assistance in his Power to the Waggons as they proceed."

The journal of Lieut. Rudolphus Van Hovenburgh of Col. Wiessenfel's 4th New York Regiment commences "Stone Rapie [Arabia] June 16," and reads: "Received orders for to March on the 17 and March about six in the morning, the Troops crost the Mohawk River at Walcoats [Walrath's] ferry and our Baggage crost at Major Freys and our party joined the Regiment at Cannijohary flatts and Marcht about fife miles on the Cherry Valley Road and Incamped there that night." This encampment was near the old Frederick Young home, one-and-a-half miles east of the present village of Buel, and at the junction of the Turlach road which goes to present Marshville, on land now owned by Attorney Newton J. Herrick. This determines Weissenfel's command and the march of the left wing on the new Cherry Valley Road.

On this same day, June 17, the Fourth Pennsylvania Regiment under Lieut.-Col. William Butler arrived from Schenectady and camped on the Canajoharie Flats, west of General Clinton's Headquarters and between the General's Camp and Col. Peter Gansevoort, who had his Marquee near the Happy Hollow Creek, at which point the boats were hauled out of the Mohawk River.

Lieutenant-Colonel Willett and Lieutenant-Colonel Regnier had charge of debarking the boats under guard of the detachment of Lieutenant-Colonel Butler's troops, who were detailed to escort them safely to the Springfield post, the destination of their escort, at which point, Colonel Butler had his headquarters at Middle Springfield Village on June 19 and the general supervision of the movement of loaded wagons and their escort to the lake, to Major Whiting's post at Hyde Bay.

On June 17, Colonel John Harper's Company of volunteers were posted on the Dutchdorf Kings Highway, leading to Indian Castle (from present Fort Plain now known as the Dutchtown Road) and a stand of artillery, under command of Capt. Thomas Machin, placed on Sand Hill, northwest of Fort Plain. Machin and his Lieut. Elisha Harvey had two pieces of ordnance (6 pounders) to cover the right wing movement. The other piece was placed at Camp Creek, at a point where the overland trail from Indian Castle branched in just beyond the present village

of Starkville. Machin on Sand Hill, between Fort Plain and Fort Plank, could cover a large range of country from that vantage point. The other piece, taken over the Otsquago Trail a distance of eight miles, was intended to cover the Camp Creek Valley, also the Waiontha and Canadarago Trails which came in at the rear of the present Ward farm a mile and a half further west of Camp Creek. By the evening of June 19, these three posts had been established on the right wing with the addition of another, ever since known by the name of Brown Hollow Camp, located two miles southwest of the present village of Starkville. This camp, on June 19, was the most extreme western post from Clinton's headquarters on this date, being in a direct line distant twelve and a half miles. The John Tingue "Tavern" was located about one-fourth mile north of the Brown Hollow Camp. This camp was the post of Colonel Dubois pioneer bushmen in opening the road up the Otsquago Creek through present Van Hornesville to Pumpkin Hook, a distance of one mile. This piece of road had practically to be reconstructed to enable teams with the artillery to pass through.

The Fourth Pennsylvania Regiment received orders to march over the Portage Road as follows:

"Genl. Orders. Camp Canajohary Creek, June 18, 1779.

"The Detachment under the command of Lieut. Col. Butler will march tomorrow Morning at Sunrise. The Q. M. Genl. will supply them with waggons sufficient to transport their Baggage and Stores to Springfield, they will exert themselves in forwarding on the Waggons and repairing the Roads wherever they require it. The Q. M. Genl. will supply them tools on Application for that Purpose. The Rifle Corps will be employed in scouting the Woods and keeping up the Communication between the different Posts. Mr. Dow the Assistant Qr. Mr. will proceed immediately to Otsego Lake with the Carpenters, and repair the Boats as they arrive, in the best Order Possible, without Loss of Time.

"Commissary Woodman will for the future supply or issue Provisions to the late Aldens Regiment and Col. Butler's when they join together; Commissary Post will issue to the New York Regiments.

"Col. Willett will issue Fatigue, Rum for all those who may be employed under him immediate Direction.

"For the Future the Assistant Q. M. Genl. or any of his Deputies will attend for Orders at Lieut. Col. Reginer's Quarters."

Lieutenant Beatty journal entry of departure from Canajoharie of the Fourth Pennsylvania Regiment, Col. Wm. Butler in command.

"Saturday 19th:—Struck tents very early marched on for Springfield very bad roads passed on the road a Number of Waggons with Batteaus and Provision going on to the Lake, likewise a New York Regt, which was encamped on the Road side 6 miles from Canajoharie arrived at Springfield 4 o'clock, P. M. 17 miles which had formerly been a pretty little settlement but the Indians at the destruction of Cherry Valley has likewise destroyed it. It lies within 4 miles of Lake Osego and about 6 or 8 from Cherry Valley here we encamped in a very pleasant place." The inhabitants of Springfield had gone early in the summer of 1778 to Fort Alden, Cherry Valley; for protection and had taken their cattle with them. A letter to Governor Clinton dated at German Flatts July 22 states: "On Saturday the 18th, Andrew Town and Springfield was burned and destroyed by the enemy." This was signed by Hendrick Herchimer Justice.

The movement of the overland portage of the boats and provisions was well under way on the morning of June 19. On June 19, Van Hovenburgh of Colonel Weissenfel's regiment states in his journal (from the Sprout Brook post) "Escorted stores to Springfield the 4th Pennsyl. Regt. Marcht by us and the Rifel Core who were posted at Springfield to Escort the Stores to Lake Otsego to the Late Aulden's Regt."

The Rifle Corps mentioned by Van Hovenburgh was a detachment of Morgan's commanded by Capt. Michael Simpson.

McKendry journal of Sunday the 20th states:

"(Sunday.) Cleared the passage for the waggons to unload the stores—60 Batteaus arrived at this lake a Quantity of provisions from the River."

The returning empty wagons were ordered to be escorted by the Alden regiment (Sixth Massachusetts), under direction of Major Whiting, to Lieut. Col. Butler's station (Middle Village Springfield.): from there they were escorted by Butler to Lieutenant Colonel Weissenfel's post (north of present Sprout Brook Village near the residence of Cornelius Flint, on land now owned by Edgar J. Dunkell, Sprout Brook). From there they were passed over the one-half mile connection to the Left Wing Road, thence back to Canajoharie, reloaded and started on their return over the portage road.

Brant's Indians were skulking through the thickets watching every move. Spies of the Tory Butler were lurking about Clin-

ton's Camp, and every subterfuge employed by them was used to seduce soldiers to desert and thwart Clinton in his movements. These were attended to as promptly as they could be looked after by Court Martial.

A Court Martial order of June 19 reads:

"A General Court Martial will sit Tomorrow Morning at 9 o'clock at the President's Marque for the Tryal of Mr. Henry Hare, taken on suspicions of being a Spy.

Col. Gansevoort will preside.

of the Artillery	of the 3rd N. Y.
(Captain Wool	(Captain Anson
(Captain Machin	(Captain DeWitt
(Capt. Lt. McClare	(Captain Jansen
(Lieut. Harvey	(Captain Fiabout
(Lieut. Parker	(Captain Lt. Syloz
(Lieut. Patterson	(Lieut. Conine

"Captain Porter will act as Judge Advocate."

This trial took place in the large field tent of Colonel Gansevoort near the entrance to Happy Hollow, and Hare was found guilty and sentenced to be hanged by the neck "till he is dead." The execution took place on June 21.

At the same court martial, Daniel McKenney was tried, "for endeavouring to seduce soldiers to desert, found guilty of the charges, and sentenced to receive one hundred lashes on his bare back well laid on, and drummed out of the camp." The execution of this was on June 21.

On June 21 a party of men was ordered by Colonel Butler to the foot of the lake to dam the same that the water might be raised, to carry the boats down the Susquehanna River. Capt. Benjamin Warren of the Sixth Massachusetts Regiment commanded the party. His diary of the Cherry Valley massacre of 1778, is printed in a previous chapter.

The several detachments of Morgan's riflemen were under command of Maj. James Parr, Capt. Michael Simpson, Lieut. Thomas Boyd and Ensign Benjamin Chambers. Their activities consisted in patrol duty and guarding the extreme outposts of the army. Major James Parr, in charge of Morgan's Rifles, evidently took his orders from Lieut. Col. William Butler, commander of the Fourth Pennsylvania Regiment. No General Clinton order appears from headquarters at Canajoharie Creek governing Parr's movement. Lieutenant Beatty journal of the Fourth Pennsylvania Regiment gives the whereabouts of Parr on Monday, June 21, as follows:

"This morning Major Parr with near 100 men properly officered went on a 3 Days Scout likewise to clear out the branch of the Susquehanna which comes out of the Lake Otsego to make it passable for Boats, likewise the two Companies of Col. Aldens Regt. (6th Mass.) moved to their Rgt. nothing else material happening a Number of waggons passing to the lake with Boats and provisions, we send out parties every day to keep the Roads in Repair."

A detachment of the Rifle Corps, under leadership of Lieut. Thomas Boyd, was scouting the Waiontha wilderness and had their rendezvous at Brown Hollow Camp, during the progress of the road work to Pumpkin Hook.

On June 22d Colonel Butler and Major Whiting went to the foot of the lake to view that post. The orderly transport of wagons loaded with boats and provisions continued from the 19th June till the 24th, at which time Beatty states in his journal "great number of wagons passing to the lake." McKendry of the 6th Massachusetts Regiment in his journal June 23d, states "A number of boats and provisions arrived at the Lake this day." on the 24th he states, "Boats and Provisions arrive at this Lake very fast 500 wagons going steady." Undoubtedly, there were at least five teams employed to each wagon containing a boat. The roads were rough and difficult to navigate as much of the distance was up steep hills and the time consumed exceedingly short.

During three days, between June 21 and 25, squads detailed from the 3rd New York and the 5th New York were sent out at daylight with their provisions ready cooked, taking their orders from Lieutenant Colonel Willett, on the scouting support of the right wing which went over the Otsquago Trail.

From Lieutenant Beatty records is the following dated June 22. "This morning the Colonel (Butler) and a number of officers besides myself went on a fishing party across Lake Otsego catching a few fish and returning in the evening on the lower end of the lake (which is about 8 miles in length and 2 in Breadth) we found two Companies of Col. Aldens Regt. (6th Massachusetts) who had made a Dam across the neck that runs out of the lake so as to Rais the water for to carry the Boats down the Creek."

This last entry in his journal gives an important clue as to the spot where the dam was made. The neck of the lake is one-half of a mile long before it empties its water into the creek which is the beginning of the Susquehanna River. The dam then

had been completed on June 22. Something equally important was being done over in the Waiontha wilderness. Colonel Dubois' chosen scouts with Matthew DeGarmore, the trapper, as their pilot, were protecting the beaver dams at the outlet of the great water basin. Lieutenant Boyd with his detachment of Morgan's riflemen had thrown a cordon around it to hold back any skulking hordes of Indians which might be expected to appear there at any moment.

On Wednesday the 23d Beatty states:—"This Day about 2 o'clock Major Parr arrived with his party (Springfield Post) brought no news of any consequence but that the branch of the Susquehanna which he went down about 10 miles from Lake Otsego was passable for Boats. Lay in Camp all day nothing of consequence happening sending out fatigue parties on the Roads as usual likewise great number of Waggons pasing to the lake." On Friday 25th, is this important entry: "This morning Capt. Simpson with 40 Rifle men went on a scout likewise Lt. Bevins with 20 Musqut Men went on a Scout." This was the squad that guarded the ordnance from Pumpkin Hook up to Springfield where they arrived with "2 pieces of Artillery" on Saturday the 20th.

On June 24, 1779, from "Camp Canajoharie Creek," Clinton had made the following public announcement:

"The General returns his most sincere Thanks to the Gentlemen Inhabitants of this State who have so cheerfully and effectually assisted him in the Transportation of the Stores and Boats for the use of the Army toward Otsego Lake. Such an exampled patriotic conduct is an happy Omen of our future Success, and an evident Demonstration that we can never be slaves."

Mohawk Valley farmers must have engaged in this movement in large numbers, together with their teams.

It appears from General Orders on June 25, that the light infantry company of Colonel Dubois' regiment was to march that morning on their way to Otsego Lake as soon as they were ready, together with the Train of Artillery Military Stores and Baggage.

On June 24, Lieutenant Van Hovenburgh of Colonel Weissenfel's 4th New York Regiment made entry in his journal:—"One of our Regt. was shot by the sentence of Court Martial for Desertion."

In Capt. Leonard Bleeker's Order Book W is stated: "James Titus, Soldier in the 5th New York Regt. was tryed for Desertion, found guilty, and sentenced to be shot at the Head of his Regiment. The General approved the Sentence and orders it to

be put in Execution tomorrow Morning at 6 o'clock." On June 25 Van Hovenburgh states "A constant transporting of Stores to the Lake."

June 25—McKendry of the 6th Massachusetts Regiment states in his journal "Col. Dubois Regt. Arrived at this Lake and proceeded in Boats to Lows Mills." (From Hyde Bay around the west foot of Wellington Mountain to Camp Liberty Post.)

On June 26 the Waiontha beaver dam was broken open by Scout Matthew DeGarmore and his assistants, and the basin was discharging a torrent of water down the creek to Otsego Lake.

Halsey in *The Old New York Frontier* makes an egregious blunder on page 260 in stating "Simms records certain traditions of the country that in order further to increase the flow of water, a party was sent to open a beaver dam which held the waters of Schuyler's Lake" and Hough in his notes to Capt. Leonard Bleeker's order book makes it still more geographically erroneous in stating "a party was sent two or three days before, to break away a Beaver Dam, which held the waters of Schuyler Lake, a tributary to the Otsego." This could not be so, as the waters of Schuyler's Lake (Canadarago) do not empty into the Otsego Lake. This is one of many instances of the errors made by historians in writing about sections with which they are not familiar.

Lieutenant Beatty, at Springfield Camp, writes: "Saturday 26th—Rained almost all last night but very warm all Day—about 9 o'clock Col. Dubois Regt. arrived here with 2 pieces of Atillery likewise a quantity of Amunition for the expeditions and some Clothing. Staid and eat and proceeded to the lake then to take Post, this afternoon Capt. Simpson with his party and Lt. Bevine with his arrived at Camp but brought no news of Consequence, this evening a Number of Wagons arrived here on their way to the Lake with ammunition likewise our P: Mr."

On June 26, the ammunition had just arrived at Canajoharie, and it was immediately ordered by wagons, under escort of a Subaltern's Guard by Colonel Gansevoort as far as Colonel Weissenfels' Regiment (Sprout Brook Post), who was to relieve them and send it forward to the next post, Col. William Butler's Fourth Pennsylvania (at Middle Village, Springfield), then taken over by Major Whiting's Sixth Massachusetts Regiment and delivered up to the Conductor of Artillery Stores at Lake Otsego. "The officers of the different escorts, will give Receipts to those from whom they have received it." It was ordered this day "General Court Martial, whereof Col. Gansevoort was President, is dis-

olved, William Newbury, who was respited Yesterday is to be executed next Monday morning at 6 o'clock." Monday, the 28th: Beatty of the Fourth Pennsylvania Regiment gives the following narrative: "This Day the Col. and a Number of Officers, with myself went to see Col. Dubois and his officers who were encamped at Lows Grove on the upper landing, found them all very well and they provided a very good dinner for us suitable to the place and time, there was about fifty officers, dined together, after Dinner we had a song or two from different Officers and Returned home a little before Sundown."

McKendry of the Sixth Massachusetts elaborates on this dinner as follows: "Went to Camp Liberty at Lows Mills (and dined at that place) Gen'l. Clinton gave each officer on the ground at this post, one cag of Rum containing two Gall."

"Thursday July 1st. This day fell some Rain about 2 o'clock. Gen. Clinton arrived at our Camp (Springfield Post) with the Adjt. Gen'l. and a number more officers and encamped; about Dark Col. Gansevoort's Regt. arrived here and encamped in front of us, this evening we received orders to march tomorrow morning early.

"Friday. July 2d. Accordingly this morning we struck our tents early, the Regt. marched by Cherry Valley to the lower end of the lake. The baggage of the Detachment went to Springfield landing [Hyde Bay] with a proper Guard with the Col. the Qr. Masters and myself, put the baggage on board Boats and Proceeded to the lower end of Lake where we arrived about 3 o'clock and found the Regt. there before us.

"Headquarters, South End Lake Otsego 2nd July, 1779. Genl. Orderd. One Major, one Capt. two Subalterns, four Sergts., four Corporals, and one hundred and twenty Men to parade Tomorrow Morning at Reveillie Beat, in order to go to the North End of the Lake to transport Provisions to this Place. Major Church to command this party, and will put but three Men in each Boat."

On Sunday, the 4th of July, a celebration of the third anniversary of the Declaration of Independence was held at the main camp of Clinton's army, then located at the south end of Otsego Lake near present Cooperstown. It was made in the following manner, as recorded in the journal of Lieutenant Beatty.

"July 4th. Last night we were alarmed by our Centries firing at Indians who was creeping up to them, we Remained under arms one Hour then went to our tents with orders not to pull of our clothes, there was several shots fired before morning, and at

Day break we tracked a number of Indians Round about our pickets but never one of them returned our fire. Major Parr with his Rifle men went on Scout this morning.

"This Day three year being the Day that Independence was declared it was celebrated by firing a Feu DeJoy all the troops was drew up on the Banks of the Lake in one line with the two pieces of Artillery on the Right there was 13 pieces of cannon fired and three volleys of Musquetry one after another and three Cheers with every fire it was done extraordinary well with great exactness, afterwards the troops was drew up in a Circle by Colums on a little hill when Parson Granoo preached us a sermon suitable to the occasion from the 4 Chapter of Exodus and 12 Verse, afterwards the troops was Dismissed, Col. Rignier Adjt. Genl, gave an invitation to all the officers to come and drink Grog. with him in the evening accordingly a number of officers (almost all) assembled at a large Bowry which he had prepared on the bank of the lake, but however we sot on the ground in a large Circle and closed the Day with a number of Toast suitable a great Deal of Mirth for two or three hours and then Retired to our tents, the whole day was Conducted extremely well considering the place, a great deal of provision came over the Lake here today—Weather very warm."

Headquarters, Otsego Lake. General Orders. 4th July, 1779.

"This Day being the Anniversary of the Independence of America, the Genl. is pleased to order, that all the Troops under his command should draw a Jill of Rum per Man, extraordinary, in Memory of that Happy Event."

From the following entry in Lieutenant Beatty journal, it is seen that everything had arrived safely at the south end of Lake Otsego by July 5.

"July 5th, Monday. Today Col. Aldens Regt. came over with the last of the Provisions and Stores of all sorts and encamped in the center of the second line behind the Artillery, likewise a few of the Oneida Indians come over with the Regt. and encamped on the Banks of the Lake, they all soon got drunk and made a terrible noise." McKendry journal states, "30 Indians arrived, at this lake to go on the expedition with Genl. Clinton, they were commanded by Col. Hungary."

Stone, in Life of Brant, states there were twenty-five to accompany the expedition. All but two of these, however, and those of the meaner sort, deserted the expedition before they arrived at Tioga.

A letter from Gen. James Clinton to Governor George Clinton,

July 6th, 1779, from "Camp, on the South End of Otsego Lake," states: "I have the Pleasure to inform you that I am now at this Place, with two hundred and eight Boats, with all the Stores, Provisions, and Baggage of the Army; and I am well convinced that such a quantity of each hath never before been transported over so bad a Road in so short a Time and with less accidents, so that I am now in the most Readiness to move down the Susquehanna whenever I receive General Sullivan's Orders for that Purpose. I have thrown a Dam across the Outlet, which I conceive will be of infinite Importance, as it has raised the Lake at least two Feet, by which the Boats may be taken down with less Danger than otherwise, although from the intricate winding of the Channel, I expect to meet some Difficulties on the Way."

With the above letter to the Governor, General Clinton enclosed a letter addressed to Mrs. James Clinton which now is of historic value, inasmuch as it shows that Clinton's brigade consisted of 2,000 men, when it left Otsego Lake. On the portage, from Canajoharie, the army must have numbered over 2500, including wagoners, etc., and it may have totaled 3,000.

"Camp at the South end of Otsego Lake, July 6th, 1779. I left Conojaharie the 1st of July and am now at this place with all the Regiments and Stores for the Expedition, and only wait for orders to March: we have 209 Batteauxs in the Lake and a great quantity of Provisions and other Stores and although the Distance of the Carrying place was at least twenty miles and the Road exceeding bad, we got all over with Expedition and not a Single Accident.

"My Detachment will Consist of about 2000 men, Including Officers, Volunteers and twenty-five Indians who are all healthy and in high spirits.

"I have notheing further to acquaint you of, Except that we apprehended a certain Lt. Henry Hare and a Serg't. Newberry, both of Coll. Butler's Regt., who confessed that they left the Seneca Country with Sixty three Indians and two white men, which Divided themselves in three parties, one party was to attack Schoharie, another party Cherry Valley and the Mohawk River, and the other party to Sculk about Fort Schuyler and the upper part of the Mohawk River and take prisoners or Sculps. I had them tryed by a Genl. Court Martial for spies, who sentenced, them both to be hanged, which was Done accordingly at Canajoharie to the satisfaction of all the Inhabitants of that place that were friends to their Country, as they were known to be very

active in almost all the murders that were committed on these Frontiers; they were Inhabitants of Tryon County and had each a wife and several children who came to see them and beg their lives."

General Orders: Otsego Lake, 9th July, 1779.

"All the Drums and Fifes of the Army, are to practice together every Day, at the usual hours on the Grand Parade. The Drum and Fife will attend particularly to this Business, until further Orders, and it is ordered that a uniform Mode be adopted throughout the whole. In the beating of Marches, a little more Time (than has hitherto been practiced) must be observed.

"The Drum Major of the 3d. N. Y. Regt. and the Fife Major of the 6th Massachusetts will collect the Names of all Drums and Fifes in the different Regiments, and keep Regular Roster of the Whole."

"Camp. Otsego Lake, 24th July 1779, Gen Orders. At a Genl. Court Martial held in Camp July 22, 1779, whereof Col. Duboys was President, and Lieut. Parker Judge Advocate, was tryed: Johnathan Pine, Soldier in the 6th Massachusetts Regt. Frederick Snyder of the 4th Pena. Regt; and Anthony Dunnovan of the 3d. N. Y. Regt. for Desertion, all of whom were found guilty and sentenced to be shot to death. At the same Court Martial were tried Serjt. Spear of the 6th Massachusetts Regt. and Barnard Minck of the 3d. N. Y. Regt, for Desertion, found guilty, and sentenced to receive 100 lashes each, and Spear to be reduced to a Centinel."

Anthony Donnovon had previously deserted from the British Army, and had advised the others, who were younger than himself, to desert from Clinton's Army. Donnovan was shot, on the parade ground, on the morning of July 28, and, through entreaties of fellow soldiers who pledged themselves for their future conduct, Frederick Snyder and Jonathan Pine were reprieved by the General.

In General Orders, August 1st, it is stated: "The regimental Quarter Master will see their regimental Parade well cleaned, and the Dirt burn't or buried into the sinks. The Sinks of each Regiment must be filled up every four Days, and new ones dug up."

In the letter from General Clinton to Governor George Clinton, dated Lake Otsego, August 5, 1779: "Dear Brother: Last Evening I was favored with a letter from Gen'l. Sullivan, dated July 30th, informing me that he determined to leave Wyoming

the next Day and requesting me to move the 9th Instant which I will not fail to do."

Here is an item from Van Hovenburgh diary of July 27: "Express arrived at Camp that the enemy were on the Frontiers, that they had killed and taken 36 of Col. V. Schorck's [Van Schaick's] Men a Scout being Immediately Ordered out consisting of 300 men to take Bateaux to cross the Lake they being under the comd. of Col. Ganseworth [Gansevoort] and Crosd the lake immediately and took their Quarters at Law's Landing July 28. Marchd to Fort Plank at Cannojarry near Fort Plain where they laid that night.

"29—Marchd for the German Flatts, arrived at Fort Herkerman, [Herkimer] about seven at night and took Quarters there and expected, by the intelligence that we collected that Fort Dayton would be attacked in the Morning, but was not, we sent out a scout to Cannady [West Canada] Creek they made some discovery of the Indians tracks that they had drove some cattle.

"31—Set out marchd to Andreston and from thence to the Otsego Lake and crossed over to camp."

In the transportation of the Brigade up the Mohawk, in repairing the roads to Lake Otsego, and conveying the boats and provisions over them, the fortitude and patience of the soldiers were severely taxed. Rev. John Gano, the Brigade Chaplain, was constantly with them, giving good counsel and encouragement.

After continuing for a month at the outlet of the lake the men became very uneasy at the delay. The parson, on Saturday, August 7, spoke to General Clinton on the subject, who informed him the army would move Monday, but he wished nothing said about it until the orders were issued. His text on the Sabbath was, "Be ready to depart on the morrow." At the close of the services, General Clinton announced that the army would move at sunrise the next day, Monday, August 9th, 1779.

On Sunday, August 8, 1779, McKendry states:

"All the boats loaded ready to proceed down the river tomorrow,—this Evening 6 o'clock the sluce way was broke up and the water filled the river immediately where a boat could pass, which was almost dry before."

This closes the narrative pertaining to the activities of Gen. James Clinton and his troops in the Mohawk Valley in their march to Otsego Lake, up to the time when they took their departure down the Susquehanna River on August 9th, 1779, to join Gen. John Sullivan at Tioga.

ROSTER OF OFFICERS OF CLINTON'S ARMY.

Sixth Massachusetts Regiment.

Daniel Whiting ——— Major
William White ——— Lieutenant and Adjutant
James Lunt ——— Lieutenant and Adjutant
William McKendry ——— Lieutenant and Quartermaster
Ezekiel Brown ——— Surgeon
Francis DeBar ——— Surgeon Mate
Joseph Tucker ——— Ensign and Paymaster
Asa Coburn ——— Captain
Luke Day ——— Captain
Benjamin Warren ——— Captain
John Reed ——— Captain
Daniel Lane ——— Captain

Third New York Regiment.

Peter Gansevoort ——— Colonel
Marinus Willett ——— Lieutenant Colonel
Robert Cochran ——— Major
Christopher Hutton ——— Adjutant and Lieutenant
Prentice Bowen ——— Quartermaster and Lieutenant
Jeremiah Van Rensselaer ——— Paymaster and Ensign
Hunlock Woodruff ——— Surgeon
John Elliott, Jr. ——— Surgeon Mate
Leonard Bleeker ——— Captain
Henry Tiebout ——— Captain
Thomas DeWitt ——— Captain
Cornelius T. Jansen ——— Captain
Aaron Aorson ——— Captain

Fourth New York Regiment.

Frederick Weissenfels ——— Lieutenant Colonel
Joseph M. Cracken ——— Major
Israel Smith ——— Paymaster and Captain
Peter Elsworth ——— Adjutant and Lieutenant
James Barrett ——— Quartermaster and Lieutenant
John F. Vasche ——— Surgeon
Rudolphus Van Hovenburg ——— Lieutenant in this Regiment

Fifth New York Regiment.

Lewis Dubois ——— Colonel
Henry Dubois ——— Adjutant & Captain Lieutenant
Henry Dodge ——— Adjutant and Lieutenant
Michael Connolly ——— Paymaster 2d Lieutenant
James Johnston ——— Quartermaster and Ensign
Samuel Cook ——— Surgeon

Fourth Pennsylvania Regiment.

William Butler ---------- Lieutenant Colonel
Thomas Church ---------- Major
George Boss ---------- Lieutenant and Adjutant
Erkuries Beatty ---------- Lieutenant and Paymaster
Peter Sumners ---------- Lieutenant and Quartermaster
Charles McCarter ---------- Surgeon
George Tudor ---------- Captain
William Gray ---------- Captain
Henry Becker, Jr. ---------- Captain
William Henderson ---------- Captain
William Cross ---------- Captain

Battalion of Morgan's Riflemen.

James Parr ---------- Major
Michael Simpson ---------- Captain
Thomas Boyd ---------- Lieutenant
Benjamin Chambers ---------- Ensign

Detachment (Col. John Lamb's) Regt. New York Artillery.

Isaiah Wool ---------- Captain
Thomas Machin ---------- Captain
Elisha Harvey ---------- Lieutenant
John Pratt ---------- Assistant Commissary of Issues
William Popham ---------- Aide-de-Camp
Dr. Stephen Macrea ---------- Brigade Surgeon
Rev. John Gano ---------- Brigade Chaplain.

All of the officers of the foregoing regiments and detachments are not given. It will be seen that captains, lieutenants and ensigns (second lieutenants) are frequently missing from the list.

* * * * *

The following is a chronological summary of the march of General Clinton's American army from Canajoharie, on the Mohawk River, to Otsego Lake, in the Sullivan-Clinton campaign of 1779. It was written by the editor of this work and revised by Mr. John Fea, author of the foregoing chapter.

Summary of General Clinton's Portage March in 1779 From the Mohawk River to Otsego Lake.

Gen. James Clinton commanded the New York detachment of the expedition against Indians of the Seneca and Cayuga country, under General Sullivan, in 1779. The Onondaga castle was burned by a detachment of troops which went out from Fort Stanwix under Col. Gosen Van Schaick. The object of the Sulli-

van-Clinton campaign was to weaken the Iroquois Indian power in New York and to destroy their bases of supplies located in their different towns.

The march of General Clinton's American army from the Mohawk River to Otsego Lake forms one of the most notable feats of arms performed during the Revolution, amid a setting of picturesque and varied landscape beauty.

General Clinton's army consisted of the Third, Fourth and Fifth New York Line, the Fourth Pennsylvania Line, and the Sixth Massachusetts Line, together with a detachment of artillery, which was attached to the Fifth New York Regiment, and a company of Schenectady and Tryon County militia volunteers, which was joined to Colonel Gansevoort's Third New York Line Regiment and a battalion of Morgan's Riflemen, attached to the Fifth New York and the Fourth Pennsylvania. At this time the Fifth New York was stationed at Fort Plain, the Fourth Pennsylvania at the Middle Schoharie Fort (Middleburgh), and the Sixth Massachusetts at Fort Alden, in Cherry Valley. These were regiments actively guarding the Mohawk frontier.

On June 11, General Clinton, at his Schenectady headquarters, ordered a party of troops to proceed to Canajoharie and lay out a camp there. The rest of the army, then at Schenectady and Scotia, followed at intervals.

At Canajoharie the Third New York Regiment camped at present Canajoharie village, while the Fourth Pennsylvania camped on the right, between the Third New York and the Happy Hollow road. The Fourth Pennsylvania, under Lieutenant Colonel Butler, had been stationed at the Middle Schoharie Fort, at present Middleburgh, since 1778. With him was a battalion of Morgan's Riflemen, one company of which was assigned to the Fifth New York under Colonel Dubois.

While Clinton was at Canajoharie he made his headquarters at Roof's Tavern, where the present Hotel Wagner stands. A monument in the square in front of the hotel marks the start of General Clinton's march to Otsego Lake. It was erected by Canajoharie Chapter D. A. R. Two Tory spies, Hare and Newberry, were captured, brought to Canajoharie, tried and hung, during the time of Clinton's stay here.

Lieut. Col. Frederick Weissenfels, Fourth New York Regiment, marched from Albany to Tribes Hill, to Johnstown, to Fort Paris, at Stone Arabia. It left there on June 17, 1779, and marched to Walrath's Ferry, on the Mohawk River, where it crossed to Fort Plain. From there it marched to Canajoharie.

The Fourth Regiment went over the south shore highway. It formed the left wing of Clinton's army and marched over the Cherry Valley road (constructed in 1773) to a point one and one-half miles northeast of present Buel, where it camped over night. The next day, June 18, 1779, it moved on to present Sprout Brook, north of which hamlet it camped that night. On June 19th it took up the escort of the supply and batteaux wagons, moving toward Otsego Lake over the Portage road, which then left the south shore Mohawk highway at Happy Hollow, between Fort Plain and Canajoharie.

Clinton's center consisted of the Third New York Regiment, under Col. Peter Gansevoort, and the Fourth Pennsylvania Regiment, under Lieut. Col. William Butler, which guarded the 200 batteaux loaded upon wagons, which went over the easy grade of the Happy Hollow south branch brook road (one mile west of Canajoharie). The Third New York and the Fourth Pennsylvania camped north of the hamlet of Springfield (burned by Brant, 1778), from June 19 to July 2, awaiting the coming of General Clinton, who arrived there with Colonel Gansevoort on the afternoon of July 1st.

The Sixth Massachusetts Line Regiment, under Major Whiting, marched from Fort Alden, in Cherry Valley, to Otsego Lake, June 18th, and camped that night at Middle Village (Springfield). This regiment was known as Colonel Alden's regiment, although Alden had been killed in the Cherry Valley massacre in 1778. It had been stationed at Cherry Valley since the summer of 1778. The Sixth repelled two attacks of Brant's raiders upon Fort Alden on November 11 and 12, 1778.

Col. Lewis Dubois' Fifth New York Line Regiment, with the artillery, had its headquarters at Fort Plain. This detachment formed the right wing of Clinton's army. It moved out of Fort Plain on Friday, June 18th, and went over the Otsquago trail, through Little and Second Woods to the present Upper Hallsville road, crossing the Otsquene (or Crepskill), passing the Geisenberg Lutheran Church and striking the route of the present Otsquago trail at Hallsville. It moved west, following a line along or to the north of the present Otsquago trail, until it reached Camp Creek, near Starkville, where a stand of artillery was placed to guard against attack, which was expected from the west over the Wiaontha trail. Here Dubois' command camped on the night of June 18th, 1779, and Camp Creek takes its name from this encampment. On June 19th the right wing marched to present Brown's Hollow, one and one-half miles north of pres-

ent Van Hornesville. Working parties turned the channel of the Otsquago from the north to the south bank of the glen, through which the stream runs in the present village of Van Hornesville. Within a short time the soldiers had built a corduroy road through Van Hornesville. The right wing was then deployed, covering a distance of three miles on a road one and one-half miles east of Summit Lake. This movement was made to guard the center and its supply and batteaux wagons from attack by Brant's Indians, which was expected to be made from the west.

The right wing reached the head of Otsego Lake on June 26th, 1779, and established Camp Liberty, in Low's Grove, on the west side of Mount Wellington. It was then in position to guard the embarkation point at Hyde Bay from attack from the west.

These regiments numbered from 250 to 300 or more men. With the artillery, militia, batteaux men, wagoners and artificers, General Clinton's army must have numbered 2,500 to 3,000 men while on the portage march. After the Mohawk Valley farmers, with wagons, horses and oxen, had completed their share of the task and the embarkation was made at present Hyde Bay, Clinton's force considerably lessened in numbers. General Clinton says his army numbered 2,000 men when it left Otsego Lake.

Clinton reached the foot of Otsego Lake July 2, and on the 4th of July, 1779, all the American troops there camped held a great celebration of the third Independence day. Clinton dammed the lake outlet and the expedition sailed in its batteaux and marched down the Susquehanna, August 9, 1779.

General Clinton's force formed a juncture with Sullivan's at Tioga on August 22, and the united force moved up the Tioga and Chemung, destroying the Indians' growing crops. The force of 4,600 Americans met the Tories and Indians under Johnson and Brant near the present city of Elmira on August 29. A fierce battle ensued and was for long doubtful. The patriots' artillery under Proctor finally routed the enemy. The invaders rested that night and next day made a vigorous pursuit. The entire Indian country was ravaged and destroyed in a most thorough fashion. In revenge the savages retaliated upon the frontier settlements whenever opportunity offered. Following the Sullivan and Clinton expedition, Colonel Van Schaick was sent from Fort Stanwix (Schuyler) to destroy the remains of the two Mohawk castles on our river, at present Indian Castle and Fort Hunter. The settlers around the upper castle had suffered from enemy raids and many

had had their homes burned in these forays of the Indians and Tories. Accordingly, Van Schaick gave the Indian houses at the upper castle to these settlers. The American commander then took the few Mohawks remaining at the upper castle (present Indian Castle) and proceeded down the river to Fort Hunter. Here he gathered the few Mohawks then living there and went on, with his Indian prisoners, to Albany, where they were put in custody. This was the end of the Mohawk tribe in our valley, after a residence here of two centuries.

The following covers the execution of Hare and Newberry, who were tried and executed as spies at Canajoharie. While Clinton was waiting at Canajoharie for his troops and supplies to assemble, two Tories were there hung and a deserter shot. The Tory spies were Lieut. Henry Hare and Sergeant Newberry, both of Col. John Butler's Tory regiment. They were tried by a general court martial as spies and sentenced to be hanged, which was done accordingly at Canajoharie. At the time of the execution General Clinton rode up to Fort Plain and spent an hour or two with Dominie Gros, to avoid the importunity of the spies' relatives and friends, who begged for their lives, and especially was this the case with Mrs. Hare. Hare and Newberry had left the Seneca country with sixty-three Indians and two white men, who divided them into three parties. One was to attack Schoharie, another party was to descend on Cherry Valley and the Mohawk River, and the third party was to skulk about Fort Stanwix and the upper part of the Mohawk to take prisoners or scalps. Both had lived in the town of Florida and were captured there. A fifteen-year-old boy, named Francis Putman, captured Hare, who was delayed in his return to Canada by a sprained ankle. A party of Whigs, under Lieutenant Newkirk, arrested Newberry that night. It is said "they were enabled to find his house in the woods by following a tame deer which fled to it." While Hare was in custody, at the request of General Clinton, Johannes Roof asked the Tory if he did not kill Caty Steers at Fort Stanwix in 1777. "For you were seen with your hands in her hair," said Roof. Hare confessed that he had killed and scalped her. Both men were brutal murderers who had killed defenseless settlers, including women and children.

Gen. James Clinton was born in Ulster County, New York, August 9, 1736. At the age of twenty (1756) he was a captain under Bradstreet in the attack on Fort Frontenac. In 1763 he commanded four companies in Ulster and Orange as protection against Indians. He, with his brother, George Clinton (governor

of New York during the Revolution), early espoused the patriot cause. He was a colonel in 1775 and went with Montgomery to Canada. In 1776 he was a brigadier general and was in command, under Governor Clinton, at Forts Montgomery and Clinton when they fell into the hands of the enemy in 1777. He escaped and, conjointly with Sullivan, led the expedition against the Indians in 1779. During the remainder of the war he was connected with the Northern Department of the Army, having headquarters at Albany. He retired to his estate at Newburgh, after peace was declared, and died there in 1812, aged seventy-five. He was the father of Dewitt Clinton, the eminent governor of New York and "father of the Canal system".

General Clinton was an engineer and surveyor, and his son, Governor Clinton, came naturally by his interest in engineering works and in the Erie Canal.

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* * * * *

July 9, 1779, three Vols (now Folts) brothers and the wives of two of them, and a Mrs. Catherine Dorenberger, who had been a Hilts, went berry picking up the West Canada Creek, near Fort Dayton. A party of a dozen Indians and Tories discovered them. Two of the brothers and their wives escaped to the fort, although one of the women was wounded. Mrs. Dorenberger was overtaken and stabbed to death with a spear by her own brother, named Hilts, who was one of the guerilla party. He also tore off the scalp from her dead body. Joseph Vols was separated from the rest, but leveled his gun and fired at a party of nine who were

pursuing him in a narrow path. He was so close that three Indians fell, two killed instantly and one mortally wounded. His gun was loaded with 21 buckshot. This is said to have been "the best shot fired in Tryon County during the war." One Indian, in the race which followed, got up and wounded Vols with his tomahawk, but the Whig knocked his assailant down, stunned him with a blow of his gun and escaped, although wounded by several shots. Troops, hearing the firing, came up and the white and red savages fled. Conrad Vols, one of the brothers, was wounded at Oriskany two years before.

* * * * *

The following heroic defense of his home by a Cherry Valley settler, during 1779, is told in Sawyer's "History of Cherry Valley":

"During the following summer [of 1779] occurred the remarkable defence and escape of Robert Shankland, of which all the border histories of New York speak. Mr. Shankland, having taken his family to Mohawk after the massacre, returned the following summer with his son, a boy of about 14 years, to harvest his crop. He was awakened one night by a pounding on the door of his log cabin. Getting up he found that the Indians were trying to chop through the door with their tomahawks. Taking his spear in his hand he suddenly opened the door and charged on the Indians. Surprised at the suddenness of the unexpected attack they retreated a few feet, followed by Mr. Shankland, who, in driving his spear at one of them, struck it in a log so hard that he broke the handle in trying to pull it out. Stooping down he grasped the blade, and wrenched it from the log, returned to the house without a shot being fired at him. Awakening his son he took his guns and began returning the fire which the Indians now commenced on the house, the boy loaded as he fired. Despairing of accomplishing anything by this method of warfare, the Indians gathered a quantity of inflammable material, and placing against the side of the cabin, fired it. During the excitement attendant upon this the boy attempted to escape from the house but was captured by the Indians. He was some time afterwards released. When he grew to manhood he moved to Cooperstown and became a person of considerable importance, having been a national elector in 1808.

"Mr. Shankland kept up his firing on the Indians until the heat became too great for him to remain longer in the burning building, when he bethought himself of a cellar door close up to which grew a field of hemp. Creeping through this he was

fortunate enough to escape through the hemp unperceived by the Indians, who continued dancing, yelling and shooting around the house until it was burned to the ground. Then they continued on their way, happy in the thought that the bones of the supposed victim were buried in the ashes of his dwelling."

* * * * *

The state legislature on October 23, 1779, levied a tax of $2,500,000, of which Tryon County's quota was $81,766. The quota of the Canajoharie district was $16,728. April 6, 1780, another state tax of $5,000,000 was authorized of which $120,000 was assigned to Tryon. The quota of the Canajoharie district was $28,000. Payment of these two taxes, levied inside of six months, must have been a considerable hardship to the valley settlers at this time.

* * * * *

Colonel Fisher was in command at Fort Paris in Stone Arabia in November, 1779, having command of this section. While Fisher was on a visit to Fort Plank, a detachment of soldiers, from Col. Stephen J. Schuyler's regiment, located at Fort Paris, mutinied, knocked down the guards and started to desert. One of them was shot down and presumably the rest escaped. Capt. Jelles Fonda, in temporary command there, was court-martialed and honorably acquitted. In December, at a conference, Colonels Fisher and Klock and Lieut. Col. Wagner dispersed a number of three months militia men, on account of the lateness of the season and the improbability of immediate invasions. This was done with the sanction of Gen. Ten Broeck and some of the garrisons were broken up for a time.

* * * * *

The national events of 1779 are herewith summarized: 1778-9, Col. Clarke conquers middle west from English by victories at Kaskaskia and Vincennes; 1779, July 15, Americans under Gen. "Mad Anthony" Wayne capture Stony Point on the Hudson; 1779, Aug. 29, Sullivan's and Clinton's patriot army defeat Indian and British force in battle of Chemung (at Elmira), Indian country subsequently devastated; 1779, September, Paul Jones, on American ship, Bon Homme Richard, defeats two British men-of-war; 1779, October, French and American attack on Savannah repulsed.

* * * * *

The lot of the soldier was not all one of warfare. In the midst of ever-present dangers, he took his holiday and his natural and robust pleasures with a carefree heart. An instance from Simms

details a merrymaking of Revolutionary times: "In the fall of 1779, there was a corn-husking at the residence of John Eikler in Philadelphia Bush. His house was some six miles east of Johnstown, and where John Frank formerly kept a tavern. Capt. John Littel permitted ten or a dozen young men of his company to go from the Johnstown fort to the husking, of which number was my [Simms'] informant, Jacob Shew. They went on foot from the fort to Eikler's. A lot of buxom maidens, corresponding in number, were already assembled from the scattered settlement on their arrival. As the night was a rainy one the corn was taken into the house to husk.

"In the protracted struggle for political freedom, many a lovely girl had to toil in the field to raise sustenance for herself and feebler friends, when the strong arms, on which they had before leaned, were wielding the sword or musket far away. As the husking progressed not a few red ears were found, imposing a penalty on the finder, and lucky indeed was the Son of Mars who canceled such forfeit, as he was brought in contact with the cherry lips of a blushing lass, who, although she may have said aloud the young rebel ought to be ashamed, secretly blessed the inventor of huskings. A part of the corn was risked and hung up under the roof on a lintel, which, to add variety to the entertainment, broke down under its accumulated weight, and came near entrapping one of the guests. After the corn was all husked and the eatables and drinkables—pumpkin pies and cider—were disposed of, the party had glorious times. But why specify at this late day the details of ancient sayings and doings? Suffice it to add, the rain came down in torrents, so as to prevent the guests from returning home; and after the midnight hilarity had stolen out through the crannies of the log dwelling, the guests—but how dispose of so many without beds? The husks were leveled down, and each took a soldier's lodge upon them; for the girls—heaven bless their memory—were the artless and true maidens of the times."

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